THANKS
TO
GRANT
UNION
THE FIRST ACT OF THE THIRTY EIGHTH CONGRESS

EDWARD F. FISH.

No. .....

To my Husband.
Anna H. Fish.

June 5th 1868

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U. S. Grant

Lt. Gen USA

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THE

LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS

OF

GENERAL U. S. GRANT,

INCLUDING AN ACCURATE ACCOUNT OF

SHERMAN'S GREAT MARCH FROM CHATTANOOGA TO WASHINGTON,

AND THE FINAL OFFICIAL REPORTS OF

SHERIDAN, MEADE, SHERMAN, AND GRANT.

With Portraits on Steel of

GRANT AND HIS GENERALS, SECRETARY STANTON,

AND OTHER SPIRITED ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY REV. P. C. HEADLEY,

AUTHOR OF "LIFE OF NAPOLEON," "LIFE OF JOSEPHINE," "LIFE OF LAFAYETTE," ETC.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY HON. HORACE GREELEY.

NEW YORK:

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PREFACE.

THE personal history of a Nation's benefactor will always interest the people whom he has signally served. General Grant rose from humble life to the highest position of military power, with no effort to attain it beyond unassuming and unwearied devotion to the Republic, during the period of its greatest peril and trial. Of such a man, the humblest citizen desires to know every detail of his career from his boyhood to his later and more eventful years.

In this volume it has been the endeavor of the author to gratify that natural curiosity, by giving well-authenticated incidents of his life.

For much information the author is indebted to family friends of General Grant; for others, to the writings of Carleton, Richardson, Nichols, and other historians of the war.

It is believed, that what is written is historically correct; indeed, there is no better test than the able and succinct reports of the great captains,—Grant, Sherman, Meade, and Sheridan,—which are included in this volume.

The largest portion of the work is devoted to the early history of General Grant, and his Western Campaign, because they cover by far the longest period; although the decisive events of his grand military career were compressed into less than one year.

The reader will not undervalue the possession of all the important orders and reports of General Grant, whose pen is wielded with no less effect, in its field of service for the army and country, than his sword.

The sketches of subordinate commanders are from reliable sources; and no effort has been spared to present a faithful account of the grand armies and their chieftains, whose skill and heroism rescued the Republic from the hands of those who sought to destroy it.

If the biography shall add to the popular acquaintance with the great and good man whom we all delight to honor, and deepen the love of any of the citizens of the glorious land, on whose bloody battle-fields the beams of peace have just begun to shine, to him who, under the Divine guidance, gave us that peace, and to the country of his birth, the author's labor will not have been in vain.

INTRODUCTORY.

Two diverse, though not incompatible, aspirations—Duty and Glory—Patriotism and Ambition—the love of country and the love of fame—produce and supply respectively the impulse to every lofty and brilliant career. Washington, the father of his country, the founder of this Republic—Napoleon, the destroyer of French liberty, the founder of his family and dynasty—are their best modern exemplars.

The hero whose guiding-star is Duty, is not apt to dazzle the vision of the unreflecting masses. Washington was never the idol of the mob—even his military capacity was derided by clever soldiers like Lee and Aaron Burr; and Wellington was rather trusted than loved by the legions he led from victory to victory—from the lines of Torres Vedras to Waterloo and Paris. "England expects every man to do his duty," was an electric message to the soul of the humblest seaman trained in the school of Nelson; "From the summits of yonder pyramids, forty generations look down upon you," seemed better fitted to fill with

ardor the breasts of the legions who trusted in the rising star of Napoleon.

Ulysses S. Grant entered our late struggle with no shadow of prospect or probability of obtaining eminence therein. He had been educated at West Point, and, entering the army as a Lieutenant, had seen service in the war with Mexico; but he had resigned his commission soon after the return of peace, and betaken himself to the quiet pursuits of private life. He had tried several vocations with moderate success, and was selling leather in Galena, when the breaking out of the War of Secession summoned him afresh to the service of his country. The morning after receiving the news of Fort Sumter's surrender to the rebels, with the consequent call of President Lincoln for seventy-five thousand volunteers to defend Washington, he began to raise the company of his neighbors which he led to Springfield and tendered to the Governor. Being required to serve temporarily in the Executive and Adjutant-General's offices, his capacity as an organizer became at once so apparent that he was assigned to the command of three several camps of organization, and was soon required to take the command of a regiment much in need of an efficient colonel. A little experience, and the urgency of the public need, soon dictated his promotion to a brigadiership; and thus, before he had been in action, and while engaged in guarding the North Missouri railroad against rebel incendiaries, the modest and reticent Galena captain had become a general—probably as much to his own surprise as to any one's. Thenceforth, his biography is

an important and powerful portion of his country's history.

But is Grant a great general?

The answer must depend on our ideal of generalship. Certainly, he did not, by the audacity of his movements, the transcendent force of his genius, achieve great results with utterly inadequate means, as a very few great generals have done. Beside his brief yet admirable campaign which terminated in the surrender of Vicksburg—which has seldom been excelled in the felicity of its plan or the vigor of its execution—his career seems rather that of a faithful, tireless, dauntless soldier than that of a masterly strategist. The triumph achieved under his guidance was that of a great people, lavish of its blood and treasure so that its National existence and rightful authority be preserved, rather than that of any leader, military or civil. It was not the triumph of a man, but of Humanity. The chief obstacle to be surmounted was the popular consciousness that others, whose initial prospect was brighter, had miserably failed where he was required to succeed, though the hopes inspired by their early promise, their apparent chances of success, were immeasurably higher than in his case.

Of Gen. Grant's career as a commander, so much at least is beyond dispute: he did his best, and that proved sufficient. Repeatedly called from one high trust to another still higher, he proved equal to each and all of them, even the highest; and the steadfast, admiring, invincible faith and trust of President Lincoln were nobly justified by the grand result. Believing that the

Rebellion ought to be put square down, he did not parley nor trifle with it, nor seek to placate its envenomed spirit, but fought it resolutely, manfully, steadily, till its armies surrendered; when he showed himself as generous to the prostrate as he had been relentless to the defiant enemies of his and their country. Others have made more parade of magnanimity, but none have shown themselves more thoroughly pervaded by its spirit, than the conqueror of Appomattox.

It must ever be borne in mind that, up to the outbreak of the Rebellion, the life of Ulysses S. Grant had been mainly that of a civilian—that the terms of capitulation by him proposed and accorded to Lee evince not less statesmanship than generalship—and that his testimony regarding Reconstruction, &c., before a Committee of Congress, evinced a clearness and breadth of view touching the entire situation which at once surprised and delighted millions of his countrymen. The arduous military achievement which others vainly essayed he fully accomplished. The civil portion of the great work still remains incomplete. That a good Providence has assigned him a leading part in this also, and that he will nobly, beneficently perform it, is to-day the faith and trust of a large majority of the American People. That he will not disappoint their expectations nor blast their sanguine hopes, the following pages will abundantly indicate. H. G.

New York, April 10, 1868.

Edwin M. Stanton

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Gen. Ord

McPherson occupies the Crater made by the explosion. He will have guns in battery there by morning. He has been heard at work running rifle pits right and thinks he will hold all gained. Keep Smiths

division sleeping under arms to-night
ready for an emergency. Their arms
may be required particularly about
daylight to-morrow morning. There should
be the greatest vigilance on the
whole line.

U. S. Grant
Maj. Gen.

LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS

OF

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT.

CHAPTER I.

THE FAMILY AND BOYHOOD OF GENERAL GRANT.

The Grants Emigrate from Scotland.—Their Home in America.—The Removal to the Far West.—Residence in Ohio.—The Orphan Boy.—The Widow takes her Family to Maysville, Kentucky.—Jesse Marries.—The New Home.—Birth of Ulysses.—The Origin of his Name.—Anecdotes of the Boy.—Struggles to Secure an Education.—The Appointment to a Cadetship in the United States Military Academy at West Point.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT is of Scotch descent. More than a century ago, his ancestor came to the shores of America, then comparatively a wilderness, and settled in Pennsylvania; while a brother who emigrated with him went on to Canada.

By honest industry, our hardy pioneer supported his growing family upon his forest-girdled clearing, until the Revolutionary War called him to its field of strife. After bravely following the flag of the rising Republic, he returned with the dawn of peace to his home in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. Here Jesse R. Grant was born in January, 1794. Five years later, his father started for the more attractive lands in the far-off valley of the West. With few roads of any kind, it was an enterprise both difficult and perilous, to reach the savage wilds of the vast region watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries. Much of the journey was made in a rude boat down the river-tides —strange, wild sailing, between forest-bordered banks, in whose gloom, startled by the humble "craft," the graceful

deer and the noble bird broke the still-life of primeval nature. Not a State had been formed out of the immense territory which was called the Northwestern, whose boundaries on the one hand were the Alleghany, and on the other the Rocky Mountains. The French had claimed it under the name of Louisiana. A large portion of this rich country was the wide hunting-ground of the Indians.

In 1804, when the Reserve became partially settled, Mr. Grant removed to Deerfield. Here he died, leaving Jesse fatherless. To use his own words :—

"I was left a poor orphan boy at eleven years of age, with none to guide my way through the world. I saw that I was destined to get my living by the sweat of my brow, and that it was necessary to select some calling that promised to pay the best; so I learned the tanning business. I followed that until I was sixty, and then retired."

Thus did Jesse, from the earliest childhood inured to pioneer life, with God's blessing, carve his way alone, to an honorable position in society, and to wealth.

When the last war with England threw the country into excitement, and unsettled to some extent its business, the family removed to Maysville, Kentucky. In 1815, with the termination of hostilities, Jesse, returning to Portage County, Ohio, commenced the business of tanning in Ravenna. Fever and ague, once the scourge of the West, compelled young Grant to go South again in 1820. A few months later he returned to Ohio. This charming region had already attracted enterprising people from the colonies East. An interesting peculiarity in the climate is alluded to by early residents in their accounts of the country; and that is, the *cool* evenings. So much of the land was shaded by forests, that the ground did not get warm during the day; and soon as the sun dropped behind the green ocean of verdure, the air was quite as cold at midsummer there, as in our autumn here. This made the shining bosom of the wide rivers especially cheering to those whose humble dwellings stood on the banks. Among these, was the house of an immigrant from Pennsylvania, who came two years before. His daughter, Hannah Simpson, who was born only twenty-five miles from Philadel-

phia, in Montgomery County, a woman of character and prudent economy, won the heart of Jesse. In June, 1821, they were married. Their first home was at Point Pleasant, on the Ohio River, in Clermont County, Ohio. It is a beautiful spot, below the mouth of Indian Creek. Little Miami River separates Clermont County from Hamilton, whose principal town is Cincinnati, justly called the "Queen City" of the West.

In this new home by the Ohio, a son was born, April 27th, 1822. The humble dwelling is still standing. Writes the original owner: "It is a small one-story frame cottage. It was not worth more than two or three hundred dollars before the war. But every victory gained by the General, or a promotion, adds, in the owner's estimate, another hundred dollars to the price of the cottage." Strangers not unfrequently stop, on their way down the river, to see the recently unknown and unnoticed home.

We give the origin of our Western boy's name, in another extract from a letter received from his father:—

"The maternal grandmother was quite a reader of history, and had taken a great fancy to Ulysses, the great Grecian general, who defeated the Trojans by his strategy of the wooden horse. She wished the child named Ulysses. His grandfather wanted to have him named Hiram. So both were gratified by naming him Hiram Ulysses. When I wrote to Mr. Hamer, then a member of Congress from our district, to procure the appointment of cadet, he wrote to the War Department, and gave his name 'Ulysses S. Grant.' And we could not get it altered. Simpson was his mother's maiden name. We had a son named Simpson, and Mr. Hamer confounded the two names. We regarded it a matter of but little consequence, and so let it stand."

The absence of *fear* was always a characteristic of Ulysses. When two years of age, while Mr. Grant was carrying Ulysses in his arms on a public occasion through the village, a young man wished to try the effect of a pistol-report on the child. Mr. Grant consented, saying, "The child has never seen a pistol or gun in his life." The baby hand was put on the lock and pressed quietly

there till it snapped, and off went the charge with a loud report. Ulysses scarcely stirred; but in a moment pushed away the pistol, saying, "*Fick it again! fick it again!*" A by-stander remarked: "That boy will make a general; for he neither winked nor dodged." It is true, such acts in childhood, which attracted no particular attention at the time, are related of distinguished men, as very remarkable, after they have become famous. Still, children usually show talent or genius, if they possess it, for any high achievement in after-life.

At the village school, Ulysses was faithful and diligent. He made excellent progress; and, if not as brilliant as many others of his age, what is better, he was "slow and sure."

Though he gave no striking evidences of genius—neither did Washington in early life—there was a beautiful resemblance to the Revolutionary leader's boyhood, in a peculiarity well expressed by one who ought to know: "There was certainly a manly, dignified modesty in his deportment, which made him at least an uncommon lad."

He patiently committed to memory the dry, hard lessons, unwilling to give up when he came to a difficult question or problem. This was evidently the leading characteristic of the boy. It is related of him, that once he seemed to be fairly bewildered with his task; and a schoolmate, who saw his perplexity, said to him, "You can't master that."

Ulysses replied: "Can't! What does it *mean?*"

"Why, it means that—that you can't. *There!*"

This answer was not satisfactory. The young student thought he would find out the exact definition. He took the dictionary and began the search. He readily got to *can*, but there was no "*can't.*" As usual, when beyond his own knowledge, he went to his teacher, and inquired: "What is the meaning of can't? The word is not in the dictionary." The explanation of the abbreviation was soon given. But this was not all, nor the best of it. The affair afforded an opportunity to impress the great truth upon the minds of the school, that *perseverance* in well doing is the secret of success. Added the instructor: "If

BIRTHPLACE OF U. S. GRANT, POINT PLEASANT, CLERMONT COUNTY, OHIO.

in the struggles of life any person should assert that 'you can't' do a thing you had determined to accomplish, let your answer be, 'The word can't is not in the dictionary.'"

His father has given another amusing little incident:—

"I will relate another circumstance, which I have never mentioned before, which you may use as you think proper. He was always regarded as extremely apt in figures. When he was about ten years old, a distinguished phrenologist came along, and stayed several days in the place. He was frequently asked to examine heads, blindfolded. Among others, Ulysses was placed in the chair. The phrenologist felt his head for several minutes, without saying any thing; at length a distinguished doctor asked him if the boy had a capacity for mathematics. The phrenologist, after some further examinations, said: 'You need not be surprised if you see this boy fill the Presidential chair some time.'"

Ulysses early showed his Scotch blood—the substantial, strong qualities of character for which the well-trained families of Scotland are remarkable. No people are calmer in action and more reverent in religious feeling, or surpass them in intelligence and integrity. When twelve years of age, he gave a fine illustration of self-reliance and manliness, along with the ability to manage difficult undertakings, which have marked his whole career.

His father wanted several sticks of hewn timber brought from the forest. The boy had learned already to drive "the team," and liked nothing better than to take the reins. Mr. Grant told Ulysses that he might harness and go for the timber; men would be there with handspikes to assist in "loading up."

Soon Ulysses was on the way, whip and "lines" in hand.

When he reached the forest, no men were there: for some reason they had failed to appear.

The natural, and, indeed, proper course would have been to return, if, after waiting a reasonable time, the expected help did not come. But, accustomed to all sorts of labor, and inclined to take responsibility from which others

of his age would expect to be excused, he resolved not to go without the timber. How to get the heavy logs on the wagon was the serious question. Just then his eye rested on a tree fallen over, and leaning against another. This made the trunk an inclined plane, rising gradually upward from the ground. Ulysses saw at a glance how to make the horses do the work intended for the workmen with their handspikes. He hitched the team to each of the logs, and drew one at a time near the tree, and lying parallel with it; i. e., in the same direction, lengthwise. The next thing was to swing the end round upon the inclined plane, and slide it along, till the timbers were at right angles with it, and projecting over it far enough to admit the wagon under them. Then fastening the horses to these ends hanging over the back of the wagon, he dragged them in turn along into it; just as with your hand you could pull the "see-saw" board, with one extremity resting on the ground, over the fence or fulcrum supporting it, into a vehicle of any kind which stood beneath the end raised from the earth.

Having secured his load, the young teamster mounted it and drove homeward in triumph; again proving clearly that *can't* was not in *his* dictionary. When he reined up his team before the door of Mr. Grant, we can imagine the pleasing surprise with which he heard the story of Ulysses.

But the young woodman's prospects were not encouraging. His father's means were limited, and, excepting three months each winter in the common school, he had to assist in the work of the tannery and the home. Besides, books and newspapers for reading were very scarce.

At seventeen, Ulysses began to feel, as did his father, that decisive steps must be taken toward an education. It was often talked over at the fireside, and various plans suggested. The young man's taste for military life, the thorough instruction and economy of the Academy at West Point, suggested the possibility of getting an appointment there. The Congressmen usually controlled the selection of the candidates for admission in the several districts. Political influence and position necessarily have much to

do with the choice among the applicants. But Mr. Grant was hopeful. He wrote a letter to the Hon. Thomas Morris, member of the United States Senate from Ohio, requesting his influence in securing the coveted means of culture. But Mr. Morris was already pledged to another applicant, and informed Mr. Grant of the fact, with the further and cheering intelligence, that the Hon. Thomas L. Hamer, from his own district, had a similar gift at his disposal, the young man selected having failed to accept it. A correspondence was immediately opened between him and the anxious father, resulting in the appointment of Ulysses.

CHAPTER II.

YOUNG GRANT'S LIFE AND EXPERIENCE AT WEST POINT ACADEMY.

The Young Cadet leaves Home for the banks of the Hudson.—Passes the Examination.—The Situation of the Military Academy.—Course of Instruction.—Examinations.—Crimes and Penalties.—Restraints.—Order of Duties.—The Drill and Parade.—Encampment.—U. S. Grant's Experience in the Academy.

With the advent of the summer of 1839, the candidate for academic discipline and honors left his humble abode on the banks of the Ohio for the Highlands of the Hudson.

Reaching West Point, he addressed himself at once to the preparation for the severe and dreaded examination, scarcely taking leisure to look out upon the landscape, in impressive contrast with that along the rivers of the West.

A description of the remarkably attractive scenery, and some account of the Academy, where the military character of Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, and other less distinguished, but gallant and successful officers of the Union army was formed, cannot fail to interest the reader.

West Point is in the town of Cornwall, Orange County, New York, fifty-two miles from the great metropolis. Fort Putnam is more than four hundred feet higher, and looks down upon it. One beautiful plat of land is known as Kosciusko's Garden, in which stands the fine monument of this Polish refugee and patriot, who commanded the post at one time during the Revolution. Here a massive chain was stretched across the river, to keep the enemy's boats from passing.

The Academy was established by act of Congress, in 1780. There is, perhaps, no better general view of the region than that given by the Rev. Dr. Dwight, in 1778, afterward President of Yale College, and then *Chaplain* in the Revolutionary War, and stationed at West Point. This fact gives to the pen-picture additional value. The

"house deserted by its inhabitants" he refers to, was the "Beverly House," taken by the Government from Colonel Beverly Robinson, a Scotchman, because he joined the loyalists against the rising republic.

Wrote the excellent and distinguished Dwight:—

"Yesterday afternoon, in company with Major Humphreys, I went up to the summit of Sugar Loaf—a mountain near Colonel Robinson's house. We ascended it with some difficulty, from the steepness of the acclivity, and from the loose stones, which, frequently sliding from under our feet, exposed us to imminent hazard of falling. From the summit we were presented with an extensive and interesting prospect, comprising the objects which I have heretofore mentioned, and many others which I had never seen. The point of view was remarkably happy, the mountain being so situated as to bring within our reach the greatest number of objects in the surrounding region, and to exhibit them to the highest advantage. What is almost a singularity, there was not a cheerful object within our horizon. Every thing which we beheld was majestic, solemn, wild, and melancholy.

"The northern division of our prospect was almost entirely bounded by two great mountains, named Butter Hill and Breakneck; the former on the west, the latter on the east side of the Hudson. Both abut so directly upon the river, that their rude, lofty cliffs form a part of its banks. These mountains ascend at the distance of perhaps six miles from the spot where we surveyed them, and extend northward to the valley of Fishkill.

"From Breakneck stretches a range of inferior magnitude, at the distance of half a mile, one, and two miles from the Eastern shore of the Hudson, the ground between them and the river being generally level, and capable of cultivation. It contains a small number of other houses besides that of Colonel Robinson. Of this range Sugar-Loaf is the termination, its southern limit being the river.

"Still eastward of this range ascend others, terminating also on the Hudson. The southernmost which is in sight on the eastern side, and indeed the southernmost of the whole cluster, is Anthony's Nose, a noble bluff, whose

cliffs rise almost perpendicularly from the water's edge, to the height of perhaps fifteen hundred feet, with a sublimity which I believe is not often rivaled.

"On the western side runs a rude range of mountains, commencing at Butter Hill, and terminating, to the eye, at a point opposite to Anthony's Nose. The three loftiest summits in the range are the Crow's Nest—a fine, sharp cone, Bear Hill—and the Donderbarrak, or Thunder Hill. At the foot of these commences a plain, of no great breadth; if I may be permitted to call that a plain which, while it approaches generally toward a level surface, is undulating, rocky, and wild, throughout a great part of its extent. This tract reaches northward to West Point, and southward near to Anthony's Nose. Directly north, the Hudson, here a mile in breadth, and twice as wide higher up, is seen descending from a great distance, and making its way between the magnificent cliffs of the two great mountains, Butter Hill and Breakneck. The grandeur of this scene defies description. Through the opening here, called the Wey-Gat, or Wind-Gate, because the wind often blows through it with great violence, is visible the cultivated country at New Windsor, throughout a considerable extent. Beyond this, at the distance of about forty miles, rise the Catskill Mountains, whose blue summits were at this time lost in the clouds. In this reach of the river lies an island, to the eye a mere bird's nest; and near it were two boats, resembling in size those which children make of paper.

"South of these two mountains the river bends between West Point and Fort Constitution, and for a short space is invisible. Thence it becomes visible again, and continues in sight till the prospect is terminated by Anthony's Nose on the eastern, and Bear Hill on the western side.

"Directly opposite to us was a mill-stream, which, swollen at this time by the dissolving snows, poured a large sheet of foam, white as snow, over a high ledge of rocks into the Hudson. In other circumstances this object would have been beautiful; now it only enhanced the general solemnity and grandeur, by filling the neighboring region with a loud sound, resembling the distant roar of

the ocean. This sound was apparently echoed by the numerous torrents which were everywhere rushing down the mountains.

"Beneath us was a house, deserted by its inhabitants—a family possessed, a little while since, of all the enjoyments which this life can furnish; intelligent, refined, and amiable. It is deserted, not improbably to be seen by them no more. Whether the father acted wisely or unwisely, defensibly or indefensibly, I am not interested to inquire. Against the mother and the children, even prejudice can bring no allegation.

"Southward, at the distance of perhaps four miles, were the ruins of Fort Montgomery. Here more than one hundred of our countrymen became victims, a few months since, to the unprincipled claims of avarice and ambition. * * * Northward, at about the same distance, was West Point, where the same scenes of slaughter may not improbably be soon acted over again.

"It is a remarkable fact, that the Hudson should have found so fine and safe a bed in a country so rough, and between banks so often formed of mountains or high hills, and to so great an extent abutting upon it in precipices of a stupendous hight. Yet even through the Highlands its navigation is perfectly uninterrupted. * * * There is a grandeur in the passage of this river through the Highlands, unrivaled by any thing of the same nature within my knowledge. At its entrance particularly, and its exit, the mountains ascend with stupendous precipices immediately from the margin of its waters, appearing as if the chasm between them had been produced by the irresistible force of this mighty current, and the intervening barrier, at each place, had been broken down, and finally carried away into the ocean. These cliffs hang over the river, especially at its exit from the mountains, with a wild and awful sublimity, suited to the grandeur of the river itself; which, speedily after it escapes from these barriers, expands its current to the breadth of three miles, and soon after to that of four, and pours a vast stream two miles wide, and sufficiently deep to waft a seventy-four gun ship, until it is lost in the Bay of New York."

A good common-school education is required for admission to the Academy, with physical soundness, the age to be not less than sixteen years nor over twenty-one, and the proper *hight* is five feet or *more*. Each cadet signs an agreement to serve eight years in the army of the United States, and obey all the rules of the institution.

The course of instruction, which occupies four years, embraces military tactics, natural sciences, mathematics, French, history and other English studies, and drawing; to the latter of which great attention is paid. The oldest class is called *the first*, the next *the second*, and so on.

The commencement is on the 1st of July. During this and the following month the cadets have the encampment, of which you will have a glimpse from one of their number. The daily allowance of time for study is not less than nine, nor more than ten hours.

The annual examination of classes commences on the first Monday in June, before an Academic Board, which consists of the Superintendent and professors, with a Board of Visitors appointed by the Secretary of War. A careful record of every recitation is kept, and in the Annual Register is published a conduct-roll—a complete statement of the violations of rules.

There are seven grades of crime, whose mark of demerit is from 1 to 10. To give an illustration: Absence from reveille roll-call is 3; bringing ardent spirits into barracks, 8. When the number of demerits in a year exceeds two hundred, the cadet is recommended to the War Department for expulsion from the Academy.

The cadets are allowed but one absence during the four years' course, usually at the end of the second year, and during July and August. But only a quarter of the whole number can go at any one time, and none whose demerit is over one hundred and fifty for the preceding twelve months.

The dress, which is gray, is a coatee, white drilling pants, white gloves, and black dress cap.

The punishments for misconduct are of three kinds: Privation of recreation, extra tours of guard duty, reprimands, or confinement to room or tent; confinement in

light or dark prison; and dismission with the privilege of resigning, or public dismission.

The superintendent can inflict the first variety of punishment, and a court-martial the second. Disobedience and disrespect toward officers and instructors expose the offender to expulsion.

Card-playing and the use of intoxicating drinks are forbidden. The cadets are not allowed to pass over the road surrounding the plain of West Point (including the sidewalk), without special permission. On Saturday afternoons, and during the encampment on other days, leave can be obtained to walk upon certain parts of the public lands, including Mount Independence and Crow's Nest.

No cadet can visit any family, except on Saturday afternoon, without a written invitation and the special permission of the superintendent, or go to the hotel without a written permit, specifying the time of the visit, and the name of the person on whom he may wish to call. No cadet can enter any room or hall of the hotel except the hall and drawing-rooms of the first story, or, when there, take dinner or any other meal.

The cadets are allowed twenty-eight dollars a month each; of which sum about one-half is required for board, and the remainder is credited to him, or may be expended for clothing, books, and furniture; two dollars of the amount are reserved for a fund to defray the expenses of uniform, when the graduated cadet is promoted. In four years there accumulates a purse of one hundred dollars—sufficient to give the young officer a handsome "fitting out" for the field.

In the summer-time there is daily drill, excepting Saturdays, after 4 P. M., and a dress parade at sunset, and parade and inspection every Sunday morning before church. The cadets are *firemen* also, drilled to the use of engines, and called out when the alarm of fire is sounded.

The following is the order of business:—

Reveille at 5 A. M. in summer and 6 in winter. Roll-call immediately after. Then cleaning arms and accouter-

ments. Inspection of rooms thirty minutes after roll-call. This is followed by study of the lessons to be recited during the morning.

At 7 A. M. the signal for breakfast is given. "*Troop*" and guard-mounting at half-past 7. Morning parade at 8 (in camp).

From 8 A. M. to 1 P. M., recitation and study.

Dinner at 1. Recreation until 2.

From 2 to 4 P. M., recitation, or study, or drawing. After 4, military exercises for an hour or longer, and recreation. At sunset, evening parade. Supper immediately after. Call to quarters thirty minutes after supper. From that time till half-past 9, study. "*Tattoo*," a preparatory signal, at half-past 9. Lights extinguished and inspection of rooms at the signal "*Taps*," at 10 P. M.

As the studies are not pursued during the encampment, the hours allotted to recitations and study are then devoted to recreation or military drill, and the evenings to merry-making in the dancing parties and in other amusements.

The arrangements are such that, besides numerous inspections by the army "officer in charge," and the cadet "officer of the day," there are at least four roll-calls daily.

The same systematic order prevails throughout every thing that is done. The different sections march in silence to and from their recitations, under the charge of the best of their number as squad marcher. The companies also march to the mess-hall, "with slow and solemn tread," and there take their seats in regular order, preserving a constant silence.

The morning parade, at 8 A. M., during the encampment only, is followed by the ceremony of guard-mounting, and is like the evening parade, except the firing of the cannon.

With a diploma in hand, the cadet is ready for promotion, beginning second lieutenant; or, if there be no vacancy, brevet second lieutenant—a complimentary position till a regular appointment can be made.

In reply to an inquiry respecting the story which had

been current in the periodical press, that he had a personal encounter with an officer of the cadets, Mr. Jesse R Grant wrote the following:—

"The story about his 'flogging' the captain is untrue. He is said to have never had a personal controversy in his life. The nearest approach to it was with General H——, at the siege of Corinth. He says he desired moving on the enemy's works ten days before General H—— was ready, and saw that, by delay, they would lose the chance of bagging the rebel army, then completely in their power. He is sure he used stronger language to General H—— than he had ever used before to any person, and expected to be arrested and tried. But the General said to him: 'If I had let you take your own course, you would have taken the rebel army. Hereafter I will not dictate to you about the management of an army.' It was a common remark among the boys, when Ulysses got his appointment, that 'Lis' would make a good cadet in every respect but one; that was, if he ever was engaged in war, he was too good-natured to be kicked into a fight. In addition to freedom from personal controversy, it is believed he never used a profane word, nor told a deliberate falsehood—at least, under the parental roof. He was brought up in a Methodist family."

In his habits he was simply a quiet, reserved, and studious youth, marked with that decision which has given harmony and power to all the other high qualities of character. He was not conspicuous for intense application to study, nor was he an idler; and his medium rank in the graduating class indicated that unrecognized greatness, by himself and others, not a rare fact in the history of distinguished men. Indeed, it is well known that brilliant promise in academic experience, oftener than otherwise, fades in the life of manhood, as if nature exhausted her resources by the premature activity of the brain. Our Washington and Lincoln are examples of a growth in intellectual and moral stature so gradual, that no prophet of their pre-eminence announced the future destiny in early history.

CHAPTER III.

GRANT'S CLASSMATES.—HIS SERVICE IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

Cadet Grant's Classmates and Companions.—He is created Lieutenant.—Goes to St. Louis to Guard the Frontier.—The Indian Depredations and their Wrongs.—The comparative Monotony of the Regular Service in time of Peace broken.—The War with Mexico.—The Lieutenant's First Engagement.—Marches.—Palo Alto.—Resaca de la Palma.—Vera Cruz.—Molino del Rey.—Chapultepec.—Testimony to Grant's Bravery.—Close of the War.—Leaves the Army for Business in St. Louis.

THE school companions of great men are very often mixed up with their after-life, and this statement is the more applicable to the West Point cadets who graduate in the same class. And it may be a matter of interest to the reader to know who were General Grant's fellow-graduates, and what their relative positions were subsequently, in the civil war.

The cadet who graduated first in the class was William Benjamin Franklin, who entered the Topographical Engineer Corps; and, having passed through a series of adventures under various commanders, was, at the beginning of 1864, the general commanding the Nineteenth Army Corps, in the Department of the Gulf, under General Banks.

The names of the next three graduates do not now appear in the Army List of the United States.

William F. Raynolds graduated fifth in his class, entered the infantry service, and was appointed an aid on the staff of General Fremont, commanding the Mountain Department, with the rank of colonel, from the 31st day of March, 1862.

The next graduate was Isaac F. Quinby. He had entered the artillery service, and had been professor at West Point, but had retired to civil life. The Rebellion, however, brought him from his retirement, and he went to the field at the head of a regiment of New York volunteers.

He afterward became a brigadier-general in the Army of the Potomac.

Roswell S. Ripley, the author of "The War with Mexico," graduated seventh; but his name does not now appear in the official Army Register of the United States, as he had attached himself to the rebel cause.

The next graduate was John James Peck, who entered the artillery service, and was, on January 1, 1864, the commander of the district of and army in North Carolina, which then formed a portion of General Butler's Department.

John P. Johnstone, the daring artillery lieutenant who fell gallantly at Contreras, Mexico, was the next graduate.

General Joseph Jones Reynolds was the next in grade. This officer had gained great credit while in the army, as a professor of sciences; but had resigned some time when the Rebellion broke out. He was, however, in 1861, again brought forward as a general of three months volunteers, under General McClellan, in Western Virginia; was afterward commissioned by the President; and latterly became attached to the Army of the Cumberland. He served on the staff of the general commanding that army, with the rank of major-general, until General Grant assumed command of the military division embracing the Departments of Ohio, Tennessee, and Cumberland, when he was transferred to New Orleans.

The eleventh graduate was James Allen Hardie, who, during the war of the Rebellion, became an assistant adjutant-general of the Army of the Potomac, with the rank of colonel.

Henry F. Clarke graduated twelfth, entered the artillery service, gained brevets in Mexico, and became chief commissary of the Army of the Potomac, during the war of the Rebellion, with the rank of colonel.

Lieutenant Booker, the next in grade, died while in service at San Antonio, Texas, on June 26, 1849.

The fourteenth graduate might have been a prominent officer of the U. S. army, had he not deserted the cause of his country, and attached himself to the rebels. He had

not even the excuse of "going with his State," for he was a native of New Jersey, and was appointed to the army from that State. His name is Samuel G. French, major-general of the rebel army.

The next graduate was Lieutenant Theodore L. Chadbourne, who was killed in the battle of Resaca de la Palma, on May 9, 1846, after distinguishing himself for his bravery at the head of his command.

Christopher Colon Augur, one of the commanders of the Department of Washington, and major-general of volunteers, was the next in grade.

We now come to another renegade. Franklin Gardner, a native of New York, and an appointee from the State of Iowa, graduated seventeenth in General Grant's class. At the time of the Rebellion he deserted the cause of the United States and joined the rebels. He was disgracefully dropped from the rolls of the U. S. army, on May 7, 1861, became a major-general in the rebel service, and had to surrender his garrison at Port Hudson, July 9, 1863, through the reduction of Vicksburg by his junior graduate, U. S. Grant.

Lieutenant George Stevens, who was drowned in the passage of the Rio Grande, May 18, 1846, was the next graduate.

The nineteenth graduate was Edward B. Holloway, of Kentucky, who obtained a brevet at Contreras, and was a captain of infantry in the U. S. regular army at the commencement of the Rebellion. Although his State remained in the Union, he threw up his commission on May 14, 1861, and joined the rebels.

The graduate that immediately preceded General Grant was Lieutenant Lewis Neill, who died on January 13, 1850, while in service at Fort Croghan, Texas.

Joseph H. Potter, of New Hampshire, graduated next after the hero of Vicksburg. During the war of the Rebellion he became a colonel of volunteers, retaining his rank as captain in the regular army.

Lieutenant Robert Hazlitt, who was killed in the storming of Monterey, September 21, 1846, and Lieutenant Edwin Howe, who died while in service at Fort

Leavenworth, March 31, 1850, were the next two graduates.

Lafayette Boyer Wood, of Virginia, was the twenty-fifth graduate. He is no longer connected with the service, having resigned several years before the Rebellion.

The next graduate was Charles S. Hamilton, who for some time commanded, as major-general of volunteers, a district under General Grant, who at that time was chief of the Department of the Tennessee.

Captain Wm. K. Van Bokkelen, of New York, who was cashiered for rebel proclivities, on May 8, 1861, was the next graduate, and was followed by Alfred St. Amand Crozet, of New York, who had resigned the service several years before the breaking out of the civil war, and Lieutenant Charles E. James, who died at Sonoma, California, on June 8, 1849.

The thirtieth graduate was the gallant General Frederick Steele, who participated in the Vicksburg and Mississippi campaigns, as division and corps commander under General Grant, and afterward commanded the Army of Arkansas.

The next graduate was Captain Henry R. Seldon, of Vermont, and of the Fifth U. S. Infantry.

General Rufus Ingalls, quartermaster-general of the Army of the Potomac, graduated No. 32, and entered the mounted rifle regiment, but was found more valuable in the Quartermaster's Department, in which he held the rank of major from January 12, 1862, with a local rank of brigadier-general of volunteers, from May 23, 1863.

Major Frederick T. Dent, of the Fourth U. S. Infantry, and Major J. C. McFerran, of the Quartermaster's Department, were the next two graduates.

The thirty-fifth graduate was General Henry Moses Judah, who commanded a division of the Twenty-third Army Corps during its operations after the rebel cavalry general, John H. Morgan, and in East Tennessee, during the fall of 1863.

The remaining four graduates were Norman Elting, who resigned the service October 29, 1846; Cave J. Couts, who was a member of the State Constitutional Convention

of California during the year 1839; Charles G. Merchant, of New York; and George C. McClelland, of Pennsylvania, no one of whom is now connected with the United States service.

It is very interesting to look over the above list, and see how the twenty-first graduate has outstripped all his seniors in grade, showing plainly that true talent will ultimately make its way, no matter how modest the possessor may be, and notwithstanding all the opposition that may be placed in its way by others. It will be seen that General Grant now commands a larger force and a greater extent of country than all his thirty-eight classmates put together, and has risen higher in the military scale than any in his class, notwithstanding the fact that he did not seem to possess the same amount of apparent dashing ability.

His pertinacity of character—his stubborn perseverance, even in the midst of disappointments, which overcame adverse circumstances—has characterized the whole of his life, both civil and military.

Four long years of study and drill had passed, and the educated young man looked out upon a life of service and honor. The army of the United States was scattered through the land, doing little besides occupying forts as garrisons, guarding the frontier wherever threatened by troublesome Indians, and superintending the opening of military roads through the wilderness. Vacancies in command did not often occur, and the new graduates must be content with the honorary titles of command. Grant was, therefore, breveted second-lieutenant of the Fourth Regular Infantry, July 1, 1843, the day succeeding his graduation, performing the duties of a private soldier. He joined his regiment, stationed at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, and with it went on the occasional expeditions into the wild country lying back of the settlements scattered along the great rivers, to protect the defenseless inhabitants from the incursions of their savage neighbors. The succeeding spring he was removed with his regiment up the Red River, in Louisiana.

While in this part of the West, Lieutenant Grant

assisted his military companions in superintending the opening up of the country, as well as in maintaining the peace and safety of those who had settled and were settling in that region.

How much of blood and treasure has been lavished on our Indian borders! Nor is the hatred of the aborigines toward the white man strange to one who knows the history of robbery, treaty-breaking, and manifold abuses to which they have been subjected. And here we must add a part of an eloquent address from Bishop Whipple, of the West, in the hall of the University of Philadelphia, when a delegation of Sioux sat by his side on the platform. All hearts were thrilled by the strong, Christian, yet indignant appeal of the bishop. He said :

"There were periods in every man's history, when events operating upon his mind would give him a deeper sense of God's providence. The wrongs of the red men are forming a bitter portion of the cup of anguish that God is holding to the lips of this nation. Day by day, these men redeemed by the blood of Christ are sinking into graves dug by the white men. To hold out words of cheer, and to extend acts of comfort to these hapless, unfortunate people, constitute a mission of divinest mercy. To teach these men religion, with its blessings and its glories, has been, and is now, the task of the ministry of Christ. There are strange facts connected with the Indian country. The North American Indian is the only heathen on the face of the earth who is not an idolator. They always recognize with reverence the name and power of the Great Spirit.

"The testimony of every man who ever knew the nature of the Indians before they were brought into relation with the Government, is that the red men never dealt in double-dealing. General Sibley, who for a long time was the frontier agent, says he never locked his house at night, and that at times when he had twenty thousand dollars in silver in his house, he had often come down stairs and found twelve or fifteen Indians grouped in the lower rooms. Yet never was his house violated, and never was a theft committed. The Maiden Feast, a festival

among the Indians, is held yearly, and no girl can escape the condemnation of her tribe unless her life has been one of unsullied virtue. And every maiden in the Indian tribes of the northwest, away from the border where the white men teach the red men vice and crime, is required to attend this feast, and if her character is stained or impure, the condemnation of the whole tribe is visited upon her.

"The English Government has never expended a dollar in Indian wars; has never lost a man by Indian massacres. No better men submit to English rule than the red men of the Hudson Bay region and along the St. Lawrence. Our own dealings with the Indians have been a mixture of robberies and mistakes. American slavery never held to the lips of the black men the wrongs and bitterness that the treatment of the red men has held to their lips. The utmost wrong has been done the Indians by the treaties made with them. In the interpretation which is carried on, the misrepresentations and misstatements which are made deprive the tribes of all their rights. If this false interpretation fails, the greatest bribery is resorted to; and if an Indian is killed, if he is openly murdered in the streets of a western city, there is no redress to the Indians. While they are non-citizens of the country, no more notice is taken of the dead man than there would be if one swine had killed another.

"Our Government recognizes all the bad claims which are made against the Indians. The Winnebagoes were lately removed from Minnesota. The reason urged was that the people were in terror. The fact is that the Sioux sent a delegation to the Winnebagoes, inviting them to join in the massacre, and so firm was their friendship for the whites that the messengers were murdered on the spot. But the Winnebagoes occupied the most beautiful part of Minnesota, and they were removed. Out of the twenty-two hundred who were taken away, six hundred have already died, and the rest must inevitably perish. They have no rights and no redress, unless they resort to the requital of the savage, and avenge the insult by the blood of the injured race. A woman of unquestioned chastity

was killed within a rod of the speaker's mission-house, and when the agent was appealed to, he shrugged his shoulders and said he had nothing to do with it. She died, the victim of violence; but she was an Indian, and no notice was taken of it.

"The Indians, whenever appealed to, gladly receive the religion of Jesus; and the converted red men, at the risk of their lives, protected the whites in the recent war. The chief of one of the civilized tribes delivered two hundred white captives to Governor Sibley. The Sioux treaty was framed in fraud and deception. The chiefs were deceived in reference to its provisions, and when they refused to sign it, immense sums of money were expended to bribe the chieftains to sign it; and after they received the money, they were intoxicated, and the money stolen from their blankets. The treaty stipulated for the payment of large sums of money to the Sioux, reserving only seventy thousand dollars to pay the honest debts of the Indians. These honest debts were the claims of dishonest and rapacious traders; and yet, four years after the treaty, no money had been paid to the Indians. The withholding of this annuity-money led to the fearful massacre on the border that followed. And after the massacre, the incidents are on record, and can be proved, that Indians who never saw a white man during the massacre were hung, and Indians who were acquitted were hung before their release could be effected. There is no justice for the red man, from the time he meets the white man until he sinks into the grave.

"The Christian Indians had, at the time of the massacre, land producing crops valued at one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. Now they not only have had these all destroyed, but they have been removed to the Upper Missouri and surrounded by hostile Indians, and where the soil is too poor for cultivation, and where the habits of their civilized life have unfitted them for the hunting of the buffalo and subsistence by the fruits of the chase."

And we have heard the *white*, refined, and devout chief of the Cherokees, John Ross, relate by the hour the cruel

outrages of those who have compelled his tribe to leave the lands which had been ceded them, and the graves of their fathers. See how Georgia, whose soil was not only wet with the sweat and blood of slave-toil, but which was pre-eminent in the abuse of the red race, has been swept by the fires of war, and her fairest gardens laid waste by its iron hoofs and wheels.

Months wore away, with little to lend excitement or interest to frontier-life. During their slow and monotonous flight, a cloud of war had risen upon the Southern sky. The United States and Mexico had engaged in angry dispute respecting the boundary-line of Texas, which had recently become a State, she claiming more territory than Mexico would allow her to take. It was apparent that the Government of the United States was not deeply anxious to have the quarrel settled on righteous principles. Southern interests and feeling, which at length culminated in the civil war, led ambitious politicians to urge the claims of Texas. Mexico refused to yield to the demands of the United States. At this crisis of affairs, Lieutenant Grant was ordered, with his regiment, into Texas, to join the army of General Taylor, who had been appointed to the command of the United States troops then concentrating in that republic. This army occupation was made during the year 1845. The Mexicans and Americans had for some time held an imaginary line of boundary within what is now known as the State of Texas. As all imaginary lines become more or less subjects of dispute, it was quite natural that two armies of distinct races, and with great personal animosities daily arising, should at last find, or imagine they had found, the other overstepping its proper limits, and, as a natural sequel, quarrels would take place, supposed wrongs would have to be revenged, and bloodshed would be the ultimate result. Such was certainly the origin of the actual hostilities which ripened into the American war with Mexico.

Corpus Christi, an important port on the Texan shore, in Neuces County, was soon taken possession of by the Americans as a base of operations, and Grant was stationed at this place when he received his commission as

full second-lieutenant of infantry. This commission was dated from the 30th day of September, 1845, and was made out for a vacancy in the Seventh Regiment of United States Regular Infantry. He had, however, become so attached to the members of the Fourth Regiment, that a request was sent to Washington to allow him to be retained with that force; and in the following November a commission was handed to him, appointing him a full second-lieutenant in the Fourth Regiment of United States Regular Infantry.

Some time before the declaration by Congress of a war with Mexico, the struggle commenced in Texas. The primary cause of the actual commencement of hostilities was a trifle; but the spark was no sooner applied than the conflagration began to make its rapid way, drawing the whole within its fearful grasp. Several petty struggles ensued, until at last General Taylor learned that an immense force of Mexicans was marching with the intention of crossing the Rio Grande into Texas, to drive the Americans from that region of territory. Promptly General Taylor moved; but, in the meantime, Fort Brown, on the Texas shore of the Rio Grande, was besieged. The gallant American garrison defended the position with great bravery; but, unless relief could have been sent them, it must have fallen. To relieve the besieged was General Taylor's duty; and, under his command, Lieutenant Grant marched to his first battle-ground. The youthful officer came out of this fight with a growing reputation for heroic valor.

When the forces left the head-quarters opposite Matamoras, whose guns were pointed toward our earthworks, the bells rang merrily—the people supposing the American troops were evacuating their position. The case was far otherwise, to the joy of Lieutenant Grant. The blooming, glorious spring of the South was inspiring; the grand old mountains in the distance were sublimely suggestive; but he felt, with a quiet enthusiasm peculiar to his nature, more deeply still the stirring prospect of his first battle on the plains of national conflict. It is painful to recollect that Generals Lee and Beauregard, of the rebel army,

were among the most patriotic and able officers in the opening war. A glance at the map will show that Point Isabel, Palo Alto, and Resaca de la Palma, lie on the Rio Grande, which separates Texas from Mexico, between the Gulf and Fort Brown. The army were marching on this line of towns toward the fort, when they met the Mexicans at Palo Alto, on the 8th of May, 1846. The engagement was sharp and bloody. Lieutenant Grant fought gallantly, winning the admiring notice of superior officers. With his characteristic modesty, the young lieutenant kept himself in the background, while his seniors gained the reward.

The next day the battle opened again at Resaca de la Palma, with fatal fury. The Mexican ranks were thinned, and reeled before our fire, leaving the field strewn with the slain, but under the "Stars and Stripes." The victorious battalions advanced up the Rio Grande, clearing the Texan frontier of the Mexicans—the lieutenant sharing the hardships and perils with the delight of a warrior who became one from taste and deliberate choice. The army then swept down the river into the enemy's country, toward Monterey, a strongly fortified position. A terribly severe but successful engagement resulted in the surrender of the place. Lieutenant Grant, in the desperate contest, was fearless and courageous in the cheerful, faithful discharge of duty.

Fort Brown was relieved, and the Mexicans felt the weight of its metal as they, in disorder, rushed across the Rio Grande in full retreat from the battle so bravely fought and won by General Taylor, on May 9th, 1846.

The American army then advanced to and up the Rio Grande, and Texas was relieved from the jurisdiction of the Mexicans. Lieutenant Grant also participated in the subsequent brilliant operations of General Taylor along the banks of that historic stream, and advanced into the Mexican territory, at a point over a hundred miles above the mouth of the river, in the Republic of New Leon.

On the 23d of September, 1846, Lieutenant Grant took part in the splendid operation of General Taylor against Monterey, which place the Mexicans had strongly forti-

fied. In these works were posted a far superior force of Mexicans; but General Taylor was determined to drive them out of their intrenchments, and succeeded.

The American campaign in Mexico was now about to assume a different phase of character. War had been regularly declared, and a systematized plan of attack was made out. The advance by the northern route was to be made secondary to the grand movement by way of Vera Cruz; and the army and navy, as in the present war, were both to be brought into active use.

The time had come for a great and decisive struggle for victory and peace. The magnificent Mexican capital was to be the goal of the augmented forces under the command of General Scott, who was at the head of the United States army. His fleet came up the bay, March 9, 1847, bringing twelve thousand troops, with streamers flying and bands playing. It was a splendid sight. He landed the men safely at Sacrificios, three miles from Vera Cruz, rolling high with crested breakers on the beach.

It was observed by his commanding officers, that Lieutenant Grant possessed talents more than ordinary, and during the early part of April, when the army was preparing to advance into the interior of the Mexican country, Lieutenant Grant was appointed the quartermaster of his regiment, a post both honorable and of vital importance to an army in a strange country—the home of an enemy. With this position he participated in the whole of the remainder of the Mexican campaign, to the occupation, by the United States forces, of the capital.

His position in the army did not, of necessity, call upon him to enter into the actual strife; but, at the same time, his nature would not allow of his keeping out of it, when he found that his services were needed in the field. At the battle of Molino del Rey, on the 8th of September, 1847, he behaved with such distinguished gallantry and merit, that he was appointed on the field a first-lieutenant, to date from the day of that battle. Congress afterward wished to confirm the appointment

as a mere brevet, but Grant declined to accept it under such circumstances.

Five days later, Chapultepec, a frowning, formidable stronghold, was stormed. Up to the battlements, raining destruction upon the assailants, the ranks of brave men sternly moved. None among them all was more daring and gallant than Grant. We will furnish the interesting proof of his splendid conduct, from the official reports of the officers of the day. Captain Brooks, of the Second Artillery, writes:—

"I succeeded in reaching the fort with a few men. Here Lieutenant U. S. Grant, and a few more men of the Fourth Infantry, found me, and, by a joint movement, after an obstinate resistance, a strong field-work was carried, and the enemy's right was completely turned."

Major Lee, in his report, says of the young soldier's conduct at Chapultepec:—

"At the first barrier the enemy was in strong force, which rendered it necessary to advance with caution. This was done; and when the head of the battalion was within short musket-range of the barrier, Lieutenant Grant, Fourth Infantry, and Captain Brooks, Second Artillery, with a few men of their respective regiments, by a handsome movement to the left, turned the right flank of the enemy, and the barrier was carried. Lieutenant Grant behaved with distinguished gallantry on the 13th and 14th."

The rising commander thus early learned the art of outflanking the enemy—displaying a cool, unyielding valor, rather than a dashing and ambitious warfare.

Colonel Garland, of the First Brigade, speaks very highly of Grant in the same action:—

"The rear of the enemy had made a stand behind a breastwork, from which they were driven by detachments of the Second Artillery, under Captain Brooks, and the Fourth Infantry, under Lieutenant Grant, supported by other regiments of the division, after a short, sharp conflict. I recognized the command as it came up, mounted a howitzer on the top of a convent, which, under the

direction of Lieutenant Grant, quartermaster of the Fourth Infantry, and Lieutenant Lendrum, Third Artillery, annoyed the enemy considerably. I must not omit to call attention to Lieutenant Grant, who acquitted himself most nobly upon several occasions under my observation."

There was an additional evidence of the hero's steady progress in the career of fame. He was brevetted captain in the United States army, his rank to date from the great battle of Chapultepec, September 13th, 1847.

When, not long after, the victorious army entered Mexico, the splendid capital, Grant participated in the magnificent parade, and enjoyed the glory of the final achievement, to which all previous battles had been opening the way. Lieutenant Grant was in fourteen battles.

The treaty of peace was signed in February, 1848, on the 22d of which, the noble and venerable J. Q. Adams was struck down in death on the floor of the Capitol, exclaiming, at the close of a long and blameless life of usefulness, "This is the last of earth!" On July 4th, President Polk issued the formal proclamation of peace between the United States and Mexico. A large extent of territory was ceded to us, and we paid, on our part, several millions of dollars to the Mexican government. The war cost us twenty-five thousand men, and seventy-five millions of dollars.

The disbanded army was again distributed among the forts in the States, and along the frontier. The hero of Chapultepec now made a new conquest. He won the hand of a Miss Dent, a sensible and excellent young lady, near St. Louis, Missouri, and was married in August of that year. His military home was first at Detroit, Michigan, and then at Sackett's Harbor, a post on Lake Ontario, in Northern New York. There was little to do in time of peace in these quiet barracks near a small and pleasant village. He is remembered by the people in Watertown, a handsome place several miles distant, as having a passion for playing chess, and played with great skill, but found among his opponents one who was his superior, and who used to win the first games of a sitting with ease. But Grant was never content to remain

beaten, and would insist on his opponent playing until he got the better of him in the end by "tiring him out," and winning at chess, as at war, by his superior endurance.

At this time, many of the settlers on the plains of California were without law and order. It becoming necessary to send a military force to restrain their passions, and prevent Indian depredations and massacres, the Fourth Infantry were selected to visit the Pacific coast. Lieutenant Grant went with a portion of it to Oregon. This wild and romantic life was very similar to that in the South, soon after he left West Point. The solitary marches in the grand old woods, the ancient rocks and rivers, with perils from the savages, had attractions for the young and adventurous spirit. While here, his regular commission as captain in the infantry came—another step in the career of honor.

After two years' service in the far and almost uninhabited West, Captain Grant saw so little prospect of activity and promotion, that he resigned his place in the army, and returned to his family near the city of St. Louis, to try his fortune in civil life.

It was a new and trying crisis in his history. Without fortune, and accustomed to military activity only, it was no ordinary struggle to make a fresh beginning in the struggle for an honorable livelihood, to a nature like his own, above the low rates of speculation and the legalized frauds of trade.

CHAPTER IV.

GRANT ON THE FARM—IN THE STORE—AND IN THE REBELLION.

Captain Grant turns his Attention to Agriculture.—Tries the Office of Collector.—The Business unsuited to his Taste.—Removes to Illinois to Engage in the Leather Trade.—The Rebellion Arouses his Patriotic and Martial Spirit.—Tenders his Services to the State.—First Work.—Is created Colonel.—Successful Command.—Is commissioned Brigadier-General.—Ordered to Missouri.—Amusing Incident.—In Command of the Port at Cairo.—Action at Fredericktown.—Belmont.—Touching Scenes after Battle.—General Hunter succeeds General Fremont.

Captain Grant occupied a little farm to the southwest of St. Louis, whence he was in the habit of cutting the wood, drawing it to Carondelet, and selling it in the market there. Many of his wood-purchasers are now calling to mind that they had a cord of wood delivered in person by the great General Grant. When he came into the wood-market he was usually dressed in an old felt hat, with a blouse coat, and his pants tucked in the tops of his boots. In truth, he bore the appearance of a sturdy, honest woodman. This was his winter's work. In the summer he turned a collector of debts; but for this he was not qualified. He had a noble and truthful soul; so when he was told that the debtor had no money, he believed him, and would not trouble the debtor again. He was honest, truthful, indefatigable—always at work at something; but did not possess the knack of making money. Honorable in all public and private relations, he commanded the respect of the people with whom he associated; while personally his habits were plain, inexpensive, and simple.

It soon became clear to the Captain that he was not made for a tax-gatherer, nor likely to have great success on the farm.

In August, 1859, he applied to the Commissioners of

St. Louis County, Missouri, for the office of engineer. The paper was signed by General Joseph J. Reynolds and several other prominent citizens, who have since figured in the war, both North and South. The Commissioners failed to see material in the taciturn ex-captain for civil engineer of the county, or were pledged to some political favorite, and rejected the application. Providentially, a better opening for business now presented itself to his persevering spirit.

During 1859, Grant entered into partnership with his father, in the leather trade, and opened business in the city of Galena, Jo Daviess County, Illinois. This city is located on the Fevre River, about six miles above the point where it falls into the Mississippi, of which it is properly an arm. The city is built upon a bluff, with the streets rising one above the other, and communicating by means of flights of steps. Large portions of the States of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota are tributary to this town, and consequently it is a place of considerable trade.

The house of Grant & Son soon became a very prosperous concern, and, at the time of the outbreak of the rebellion, presented one of the best business prospects of any house in Galena. The younger Grant devoted himself to his business, and, after a short time, the recommendation of a piece of leather by the firm of Grant & Son was a sure guarantee of its good quality.

It seemed that the retired Captain had at last settled down to a profitable and permanent business, promising him the rich reward of commercial industry and integrity.

In the autumn of 1860, a lawyer of the same State, equally upright and patriotic, was called to the highest position of honor and responsibility in the nation's gift.

The election of Abraham Lincoln fired the long cherished hate of the South to the working North, and ripened into action the sleepless purpose of politicians, to defend and extend American slavery at the cost of the Union.

Then came the thunder of hostile cannon pointed at the Star of the West, bearing supplies for the garrison of Fort Sumter, quickly followed by the storm of shot and shell upon the fortress itself.

This declaration of war by the seceding States, at whose head was fiery South Carolina, went over the land with mournful and awakening effect. The pleasant dream of security, amid the aggressions and threats of the slaveholders, vanished suddenly and forever.

The call of the President for seventy-five thousand men, to meet the uprising rebellion, reached Galena. Captain Grant entered his store one morning, to read the telegram of Sumter's fall. Walking round the counter on which lay his coat, he drew it on, remarking: "Uncle Sam educated me for the army, and, although I have served faithfully through one war, I feel that I am still a little in debt for my education, and I am ready and willing to discharge the obligation." He then said: "I am for the war, to put down this wicked rebellion."

With this spirit of self-sacrifice and high resolve, the merchant abandoned his store, and went into the street, consulted with some of his fellow-citizens, and soon raised a company of volunteers. With these he marched to Springfield, and tendered their services to Governor Yates. The patriotic Executive of Illinois has since given a very interesting account of the Captain's entrance upon the arena of national conflict, in his message to the Legislature of 1863:—

"In April, 1861, he tendered his personal services to me, saying, that he 'had been the recipient of a military education at West Point, and that now, when the country was involved in a war for its preservation and safety, he thought it his duty to offer his services in defense of the Union, and that he would esteem it a privilege to be assigned to any position where he could be useful.' The plain, straightforward demeanor of the man, and the modesty and earnestness which characterized his offer of assistance, at once awakened a lively interest in him, and impressed me with a desire to secure his counsel for the benefit of volunteer organizations then forming for Government service. At first I assigned him a desk in the Executive office; and his familiarity with military organization and regulations made him an invaluable assistant in my own and the office of the Adjutant-General. Soon his

admirable qualities as a military commander became apparent, and I assigned him to command of the camps of organization at 'Camp Yates,' Springfield, 'Camp Grant,' Mattoon, and 'Camp Douglas,' at Anna, Union County, at which the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-first Regiments of Illinois volunteers, raised under the call of the President of the 15th of April, and under the 'Ten Regiment Bill,' of the extraordinary session of the Legislature convened April 23, 1861, were rendezvoused. His employment had special reference to the organization and muster of these forces—the first six into the United States, and the last three into the State, service. This was accomplished about the 10th of May, 1861, at which time he left the State for a brief period, on a visit to his father, at Covington, Kentucky.

"The Twenty-first Regiment of Illinois volunteers, raised in Macon, Cumberland, Piatt, Douglas, Moultrie, Edgar, Clay, Clark, Crawford, and Jasper Counties, for thirty days' State service, organized at the camp at Mattoon, preparatory to three years' service for the Government, had become very much demoralized under the thirty days' experiment, and doubts arose in relation to their acceptance for a longer period. I was much perplexed to find an efficient and experienced officer to take command of the regiment, and take it into the three years' service. I ordered the regiment to Camp Yates, and after consulting Hon. Jesse K. Dubois, who had many friends in the regiment, and Colonel John S. Loomis, Assistant Adjutant-General, who was at the time in charge of the Adjutant-General's office and on terms of personal intimacy with Grant, I decided to offer the command to him, and accordingly telegraphed Captain Grant, at Covington, Kentucky, tendering him the colonelcy. He immediately reported, accepting the commission, taking rank as colonel of that regiment from the 15th of June, 1861. Thirty days previous to that time, the regiment numbered over one thousand men; but in consequence of laxity in discipline of the first commanding officer, and other discouraging obstacles connected with the acceptance of troops at that time, but

six hundred and three men were found willing to enter the three years' service. In less than ten days Colonel Grant filled the regiment to the maximum standard, and brought it to a state of discipline seldom attained in the volunteer service in so short a time. His was the only regiment that left the camp of organization on foot. He marched from Springfield to the Illinois River; but, in an emergency requiring troops to operate against Missouri rebels, the regiment was transported by rail to Quincy, and Colonel Grant was assigned to command for the protection of the Quincy and Palmyra, and Hannibal and St. Josephs Railroads. He soon distinguished himself as a regimental commander in the field, and his claims for increased rank were recognized by his friends in Springfield, and his promotion insisted upon, before his merits and services were fairly understood at Washington. His promotion was made upon the ground of his military education, fifteen years' services as a lieutenant and captain in the regular army (during which time he was distinguished in the Mexican war), his great success in organizing and disciplining his regiment, and for his energetic and vigorous prosecution of the campaign in North Missouri, and the earnestness with which he entered into the great work of waging war against the traitorous enemies of his country."

The spirit of this loyal governor, who had the honor of introducing the retiring Grant to his field of national service and renown, is finely shown in an extract from a letter written by him to a citizen of Oskaloosa, whose Union flag a copperhead had cut down, and who inquired what he should do with the insult:

"You say that the pole which floated the Stars and Stripes on the Fourth of July was cut down by secessionists, and that, at a pic-nic which you are to have, it is threatened that the flag shall be taken down; and you ask me whether you would be justified in defending the flag with fire-arms. I am astonished at this question, as much as if you were to ask me whether you would have a right to defend your property against robbers, or your life against murderers! You ask me what you shall do? I reply, Do not raise the American flag

merely to provoke your secession neighbors; do not be on the aggressive; but whenever you raise it on your own soil, or on the public property of the State or county, or at any public celebration, from honest love to the flag and patriotic devotion to the country which it symbolizes, and any traitor dares to lay his unhallowed hand upon it to tear it down, shoot him as you would a dog, and I will pardon you for the offense."

Meanwhile, the President had sent to Governor Yates the order for two new names to be placed on the roll of brigadier-generals. The adjutant, with characteristic modesty, declined the offer of the Executive to nominate him, because he was comparatively unknown, and the honor should be given to another, who had already won distinction.

Several regiments were soon lying along the railway connecting the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, within the District of North Missouri and the Department of General Pope. But there was no general to command these troops, and it became necessary to select a man for the command. Although the youngest colonel on the ground, Grant was chosen, and became acting brigadier-general of the forces, at a place called Mexico, on the North Missouri Railroad, July 31st, 1861.

Eight days later, he was commissioned to fill the command which the unanimous vote of his associates in arms had conferred upon him, dating back to May 17th of the same year. It is interesting to glance at the list of generals appointed when he was, and then write opposite their names their history in 1864.

Samuel P. Heintzelman. Not in active field service.
Erasmus D. Keyes..... Do. do.
Andrew Porter..... Do. do.
Fitz-John Porter.....Cashiered. but reinstated & honorably vindicated
William B. Franklin....Commanding Nineteenth Army Corps.
William T. Sherman....Commanding a Department under General Grant.
Charles P. Stone.....Chief of Staff to General Banks.
Don Carlos Buell.....Not in active field service.
Thomas W. Sherman...Temporarily invalided.
James Oakes.....Not in service.
John Pope.....Commanding Department of the Northwest.

George A. McCall.....Resigned.
Wm. R. Montgomery...Not in active field service.
Philip Kearny.....Dead.
Joseph Hooker.....Commanding Grand Division under General Grant.
John W. Phelps.....Resigned.
Ulysses S. Grant.....Lieutenant-General.
Joseph J. Reynolds.....Commanding troops at New Orleans.
Samuel R. Curtis.....Not in active field service.
Charles S. Hamilton.... Do. do.
Darius N. Couch.....Commanding Department of the Susquehanna.
Rufus King .....Foreign Minister.
J. D. Cox.....Commanding Corps under General Grant.
Stephen A. Hurlbut.... Do. do. do.
Franz Sigel.....Not in active field service.
Robert C. Schenck.....In Congress.
B. M. Prentiss.....Resigned.
Frederick W. Lander...Dead.
Benjamin F. Kelly.....Commanding Department of Western Virginia.
John A. McClernand...Not in active field service.
A. S. Williams.....Commanding a Division.
I. B. Richardson.....Dead.
William Sprague.....Declined.
James Cooper.....Dead.

General Grant was half-way down the list, and less than three years afterward commanded as much territory, and as many troops in active service, as the other thirty-three generals combined.

Immediately following his promotion was an order to proceed to Southern Missouri, where General Jeff. Thompson was prepared to advance upon the Union lines. The first point of military rendezvous was Ironton, from which, with brief delay, he moved forward to Marble Creek, building fortifications there, and leaving a garrison for their defense. Thence he rapidly advanced to Jefferson City, threatened by the enemy. For ten days these troops protected the town.

During these Missouri campaigns, there occurred an amusing scene to enliven the marches, and fling its cheerful light over many a subsequent encampment of the actors in the practical comedy. It is related by a staff-officer: "The hero and veteran, who was citizen, captain, colonel, brigadier and major-general, within a space of nine months, though a rigid disciplinarian, and a perfect

Ironsides in the discharge of his official duties, could enjoy a good joke, and is always ready to perpetrate one when an opportunity presents. Indeed, among his acquaintances he is as much renowned for his eccentric humor as he is for his skill and bravery as a commander.

"When Grant was a brigadier in Missouri, he commanded an expedition against the rebels under Jeff. Thompson, in Northeast Arkansas. The distance from the starting-point of the expedition to the supposed rendezvous of the rebels was about one hundred and ten miles, and the greater portion of the route lay through a howling wilderness. The imaginary suffering that our soldiers endured during the first two days of their march was enormous. It was impossible to steal or 'confiscate' uncultivated real estate, and not a hog, or a chicken, or an ear of corn was anywhere to be seen. On the third day, however, affairs looked more hopeful, for a few small specks of ground, in a state of partial cultivation, were here and there visible. On that day, Lieutenant Wickfield, of an Indiana cavalry regiment, commanded the advance-guard, consisting of eight mounted men. About noon he came up to a small farm-house, from the outward appearance of which he judged that there might be something fit to eat inside. He halted his company, dismounted, and with two second-lieutenants entered the dwelling. He knew that Grant's incipient fame had already gone out through all that country, and it occurred to him that by representing himself to be the general he might obtain the best the house afforded. So, assuming a very imperative demeanor, he accosted the inmates of the house, and told them he must have something for himself and staff to eat. They desired to know who he was, and he told them that he was Brigadier-General Grant. At the sound of that name they flew around with alarming alacrity, and served up about all they had in the house, taking great pains all the while to make loud professions of loyalty. The lieutenants ate as much as they could of the not over-sumptuous meal, but which was, nevertheless, good for that country, and demanded what was to pay. 'Nothing.' And they went on their way rejoicing.

"In the meantime, General Grant, who had halted his army a few miles further back for a brief resting-spell, came in sight of, and was rather favorably impressed with the appearance of this same house. Riding up to the fence in front of the door, he desired to know if they would cook him a meal.

"'No,' said a female, in a gruff voice; 'General Grant and his staff have just been here, and eaten every thing in the house except one pumpkin-pie.'

"'Humph,' murmured Grant; 'what is your name?'

"'Selvidge,' replied the woman.

"Casting a half-dollar in at the door, he asked if she would keep that pie till he sent an officer for it; to which she replied that she would.

"That evening, after the camping-ground had been selected, the various regiments were notified that there would be a grand parade at half-past six, for orders. Officers would see that their men all turned out, &c.

"In five minutes the camp was in a perfect uproar, and filled with all sorts of rumors. Some thought the enemy were upon them, it being so unusual to have parades when on a march.

"At half-past six the parade was formed, ten columns deep, and nearly a quarter of a mile in length.

"After the usual routine of ceremonies, the acting assistant adjutant-general read the following order:—

["Special Order, No. ——.].

"Head-Quarters Army in the Field.

"Lieutenant Wickfield, of the —— Indiana cavalry, having on this day eaten every thing in Mrs. Selvidge's house, at the crossing of the Ironton and Pocahontas and Black River and Cape Girardeau Roads, except one pumpkin-pie, Lieutenant Wickfield is hereby ordered to return with an escort of one hundred cavalry, and eat that pie also.

"U. S. Grant, Brigadier-General Commanding.

"Grant's orders were law, and no soldier ever attempted to evade them. At seven o'clock the lieutenant filed out of camp with his hundred men, amid the cheers of the entire army. The escort concurred in stating that he devoured the whole of the pie, and seemed to relish it."

With the advent of autumn, General Grant was ordered to yet greater duties. The important post of Cairo was placed under his command. The town is situated on low land upon the banks of the Mississippi, in that part of Illinois called "Egypt." The forces here were increased by the addition of another brigade, which had been organized for, and was under the command of, Brigadier-General John A. McClernand.

The post at Cairo included within its jurisdiction the Missouri shore of the Mississippi River, from Cape Girardeau to New Madrid, and the opposite Illinois shore, to the point of land on which Cairo stood. It commanded the mouth of the Ohio River, and was the key to the Upper Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers. Its importance as a defensive military position, and also as a base of operations, at the early stages of the war, was without estimate; and, as a permanent base of supplies, its loss would be severely felt by the Union army.

At this time, the State of Kentucky was in that incomprehensible condition designated as neutral; but as the line that separated Tennessee, which had seceded, from Kentucky, which had not, was merely an imaginary one; and, as the rebel forces of the seceding States were stationed so closely on these borders, it is not strange that they often crossed the line into the neutral State, especially when it was to their advantage.

General Grant no sooner found out that this course of policy was being adopted by the rebels, and that they had actually encroached upon the State of Kentucky, and were fortifying Columbus and Hickman, on the Mississippi River, and Bowling Green on the Big Barren River, than he ordered the seizure of Paducah, a valuable post at the mouth of the Tennessee River. This village was occupied on September 6, 1861, and within nineteen days he also held possession of Smithland, at the mouth of the Cumberland River. By these movements he not only blockaded the rivers leading up into the rebel States, against the running of supplies and contraband articles for the use of those who were up in arms against the Government, but he also secured two fine bases for further operations, and

cleared out the guerrillas, who were trying to blockade the Ohio River below those points. He also garrisoned each of these places with a force sufficient to hold them, but still retained his head-quarters at Cairo, which had then become the head-quarters of the sub-department or District of Southeast Missouri.

At the time when General Grant took possession of Paducah, he found secession flags flying in different parts of the city, in expectation of greeting the arrival of the rebel forces, which were reported to be nearly four thousand strong, and not many miles distant. The landing of the Union troops was a signal for a general uprising of the loyal citizens of the place, who, being properly supported, in effect, if not in fact, at once tore down from the houses of the rebel sympathizers the secession flags which they had raised.

General Grant immediately took possession of the telegraph-office, railroad dépôt, hospitals, and other points of importance, after which he issued the following proclamation to the citizens:

PADUCAH, KENTUCKY, *September* 6, 1861.

TO THE CITIZENS OF PADUCAH:

I am come among you, not as an enemy, but as your fellow-citizen; not to maltreat you nor annoy you, but to respect and enforce the rights of all loyal citizens. An enemy, in rebellion against our common Government, has taken possession of, and planted its guns on the soil of Kentucky, and fired upon you. Columbus and Hickman are in his hands. He is moving upon your city. I am here to defend you against this enemy, to assist the authority and sovereignty of your Government. I have nothing to do with opinions, and shall deal only with armed rebellion, and its aiders and abettors. You can pursue your usual avocations without fear. The strong arm of the Government is here to protect its friends, and punish its enemies. Whenever it is manifest that you are able to defend yourselves, and maintain the authority of the Government, and protect the rights of loyal citizens, I shall withdraw the forces under my command. U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding.

The tone of the proclamation speaks well for the temper of the soldier, who, although in the midst of enemies, and with the power in his hands, yet refused to use that power further than he, of actual necessity, was called upon to do by the exigencies of his position.

General Grant, when in camp at Cairo, presented little, in fact nothing, of the gewgaws and trappings which are generally attached to the attire of a general; and, in this respect, he showed a marked contrast between himself and some of his sub-lieutenants, whose bright buttons and glittering shoulder-straps were perfectly resplendent. The General, instead, would move about the camp with his attire carelessly thrown on, and left to fall as it pleased. In fact, he seemed to care nothing at all about his personal appearance, and in the place of the usual military hat and gold cord, he wore an old battered black hat, generally designated as a "stove-pipe," an article that neither of his subordinates would have stooped to pick up, even if unobserved. In his mouth he carried a black-looking cigar, and he seemed to be perpetually smoking.

In connection with these facts, a detractor of General Grant was, on one occasion, speaking rather sarcastically of the stove-pipe General and his passion for cigars, when he was taken up by one of Grant's friends, who said: "Such a bright stove-pipe as Grant should be excused for smoking."

Several reconnoissances were made down the Mississippi River, and inland from the Ohio River, and occasionally skirmishes would also take place. At these contests prisoners would sometimes be taken on both sides, and the following correspondence was the result of these captures:

HEAD-QUARTERS FIRST DIVISION,
WESTERN DEPARTMENT, *October*, 1861.

TO THE COMMANDING OFFICER AT CAIRO AND BIRD'S POINT:

I have in my camp a number of prisoners of the Federal army, and am informed there are prisoners belonging to the Missouri State troops in yours. I propose an exchange of these prisoners, and for that purpose send Captain Polk of the artillery, and Lieutenant Smith of the infantry, both of the Confederate States Army, with a flag of truce, to deliver to you this communication, and to know your pleasure in regard to my proposition.

The principles recognized in the exchange of prisoners effected on the 3d of September, between Brigadier-General Pillow, of the Confederate Army, and Colonel Wallace, of the United States Army, are those I propose as the basis of that now contemplated.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

L. POLK, Major-General Commanding.

To which communication General Grant dispatched the following reply:

DISTRICT OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI,
HEAD-QUARTERS, CAIRO, *October* 14, 1861.

GENERAL:—Yours of this date is just received. In regard to an exchange of prisoners, as proposed, I can, of my own accordance, make none. I recognize no "Southern Confederacy" myself, but will communicate with higher authorities for their views. Should I not be sustained, I will find means of communicating with you.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding.

To Major-General POLK, Columbus, Kentucky.

October 16th, General Grant ordered a part of his troops, under Colonel Plummer, then stationed at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, to march toward Fredericktown, by way of Jackson and Dallas, and, joining Colonel Carlin, who was moving in another direction, check the progress of General Jeff. Thompson, advancing northward, and, if possible, defeat the rebel columns.

The mild, soft morning of October 21st brought the hostile forces together. Thompson had three thousand five hundred men, while our forces numbered a few hundred more. For more than two hours the battle raged, when the rebels were forced to yield, and retreated, followed the next day by a fruitless pursuit, when the victors returned to their former position.

The correspondence between the gallant Plummer and his superior officer reveals the magnanimous, sympathetic nature of the latter, which could drop a tear over the slain on the country's altar:

COLONEL PLUMMER TO GENERAL GRANT.

HEAD-QUARTERS, CAMP FREMONT,
CAPE GIRARDEAU, MO., *October* 26, 1861.

GENERAL:—Pursuant to your order of the 16th, I left this post on the 18th instant, with about fifteen hundred men, and marched upon Fredericktown, *via* Jackson and Dallas, where I arrived at twelve o'clock on Monday, the 21st instant, finding there Colonel Carlin, with about three thousand men, who had arrived at nine o'clock that morning. He gave me a portion of his command, which I united with my own, and immediately started in pursuit of Thompson, who was reported to have evacuated the town the day before and retreated toward Greenville. I found him, however, occupying a position about one mile out of town, on the

Greenville Road, which he has held since about nine o'clock A M., and immediately attacked him. The battle lasted about two hours and a half, and resulted in the total defeat of Thompson, and rout of all his forces, consisting of about three thousand five hundred men. Their loss was severe, ours very light. Among their killed was Lowe. On the following day I pursued Thompson twenty-two miles on the Greenville Road, for the purpose of capturing his train, but finding further pursuit useless, and believing Pilot Knob secure and the object of the expedition accomplished, I returned to this post, where I arrived last evening, having been absent seven days and a half.

I brought with me forty-two prisoners, one iron twelve-pounder field-piece, a number of small-arms and horses taken upon the field.

I will forward a detailed report of the battle as soon as reports from colonels of regiments and commanders of corps are received.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. B. PLUMMER,

Colonel Eleventh Missouri Volunteers Commanding.

To ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Head-Quarters District Southeast Missouri, Cairo, Illinois.

GENERAL GRANT TO COLONEL PLUMMER.

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT SOUTHEAST MISSOURI,
CAIRO, *October* 27, 1861.

Colonel J. B. PLUMMER, commanding United States Forces, Cape Girardeau, Missouri:

COLONEL:—Your report of the expedition under your command is received. I congratulate you, and the officers and soldiers of the expedition, upon the result.

But little doubt can be entertained of the success of our arms, when not opposed by superior numbers; and in the action of Fredericktown they have given proof of courage and determination which shows that they would undergo any fatigue or hardship to meet our rebellious brethren, even at great odds.

Our loss, small as it was, is to be regretted; but the friends and relatives of those who fell can congratulate themselves in the midst of their affliction, that they fell in maintaining the cause of constitutional freedom and the integrity of a flag erected in the first instance at a sacrifice of many of the noblest lives that ever graced a nation.

In conclusion, say to your troops they have done nobly. It goes to prove that much more may be expected of them when the country and our great cause calls upon them.

Yours, &c., U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding.

Having thus secured the information he required relative to the position of Jeff. Thompson's forces, and also having learned that others were concentrating at the rebel

camp at Belmont, Missouri, General Grant, at the head of two brigades, commanded respectively by General McClernand and himself, left Cairo on November 6th, 1861, for that point. On the opposite Kentucky shore the rebels had fortified a position at Columbus, which was to command the camp at Belmont, as well as to blockade the Mississippi River.

The two United States brigades landed at Belmont at eight o'clock of the morning of November 7th, were at once formed into line of battle, and immediately attacked the rebel works, where they found the enemy in force under General Cheatham. The rebel forces were driven to and through their camp, and their battery of twelve guns was captured. The camp was then burned, and the enemy's baggage and horses taken. Several prisoners also fell into the hands of the Union troops, and the attack was a complete triumph.

But at the very moment when victory was deemed certain, several large bodies of rebel troops from Columbus and Hickman crossed the Mississippi River and re-enforced those at Belmont. This re-enforcement made the enemy numerically stronger than the forces under General Grant, and after another severe fight, the Union troops had to withdraw to their transports, their retreat being well covered by the ordnance of the gunboats.

The following is from a private letter from General Grant to his father, written on the night of the 8th :—

"Day before yesterday I left Cairo with about three thousand men, in five steamers, convoyed by two gunboats, and proceeded down the river to within about twelve miles of Columbus. The next morning the boats were dropped just out of range of the enemy's batteries, and the troops debarked. During this operation our gunboats exercised the rebels by throwing shells into their camps and batteries. When all ready, we proceeded about one mile toward Belmont, opposite Columbus, when I formed the troops into line, and ordered two companies from each regiment to deploy as skirmishers, and push on through the woods and discover the position of the enemy. They had gone but a little way when they

were fired upon, and the ball may be said to have fairly opened.

"The whole command, with the exception of a small reserve, was then deployed in like manner and ordered forward. The order was obeyed with great alacrity, the men all showing great courage. I can say with great gratification that every colonel, without a single exception, set an example to their commands that inspired a confidence that will always insure victory when there is the slightest possibility of gaining one. I feel truly proud to command such men.

"From here we fought our way from tree to tree through the woods to Belmont, about two and a half miles, the enemy contesting every foot of ground. Here the enemy had strengthened their position by felling the trees for two or three hundred yards, and sharpening their limbs, making a sort of abatis. Our men charged through, making the victory complete, giving us possession of their camp and garrison equipage, artillery, and every thing else.

"We got a great many prisoners. The majority, however, succeeded in getting aboard their steamers and pushing across the river. We burned every thing possible, and started back, having accomplished all that we went for, and even more. Belmont is entirely covered by the batteries from Columbus, and is worth nothing as a military position—cannot be held without Columbus.

"The object of the expedition was to prevent the enemy from sending a force into Missouri to cut off troops I had sent there for a special purpose, and to prevent re-enforcing Price.

"Besides being well fortified at Columbus, their number far exceeded ours, and it would have been folly to have attacked them. We found the Confederates well armed and brave. On our return, stragglers, that had been left in our rear (now front), fired into us, and more recrossed the river and gave us battle for a full mile, and afterward at the boats when we were embarking.

"There was no hasty retreating or running away. Taking into account the object of the expedition, the

victory was complete. It has given us confidence in the officers and men of this command, that will enable us to lead them in any future engagement without fear of the result. General McClernand (who, by the way, acted with great coolness and courage throughout, and proved that he is a soldier as well as a statesman) and myself, each had our horses shot under us. Most of the field officers met with the same loss, besides nearly one-third of them being themselves killed or wounded. As near as I can ascertain, our loss was about two hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and missing."

General McClernand, in his official report of this battle, after speaking of the hotness of the engagement, and narrow escapes of some of his officers, makes use of the following words:—

"Here the projectiles from the enemy's heavy guns at Columbus, and their artillery at Belmont, crashed through the woods over and among us. * * * And here, too, many of our officers were killed or wounded; nor shall I omit to add, that this gallant conduct was stimulated by your (Grant's) presence, and inspired by your example. Here your horse was killed under you."

After the United States troops had returned to their base of operations at Cairo, General Grant issued the following order:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI,
CAIRO, *November* 8, 1861.

The General commanding this military district, returns his thanks to the troops under his command at the battle of Belmont on yesterday.

It has been his fortune to have been in all the battles fought in Mexico by Generals Scott and Taylor, save Buena Vista, and he never saw one more hotly contested, or where troops behaved with more gallantry.

Such courage will insure victory wherever our flag may be borne and protected by such a class of men.

To the brave men who fell, the sympathy of the country is due, and will be manifested in a manner unmistakable.

U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding.

But, while General Grant was engaged in congratulating those who had returned safe, he was not unmindful of the sufferers who had fallen wounded into the hands of the enemy. Knowing the incomplete state of

the Medical and Surgical Departments of the rebel army opposed to him, he addressed the following dispatch to the rebel general, under a flag of truce :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI,
CAIRO, *November* 8, 1861.

General commanding forces, Columbus, Ky. :

SIR :—In the skirmish of yesterday, in which both parties behaved with so much gallantry, many unfortunate men were left upon the field of battle, whom it was impossible to provide for. I now send, in the interest of humanity, to have these unfortunates collected, and medical attendance secured them. Major Webster, Chief of Engineers, District Southeast Missouri, goes bearer of this, and will express to you my views upon the course that should be pursued under the circumstances, such as those of yesterday.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding.

To this communication, the commander of the rebel post returned the following answer :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, FIRST DIVISION, WESTERN DEPARTMENT
COLUMBUS, KENTUCKY, *November* 8, 1861.

Brigadier-General GRANT, U. S. A. :

I have received your note in regard to your wounded and killed on the battle-field, after yesterday's engagement. The lateness of the hour at which my troops returned to the principal scene of action prevented my bestowing the care upon the wounded which I desired.

Such attentions as were practicable were shown them, and measures were taken at an early hour this morning to have them all brought into my hospitals. Provision was also made for taking care of your dead. The permission you desire, under your flag of truce, to aid in attention to your wounded, is granted with pleasure, under such restrictions as the exigencies of our service may require. In your note you say nothing of an exchange of prisoners, though you send me a private message as to your willingness to release certain wounded men, and some invalids taken from our list of sick in camps, and expect, in return, a corresponding number of your wounded prisoners. My own feelings would prompt me to waive again the unimportant affectation of declining to recognize these States as belligerents, in the interests of humanity; but my government requires all prisoners to be placed at the disposal of the Secretary of War. I have dispatched him to know if the case of the seventy wounded held by me will form an exception.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

L. POLK, Major-General C. S. A.

Five days after the engagement, General Grant wrote his official report of the whole affair :—

CAIRO, *November* 12, 1861.

On the evening of the 6th instant, I left this place with two thousand eight hundred and fifty men of all arms, to make a reconnoissance toward Columbus. The object of the expedition was to prevent the enemy from sending out re-enforcements to Price's army in Missouri, and also from cutting off columns that I had been directed to send out from this place and Cape Girardeau, in pursuit of Jeff. Thompson. Knowing that Columbus was strongly garrisoned, I asked General Smith, commanding at Paducah, Kentucky, to make demonstrations in the same direction. He did so, by ordering a small force to Mayfield and another in the direction of Columbus, not to approach nearer than Ellicott's Mills, some twelve miles from Columbus. The expedition under my immediate command was stopped about nine miles below here on the Kentucky shore, and remained until morning. All this served to distract the enemy, and led him to think he was to be attacked in his strongly fortified position. At daylight we proceeded down the river to a point just out of range of the rebel guns, and debarked on the Missouri shore. From here the troops were marched by flank for about one mile toward Belmont, and then drawn up in line of battle, a battalion also having been left as a reserve near the transports. Two companies from each regiment, five skeletons in number, were then thrown out as skirmishers to ascertain the position of the enemy. It was but a few moments before we met him, and a general engagement ensued.

The balance of my forces, with the exception of the reserve, was then thrown forward—all as skirmishers—and the enemy driven, foot by foot, and from tree to tree, back to their encampment on the river bank, a distance of two miles. Here they had strengthened their position by felling the timber for several hundred yards around their camp, and making a sort of abatis. Our men charged through this, driving the enemy over the bank into their transports in quick time, leaving us in possession of every thing not exceedingly portable. Belmont is on low ground, and every foot of it is commanded by the guns on the opposite shore, and, of course, could not be held for a single hour after the enemy became aware of the withdrawal of their troops. Having no wagons, I could not move any of the captured property; consequently, I gave orders for its destruction. Their tents, blankets, &c., were set on fire, and we retired, taking their artillery with us, two pieces being drawn by hand; and one other, drawn by an inefficient team, we spiked and left in the woods, bringing the two only to this place. Before getting fairly under way, the enemy made his appearance again, and attempted to surround us. Our troops were not in the least discouraged, but charged on the enemy again, and defeated him. Our loss was about eighty-four killed, one hundred and fifty wounded—many of them slightly—and about an equal number missing. Nearly all the missing were from the Iowa Regiment, who behaved with great gallantry, and suffered more severely than any other of the troops.

I have not been able to put in the reports from sub-commands, but will forward them as soon as received. All the troops behaved with much gallantry, much of which is atttributed to the coolness and presence of mind

of the officers, particularly the colonels. General McClernand was in the midst of danger throughout the engagement, and displayed both coolness and judgment. His horse was three times shot. My horse was also shot under me. To my staff, Captains Rawlins, Logan, and Hillyer, volunteer aids, and to Captains Hatch and Graham, I am much indebted for the assistance they gave. Colonel Webster, acting chief-engineer, also accompanied me, and displayed highly soldier-like qualities. Colonel Doherty, of the Twenty-second Illinois volunteers, was three times wounded and taken prisoner.

The Seventh Iowa Regiment had their lieutenant-colonel killed, and the colonel and major were severely wounded. The reports to be forwarded will detail more fully the particulars of our loss. Surgeon Brinton was in the field during the entire engagement, and displayed great ability and efficiency in providing for the wounded and organizing the medical corps.

The gunboats Tyler and Lexington, Captains Walker and Stemble, United States navy, commanding, convoyed the expedition and rendered most efficient service. Immediately upon our landing, they engaged the enemy's batteries, and protected our transports throughout.

For particulars, see accompanying report of Captain Walker.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. Grant, Brigadier-General Commanding.

General Polk's account of the battle is brief and exultant:—

Head-Quarters, First Division Western Department,
Columbus, Kentucky, *November* 7, 1861.

To General Head-Quarters, through General A. S. Johnston:—

The enemy came down on the opposite side of the river, Belmont, today, about seven thousand five hundred strong, landed under cover of gunboats, and attacked Colonel Tappan's camp. I sent over three regiments, under General Pillow, to his relief, then, at intervals, three others, then General Cheatham.

I then took over two others in person, to support a flank movement which I had directed. It was a hard-fought battle, lasting from half-past ten A. M. to five P. M. They took Beltzhoover's Battery, four pieces of which were recaptured. The enemy were thoroughly routed. We pursued them to their boats seven miles, then drove their boats before us. The road was strewn with their dead and wounded, guns, ammunition, and equipments. Our loss considerable; theirs heavy.

L. Polk, Major-General Commanding.

General Polk's dispatch confesses to a severe rebel loss, both of men and artillery. No blame can reasonably be attached to General Grant for the movement because not successful, acting, as he did, under the orders of the Department of which he was only district commander, and

consequently responsible only for the time and manner of fighting. The attack was undeniably well planned and brilliantly executed. Braver troops never shed their blood on the battle-field, and, had it not been for the large re-enforcements of the enemy, would have been regarded as one of the most gallant encounters in the early history of the war. Neither General Grant nor the country will blush over the faithful record of the action at Belmont. When General Halleck scanned the battle with his fine military appreciation, he said: "Grant will do to trust an army with."

While the rebels lost, in killed and wounded, two thousand eight hundred, General Grant lost, in all, less than six hundred. Of the cannon taken, two were captured from us at Bull Run.

But the noble leader in the strife did not forget that there was a third class of men, besides the living in the ranks and the dead which had left them—the wounded in the hands of the enemy. When, after the struggle, General Grant, under a flag of truce, sent a detachment to bury the dead and remove the wounded, they heard the song of "The Star-spangled Banner" rising on the still air. Following the sound, they discovered under a tree a warrior with both legs mangled, from whose feverish lips the national anthem rang out over the gory plain. Of such material was the chieftain's army made.

Another incident strikingly illustrated a mournful peculiarity of the war—near relatives and friends fighting against each other. Captain Brooks, of the Twenty-seventh Illinois, came against a corpse. Looking at the dead surgeon, he recognized his own brother, who, he knew, was in the rebel army, but had no intimation where he was serving the cause of treason.

General Fremont, then at the head of the Department in which the field of conflict lay, about this time was superseded by General Hunter.

CHAPTER V.

A NEW ORDER OF THINGS.

A new Order of Things.—Advance upon the Enemy.—Naval Attack.—Picket-Shooting.—Discipline of Marching Troops.—Protection of Private Property.—Reconnoissance.—Hard Marches.—Plans of Campaign.—Commodore Foote and his Fleet.—Sails for Fort Henry to act in concert with General Grant.—Reaches the Fortress.—After waiting for Land-Forces, Bombards the Works.—The Surrender.—General Grant's Report.—General Tilghman's Testimony to his Conqueror's high qualities of Character.

EARLY in the winter, General Halleck, who had been called from California, and made Major-General, was placed in command of the Department of the Missouri, and began to organize the same into proper military districts, to give the commander of each full control of the section of country embraced within his lines.

On the 20th of December, 1861, appreciating the military ability of General Grant, he issued an order defining what should constitute the District of Cairo, and extending the command until it became one of the largest in the country. To General Grant was immediately given the administration of the new Department. He assumed the command on December 21, 1861, announcing it in the following order, and giving the roll of his staff officers, of whom Captain Rawlins has always justly been a favorite —a competent, faithful. and congenial man :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF CAIRO,
CAIRO, *December* 21, 1861.

In pursuance of Special Order No. 78, from Head-Quarters, Department of the Missouri, the name of this Military District will be known as the "District of Cairo," and will include all the southern part of Illinois, that part of Kentucky west of the Cumberland River, and the southern counties of Missouri, south of Cape Girardeau.

The force at Shawneetown will be under the immediate command of Colonel T. H. Cavanagh, Sixth Illinois Cavalry, who will consolidate

the reports of his command weekly, and forward to these head-quarters.

All troops that are, or may be, stationed along the banks of the Ohio, on both sides of the river, east of Caledonia, and to the mouth of the Cumberland, will be included in the command, having head-quarters at Paducah, Kentucky.

Brigadier-General E. A. Paine is assigned to the command of the forces at Bird's Point, Missouri.

All supplies of ordnance, Quartermaster and Commissary stores, will be obtained through the chiefs of each of these departments, as district head-quarters, where not otherwise provided for.

For the information of that portion of this command, newly attached, the following list of Staff-Officers is published:—

Captain John A. Rawlins, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Captain Clark B. Lagow, Aide-de-Camp.

Captain Wm. S. Hillyer, Aide-de-Camp.

Major John Riggin, Jr., Volunteer Aide-de-Camp.

Captain R. B. Hatch, Assistant Quartermaster U. S. Volunteers, Chief Quartermaster.

Captain W. W. Leland, A. C. S. U. S. Volunteers, Chief Commissary.

Captain W. F. Brinck, Ordnance Officer.

Surgeon James Simmons, U. S. A., Medical Director.

Assistant Surgeon J. P. Taggart, U. S. A., Medical Purveyor.

Major I. N. Cook, Paymaster.

Colonel J. D. Webster, Chief of Staff, and Chief of Engineers.

By order, U. S. Grant, Brigadier-General Commanding.

General Grant at once commenced organizing, under his personal supervision, the new troops, and, as soon as deemed fit for such service, they were sent to the various posts belonging to the district, including Fort Jefferson and Paducah, in Kentucky. By this plan he could readily handle his forces, while they were so distributed that it was a matter of great difficulty, if not quite impossible, for the enemy to learn his strength.

On the 10th of January, the forces under the immediate command of General McClernand left Cairo in transports, and disembarked at Fort Jefferson. The transports were protected by two gunboats, which were next ordered to lie off the fort. The rebels, with three armed vessels, attacked these gunboats the next morning; but, after a brisk engagement, had to beat a retreat—the Union vessels chasing them until they took refuge under the guns of Columbus.

As picket-shooting had existed to a fearful extent in the vicinity of Cairo, General Grant, on the 11th of January, met the barbarous warfare with the subjoined expression of indignation and authority :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, CAIRO, *January* 11, 1862.

Brigadier-General PAINE, *Bird's Point:*

I understand that four of our pickets were shot this morning. If this is so, and appearances indicate that the assassins were citizens, not regularly organized in the rebel army, the whole country should be cleared out for six miles around, and word given that all citizens making their appearance within those limits are liable to be shot.

To execute this, patrols should be sent in all directions, and bring into camp, at Bird's Point, all citizens, together with their subsistence, and require them to remain, under penalty of death and destruction of their property, until properly relieved.

Let no harm befall these people, if they quietly submit; but bring them in, and place them in camp below the breastwork, and have them properly guarded.

The intention is not to make political prisoners of these people, but to cut off a dangerous class of spies.

This applies to all classes and conditions, age and sex. If, however, women and children prefer other protection than we can afford them, they may be allowed to retire beyond the limits indicated—not to return until authorized.

By order of U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding.

As General Grant states in the above order, it was necessary to keep spies away from his vicinity, as he was then about to start on a perilous expedition. He had already divided his forces into three columns—under Generals Paine, McClernand, and C. F. Smith—General Grant commanding the whole expedition in person.

Before starting on this adventure, he issued a stringent, yet humane order to his troops :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF CAIRO,
CAIRO, *January* 13, 1862.

During the absence of the expedition now starting upon soil occupied almost solely by the rebel army, and when it is a fair inference that every stranger met is an enemy, the following orders will be observed:

Troops, on marching, will be kept in the ranks; company officers being held strictly accountable for all stragglers from their companies. No firing will be allowed in camp or on the march, not strictly required in the performance of duty. While in camp, no privilege will be granted to officers

or soldiers to leave their regimental grounds, and all violations of this order must be promptly and summarily punished.

Disgrace having been brought upon our brave fellows by the bad conduct of some of their members, showing on all occasions, when marching through territory occupied by sympathizers of the enemy, a total disregard of the rights of citizens, and being guilty of wanton destruction of private property, the general commanding *desires and intends to enforce a change in this respect.*

The interpreting of confiscation acts by troops themselves has a demoralizing effect—weakens them in exact proportions to the demoralization, and makes open and armed enemies of many who, from opposite treatment, would become friends, or, at most, non-combatants.

It is ordered, therefore, that the severest punishment be inflicted upon every soldier who is guilty of taking, or destroying, private property; and any commissioned officer, guilty of like conduct, or of countenancing it, shall be deprived of his sword and expelled from the camp, not to be permitted to return.

On the march, cavalry advance guards will be thrown out, also flank guards of cavalry or infantry, when practicable. A rear guard of infantry will be required to see that no teams, baggage, or disabled soldiers are left behind. It will be the duty of company commanders to see that rolls of their company are called immediately upon going into camp each day, and every member accounted for.

By order, U. S. Grant, Brigadier-General Commanding.

On the morning of Tuesday, January 14, 1862, General McClernand's column moved forward from Fort Jefferson, and the columns under Generals Paine and Smith, at Paducah, commenced similar movements. The three columns combined made a force of nineteen regiments of infantry, four regiments of volunteer cavalry, two companies of regular cavalry, and seven batteries of artillery.

It was now just midwinter. The Western and Northern homes still retained the cheerful light left by the "holidays;" and the merry bells of sleighing rang along the streets familiar to many of the brave volunteers. In the moving host on the banks of the Mississippi, the largest proportion had no other experience than these pleasant pastimes amid the business labors of peaceful life. They now look on the broad river, filled with floating ice, on which they are to embark, and along the dreary roads of frost and mire beyond, and *think of home.* But there is no faltering, and no complaint from the "boys."

Demonstrations were made by General McClernand's

column, as if with the intention of attacking Columbus in the rear, by way of Blandville, Kentucky, while the real object was to concentrate with the troops marching from Paducah, Kentucky. The feint proved successful, and a great alarm was manifested by the rebel forces in Columbus.

As General McClernand's column advanced, it was at intervals joined by a regiment from the other columns, and, on the night of January 15th, his force encamped in line of battle ten miles to the rear of Columbus, threatening that post by two roads.

Here General Grant, who had been with the column from Paducah, came up with this part of the expedition, and personally superintended the disposition of the troops.

The First Division was next morning marched to Milburn, apparently *en route* for Mayfield; but instead of following that path, the troops, after passing through Milburn, turned southward, so as to communicate with the force from Paducah; and, on the 17th, were within eight miles of Lovelaceville. They then turned westward, and, on the nights of the 18th and 19th, encamped about a mile from Blandville. On January 20th, the column returned to Fort Jefferson. During the interval between the 14th and 20th of January, the infantry of this column marched over seventy-five miles, and the cavalry about one hundred and forty miles, over icy and miry roads, and during a most inclement season. This march was a very heavy one for troops who had never before been in the field. The reconnoissance developed the fact that the rebel army was not in large force west of the Paducah and Mayfield railroad, except, perhaps, in the rebel works at Columbus, and led to the discovery of valuable side-roads, not laid down in any map of that time. It also showed that Columbus was far from being as strong as was supposed, and that it could be attacked in the rear by several different roads, along which large forces of troops could be moved.

As soon as General Grant had communicated with General McClernand, at his encampment, on the night of the 15th, and had received his report, he saw the mere shell of

rebel defence which held that part of the State of Kentucky, and allowing General McClernand's column to keep up the appearance of an advance, he withdrew the other two columns to Cairo. He had, in fact, accomplished and ascertained all that he desired by the movement.

Commodore Foote, of the navy, had been sent in the autumn of 1861 to create and command a fleet of gunboats on the Mississippi. He had now ready for service seven gunboats, four of which were iron-clad. They were built at Cincinnati and St. Louis, then taken to Cairo to complete the outfit, and man them. To secure crews for them, General Grant issued a significant circular:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF CAIRO,
CAIRO, *January* 20, 1862.

Commanders of regiments will report to these head-quarters, without delay, the number of river and seafaring men of their respective commands, who are willing to be transferred from the military to the gunboat service. Seeing the importance of fitting out our gunboats as speedily as possible, it is hoped there will be no delay or objections raised by company or regimental commanders in responding to this call. Men thus volunteering will be discharged at the end of one year, or at the end of the war, should it terminate sooner.

By order, U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding.

A few days afterward, General McClernand's forces were withdrawn from Kentucky, and again rendezvoused at Cairo, the commander being placed in temporary charge of the District during the necessary absence of General Grant.

A few days disclosed the whole object of the movement made by General Grant's forces in the western part of the State of Kentucky. It must be borne in mind that his troops still held the posts at Paducah and Smithland, at the mouth of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers.

By keeping up a false show of advance upon the rear of Columbus, which had several times been attacked in the front by armed vessels, the rebels were thoroughly deceived, and concentrated all their available forces in that vicinity.

In the mean time, General Grant was preparing for an advance into the State of Kentucky by an entirely different route, and, to have his forces well in hand, he issued the following order, brigading them:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF CAIRO,
CAIRO, *February* 1, 1862.

For temporary government, the forces of this military district will be divided and commanded as follows, to wit:

The First Brigade will consist of the Eighth, Eighteenth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, and Thirty-first Regiments of Illinois Volunteers, Schwartz's and Dresser's batteries, and Stewart's, Dollin's, O'Harnett's and Carmichael's Cavalry. Colonel R. J. Oglesby, senior colonel of the brigade, commanding.

The Second Brigade will consist of the Eleventh, Twentieth, Forty-fifth, and Forty-eighth Illinois Infantry, Fourth Illinois Cavalry, Taylor's and McAllister's Artillery. (The latter with four siege guns.) Colonel W. H. L. Wallace commanding.

The First and Second Brigades will constitute the First Division of the District of Cairo, and will be commanded by Brigadier-General John A. McClernand.

The Third Brigade will consist of the Eighth Wisconsin, Forty-ninth Illinois, Twenty-fifth Indiana, four companies of artillery, and such troops as are yet to arrive. Brigadier-General E. A. Paine commanding.

The Fourth Brigade will be composed of the Tenth, Sixteenth, Twenty-second, and Thirty-third Illinois, and the Tenth Iowa Infantry; Houtaling's battery of Light Artillery, four companies of the Seventh and two companies of the First Illinois Cavalry. Colonel Morgan commanding.

General E. A. Paine is assigned to the command of Cairo and Mound City, and Colonel Morgan to the command at Bird's Point.

U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding.

Subsequently, General E. A. Paine was placed in command at Cairo.

The order having been publicly announced, if it fell into the hands of the rebels—and there was but little doubt that such would be the case—would give them the idea that the above were all the troops that comprised the forces under General Grant; whereas the divisions then organizing under Generals C. F. Smith and Lewis Wallace, at the posts of Paducah and Smithland, are not mentioned at all.

General Grant, having secured his base, left Cairo on the night of February 2d, and, with Generals McClernand

and Smith's Divisions, soon after began moving from Paducah upon Fort Henry, a defensive work erected near the border-line of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, on the east side of the Tennessee River, so as to command the stream at that point.

The first day of February was the Sabbath. In the streets of Cairo is mud, mud, mud! Dirty people, dogs, pigs, and carts are mingled in ludicrous confusion. Though a mild, sunny day, and birds are singing, nothing else would remind one of the holy time. Steamers ascend with soldiers on the river, and all the sights of a port in time of war during the week meet you in your walks about the town. But hark! the church-bells toll the hour of worship. Sweet music amid the din and discord through which it floats! Enter this church, and, among the many soldiers, there is the nobly true and devout Commodore Foote. His fleet are ordered to keep the Sabbath, and maintain the worship of God in the ships.

With an army and navy led by such commanders, how sublime the spectacle, and how invincible the advance in a righteous cause! If you visit the flagship of the Commodore, he will show you, amid the fourteen heavy guns and all the strong machinery of those dark engines of destruction, the Sacred Place—a quiet spot, where those who desire may commune with God.

Monday dawns. The strange fleet, unseen before upon the Western rivers, steams from Cairo with ten regiments of troops in accompanying steamers, and, at nightfall, wheels into the Tennessee. Approaching Fort Henry, the anchors are dropped and scouts sent ashore.

"You will never take Fort Henry!" said a woman in a farm-house which they entered.

"Oh, yes, we shall. We have a fleet of iron-clad gunboats," said one.

"Your gunboats will be blown sky-high before they get into the fort."

"Ah! How so?"

The question reminded the talking woman that she was telling secrets, and she said no more. The scouts

informed her that she must explain, or go with them a prisoner. She then said:

"Why, the river is full of torpedoes; and they will blow up your gunboats."

The intelligence was carried to the Commodore, and six infernal machines raked from the bottom. The plan was, to pour shot and shell upon the fort from the river in front, and drive with this storm of iron and fiery hail the rebels out, for General Grant to catch with his troops in the rear.

Admiral Foote had suggested to General Grant that the roads were so bad, it would be well for the land force to start an hour in advance. And when the General expressed his confidence in the ability of the troops to reach the field in time, the Admiral replied, good-naturedly: "I shall take the fort before your forces get there;" words that proved to be prophetic of the important result. The order of march was as follows:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, CAIRO,
CAMP IN FIELD NEAR FORT HENRY, *February* 5, 1862.

The First Division, General McClernand commanding, will move at eleven o'clock A. M., to-morrow, under the guidance of Lieutenant-Colonel McPherson, and take a position on the roads from Fort Henry to Donelson and Dover.

It will be the special duty of this command to prevent all re-enforcements to Fort Henry, or escape from it; also, to be held in readiness to charge, and take Fort Henry by storm, promptly on the receipt of orders.

Two brigades of the Second Division, General C. F. Smith commanding, will start at the same hour from the west bank of the river, and take and occupy the heights commanding Fort Henry. This point will be held by so much of the artillery as can be made available, and such other troops as, in the opinion of the general commanding the Second Division, may be necessary for its protection.

The Third Brigade, Second Division, will advance up the east bank of the Tennessee River as fast as it can be securely done, and be in readiness to charge upon the fort, or move to the support of the First Division, as may be necessary.

All the forces on the west bank of the river, not required to hold the heights commanding Fort Henry, will return to their transports, cross to the east bank, and follow the First Brigade as fast as possible.

The west bank of the Tennessee River not having been reconnoitred, the commanding officer intrusted with taking possession of the enemy's works there will proceed with great caution, and obtain such information

as can be gathered and such guides as can be found in the time intervening before eleven o'clock to-morrow.

The troops will receive two days' rations of bread and meat in their haversacks.

One company of the Second Division, armed with rifles, will be ordered to Flag-Officer Foote, as sharpshooters on board the gunboats.

U. S. Grant, Brigadier-General Commanding.

On the 5th, the fleet lay before the fortress, the dark-mouthed ordnance waiting the gunner's hand to pour forth fire and hail upon it. The first plan was to invest or surround the fort, before the attack, and to secure the garrison. But, hearing that re-enforcements were coming, at noon, it was decided not to wait for the troops, but that the Commodore should try the fight alone. The command flies over the fleet to open the battle. It is answered by a huzza, and in another moment the thunder of cannon shakes the decks, wrapped in smoke, and the massive iron hail and exploding shells falling in the fort give the garrison notice that the Yankee "tars" are knocking for admission within the walls. For two hours Fort Henry rains back her storm of heavy shot, striking the flagship Cincinnati thirty-one times. Suddenly the tempest ceases, and the rebel flag comes down; the garrison begin to fly. General Tilghman, finding his retreat cut off by the advancing troops of General Grant, decides upon a surrender.

He was then rowed to the Admiral's ship, and, standing before him, inquires what terms would be granted. "Unconditional surrender!" was the brave and patriotic reply.

The rebel officer's answer was in the words of a gentleman who appreciated high qualities of character in a foe:—

"Well, sir, if I must surrender, it gives me pleasure to surrender to so brave an officer."

"You do perfectly right to surrender," added the heroic Foote; "but I should not have surrendered to you on any condition."

"Why so? I do not understand you," answered General Tilghman, with surprise.

"Because I was fully determined to capture the fort, or go to the bottom," was the satisfactory response of the gallant Admiral.

"I thought I had you, Commodore; but you were too much for me."

"How could you fight against the old flag, General?"

"Well, it did come hard at first; but, if the North had let us alone, there would have been no trouble. They would not abide by the Constitution."

The Commodore assured him the opposite of that was the truth, and that the South was responsible for the blood shed that day.

General Grant's account of the affair is marked with the unostentatious and honorable bearing of the brave chieftain:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF CAIRO,
FORT HENRY, TENN., *February* 6, 1862.

CAPT. J. C. KELTON, A. A. General, Department of Mo., St. Louis, Mo.:

CAPTAIN:—Owing to dispatches received from Major-General Halleck, and corroborating information here, to the effect that the enemy were rapidly re-enforcing, I thought it imperatively necessary that the fort should be carried to-day. My forces were not up at ten o'clock last night, when my order was written, therefore, I did not deem it practicable to set an earlier hour than eleven o'clock to-day to commence the investment. The gunboats started up at the same hour to commence the attack, and engage the enemy at not over six hundred yards. In little over one hour all the batteries were silenced, and the fort surrendered at discretion to Flag-Officer Foote, giving us all their guns, camp and garrison equipage. The prisoners taken are General Tilghman and Staff, Captain Taylor and company, and the sick. The garrison, I think, must have commenced their retreat last night, or at an early hour this morning.

Had I not felt it imperative to attack Fort Henry to-day, I should have made the investment complete, and delayed until to-morrow, so as to secure the garrison. I do not believe, however, the result would have been any more satisfactory.

The gunboats have proved themselves well able to resist a severe cannonading. All the iron-clads have received more or less shots—the flag-ship some twenty-eight—without any serious damage to any, except the Essex. This vessel received one shot in her boiler that disabled her, killing and wounding some thirty-two men, Captain Porter among the wounded.

I remain, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General.

General Tilghman, in his dispatches, bears fine testi-

mony to the greatness of Grant's character, rising above the mean revenge of baser minds when flushed with victory :—

"Through the courtesy of Brigadier-General Ulysses S. Grant, commanding Federal forces, I am permitted to communicate with you in relation to the result of the action between the fort under my command at this place and the Federal gunboats, on yesterday. I take great pleasure in acknowledging the courtesies and consideration shown by Brigadier-General U. S. Grant and Commodore Foote, and the officers under their command."

CHAPTER VI.

THE ATTACK UPON FORT DONELSON, AND ITS RESULTS.

General Grant turns his Attention to Fort Donelson.—The Plan of Advance.—The March.—Bivouac.—The Morning of Battle.—The Conflict opens.—The Struggle of Thursday.—The Rebels Victorious.—The Heroism of Wallace's Troops.—The Tide of Battle turns.—The Council of War.—The Victory.—The Second Conclave of Rebel Generals.—The Surrender.—The General Joy.—General Grant's Report.—Incidents.—Fine Commemorative Lines.

THE reduction of Fort Henry, in which the lamented Christian hero, Commodore Foote, was providentially conspicuous, was only a part of the grand work to be accomplished in the general plan of the commanding mind. No time was wasted by General Grant over the success of his movement; but he at once ordered all available troops in his district to be sent to his command, for an advance upon the more formidable works of Fort Donelson, on the western shore of the Cumberland River, a dozen miles from Fort Henry. These fortifications, guarding the waters flowing into the Ohio, as will be seen on the map, were the great barrier between the Union army and the very heart of the treasonable Confederacy.

The plan of march was given in the following order, issued on the evening of February 11:—

One brigade of the First Division will move by the Telegraph Road directly upon Fort Donelson, halting for further orders at a distance of two miles from the fort. The other brigades of the First Division will move by the Dover Ridge road, and halt at the same distance from the fort, and throw out troops, so as to form a continuous line between the two wings.

The two brigades of the Second Division, now at Fort Henry, will follow as rapidly as practicable, by the Dover road, and will be followed by the troops from Fort Heiman, as fast as they can be ferried across the river.

One brigade of the Second Division should be thrown into Dover, *to cut off all retreat by the river*, if found practicable to do so.

THE SURRENDER OF FORT DONELSON.

The force of the enemy being so variously reported, it is impossible to give exact details of attack; but the necessary orders will be given on the field. U. S. GRANT.

Having properly disposed of the troops in brigades and divisions, he placed the latter under the command of the following generals :—

First Division—Acting Major-General J. A. McClernand.

Second Division—Acting Major-General C. F. Smith.

Third Division—Acting Major-General Lewis Wallace.

While the First and Second Divisions of the army were to march across the country, and attack the fort in the rear, another division, attended by the gunboats, was sent up the Cumberland, to make the assault from that direction. There was, it would seem, a lack of close calculation in regard to the time required to descend the Ohio and go up the Cumberland, which, as will be seen in the final conflict, deranged, to some extent, the movements of the troops. General Lewis Wallace, with a single brigade, remained at Fort Henry, while six of his regiments embarked on the steamboats. It was a splendid spectacle, when those transports sailed down the Tennessee, with banners flying over the crowded decks, glittering with burnished arms, gay with uniforms, and the whole scene enlivened with martial music. The fleet met other boats, and, turning them back, they all moved—a grand naval cavalcade—up the Cumberland.

Meanwhile the land forces, on the morning of February 12th, were followed by General Grant and staff. The winding road between the forts was among steep hills, over sandy plains, and along deep ravines shaded by primeval forests. Occasionally a solitary clearing, with its quiet farm-house, greeted the eye of the heroic host. As night came down they halted by the side of a brook, whose waters had rare music to the ear of the weary troops. They had no tents, but uncomplainingly began to prepare for a brief repose upon the frozen ground swept by the chilly winds. The woodman's ax, wielded by strong arms, soon brought down the forest-trees, and cheerful

fires on every hand soon lit up the wintry scene. Stray pigs were pierced by Minié balls, and the next moment were smoking, in fragments, over the glowing embers. After supper, the men prepared from the dead leaves their beds, beneath the lowering sky, and, wrapping their blankets around them, sought a brief repose. Thus fifteen thousand men, excepting the pickets, who kept sleepless watch toward Fort Donelson, slumbered on the cold bosom of the earth, which, a few hours later and a few miles distant, would be reddened with the blood of hundreds of that great army. Its two divisions comprised seven brigades, commanded by Colonels Oglesby, Wallace, McArthur, Morrison, Cook, Louman, and Smith. Accompanying the First Division were Schwartz's, Taylor's, Dresser's, and McAllister's Batteries. In the Second Division there was a remarkable regiment of sharpshooters, commanded by Colonel Birge. They were old hunters, and wore suits of gray, small caps, buffalo knapsacks, and a powder-horn. The shrill whistle, which each man carried, gave the signals for all their movements. They would creep or dart along the forest-paths with Indian-like stealthiness and agility, sending the unerring bullet from their ambush into the rebel lines; then turning in a moment, on their backs, load again the death-dealing rifle. The cavalry swept the country to observe the position and movements of the enemy.

On the early morning of February 13th, General Grant's columns were again in motion. Before the sun had reached the horizon, the white tents of the foe appeared upon the hills in the intrenchments. The army of the Union paused to survey the field of impending conflict. The activity of preparation was visible there; implements and arms were moving in every direction. It was too near night to do more than take a look at the enemy, and then refresh their weary forms with the supper, and rest on the cold ground, for the next day's sanguinary work. While yet the flush of morning heralded a bright and mild day, the startling scream of a rebel shell was heard over the heads of Colonel Oglesby's Brigade. The brave fellows answered with a "Hurra!" and looked with flashing eye

toward sombre Donelson, frowning defiance on the defenders of the republic. Sweeping down with flying banners on the citadel of treason, General McClernand's Division moved along the Dover Road, led by Oglesby's Brigade, to the west and south of the fortifications, and General Smith remained opposite the northwest angle of the fort.

The tempest of shot and shell now began to fall on our ranks from the enemy's batteries, while our own returned the fire. Thus all the forenoon the artillery fight thundered on, drowning the crack of countless rifles under the breastwork. Then the infantry opened their fire. General McClernand had fixed his eye upon a redoubt on the west side of the town, which, with the rifle-pits, protected their batteries, and he resolved to take it. The Forty-eighth, Seventeenth, and Forty-ninth Illinois Regiments were selected for a storming party, and commanded by Colonel Hayne. McAllister's Battery covered the attack. The word of command to advance rang along the lines of those sons of the republic, most of whom had never been in the smoke of battle before. It was a sad and a glorious sight to see that living tide moving over the undulating ground, and then rushing up the hight into the sheets of flame, with steady step, and firing with deliberate aim as they advanced. Men fell, but their places were promptly supplied. They reached the impassable abatis, and then only paused in their gallant assault. Colonel Birge's sharpshooters were called to the rescue, and were soon hidden among the bushes in rifle-range of the enemy, dropping his pickets, and getting close to his batteries. Strangely comic scenes transpired amid this roar and din of murderous battle. A rebel head apparently rose above the breastworks, and toward it whistled a bullet, piercing only a *hat* covering a ramrod. A shout of derision came from the unharmed owner below. "Why don't you come out of your old fort?" exclaims one of Birge's men. "Why don't you come in?" was the reply. "Oh, you are cowards!" responded another Union soldier. "When are you going to take the fort?" came back.

When that Thursday night flung its shadows over the great crescent formed by our army, whose tips reached

nearly to the river's bank, above and below the fort, and over the fortress lying thus within the ample curve, it was a dark hour for the National troops. The dying and the dead were in thicket and hospital—the steamers had not arrived—our force was inferior to that of the foe—the rations gone, excepting a little hard-tack—and the rain falling upon the furrowed soil and matted leaves. Blankets and overcoats had been thrown away, and the very elements seemed to conspire against the surviving heroes of that terrible day. There was suffering in every part of the gloomy arena of conflict.

The morning of Friday, the 14th, dawned upon the hostile armies, both in anxious mood—the rebels ignorant of their superiority in numbers, and our troops waiting impatiently for the arrival of the fleet, without a thought of ultimate failure.

"We came here to take the fort, and we intend to do it," were the brave words of Colonel Oglesby.

At length a courier announced the appearance of the gunboats in the distance, and when the roar of the Carondelet's columbiad was heard, it was welcomed with cheers from even dying lips. The men and supplies were landed three miles below, and a path to them opened through the forest. General Grant had sent, in the mean time, orders to Fort Henry for the troops there.

Of the re-enforcements, General Lewis Wallace led a division, in which Colonel Cruft commanded the first brigade.

The day was consumed in putting the forces in battle array, and supplying them with rations and ammunition.

At three o'clock P. M., Commodore Foote brought up the already scarred leviathans of naval warfare, and opened the assault upon the fort. In another moment, fire, smoke, falling shot, and bursting shells covered the fleet, and the lofty walls and grounds of Fort Donelson. It was a terrible scene.

While Commodore Foote's flag-ship, the St. Louis, was under a tempest of the massive iron hail, he said to the pilot, kindly: "Be calm and firm; every thing depends upon coolness now." The next moment, a sixty-four-

pound shot came hissing along the decks: a stunning sound—a crash—and the pilot lay a mangled corpse at the Commodore's feet. The ball had crushed its way through the iron plating, and a fragment pierced the Commodore's ankle. Still, his courage and faith made him quite forgetful of the painful injury. Through the steering apparatus of this vessel and the Louisville, other heavy balls had been hurled, leaving them both at the mercy of the current; and they were compelled to drift from the scene of action. In one hour and a quarter it was all over, and Fort Donelson was wild with the hurra of fancied victory.

The rudder-chains of the Carondelet were cut by a shot, the pilot-house of the St. Louis crushed, and the pilot killed, and fifty others slain.

That night, while suffering from the severe wound in his foot, the Commodore wrote to a friend, in the sublimely heroic language of "the highest style of man"—a Christian:—

"While I hope ever to rely on Him who controls all things, and to say from my heart, 'Not unto us, but unto Thee, O Lord, belongs the glory,' yet I feel bad at the result of the attack upon Fort Donelson. To see brave officers and men, who say they will go where I lead them, fall by my side, it makes me sad to lead them to almost certain death."

While thus relieving his burdened heart, General Grant was maturing his plan for thoroughly investing the fortress, to reduce it by siege, or wait until the gunboats could be repaired; and at the same hour General Floyd held a council of war at his head-quarters in the town. Generals Buckner, Johnson, Pillow, and other officers were in the rebel conclave, deliberating upon the order of next day's battle. That prince of thieves, Floyd, guessed the design of his enemy, and did not care to fall into his hands by the surrender of the fort. It was therefore decided to anticipate General Grant, and, at daybreak on Saturday, hurl the divisions of Pillow and Johnson upon McClernand's columns, forcing him back upon Wallace, while Buckner, with the remaining half of the troops, came out from the

northwest angle of the fort, pressed Wallace toward McClernand, and, by the shuttlecock game, create general disorder in the Union army, from which to snatch victory, or open a way of escape frem the grasp of General Grant.

Before the bugle-notes of Saturday's reveille had died away over the reposing troops lying on the snow-whitened ground, the report of rifles was the signal of danger. General B. R. Johnson, with twelve thousand men, was falling, by a circuitous march, upon the troops of Oglesby, McArthur, and Wallace, hastening into position.

The batteries of Schwartz, Dunn, and McAllister had turned their front toward General Pillow's battalions. Under the terrible onset of a rebel brigade, General Logan, the brave and patriotic Congressman, who told the Southern conspirators the men of the Northwest would hew their way to the Gulf of Mexico if the Mississippi were closed, held his regiment, the Thirty-first Illinois, firmly under the horrible tempest of unequal battle.

McArthur was compelled, after gallant resistance, to yield, and the prospect of making a hopeless breach in the living wall of Union hearts brightened to the demoniac eye of treason. Oh! how those Illinois regiments, the Eleventh, Twentieth, Forty-fifth, Forty-eighth, and portions of the Forty-ninth and Seventeenth, breasted the tide of exultant, desperate foemen, till the snow became crimson around the pavement of dead men!

General Buckner's troops left the intrenchments at this crisis, and rushed upon Wallace.

Before the greatest part of the rebel army, McClernand's troops melted rapidly away. Oglesby was driven back, and still Wallace stood unyielding in the slaughter. The position of Wallace, with Pillow's brigades in front and on the right, and Buckner's on the left, now became desperate. He began to retreat, but continued firing at the enemy. There was some confusion occasioned by re-enforcements mistaking their brethren-in-arms for the enemy, and opening fire. A few frightened troops broke ranks and fled to the rear. Among them was an officer, who, Gilpin-like, dashed wildly along the road, exclaiming: "We are cut to pieces! The day is lost!"

"Shut up your head, you scoundrel!" shouted back General Wallace. The effect was magical upon his troops; but signs of disaster increased, and the columns took the "double-quick," General Wallace galloping in advance. Colonel Wallace, leading back his brigade, came up, and calmly said: "We are out of ammunition. The enemy are following. If you will put your troops into line, until we can fill our cartridge-boxes, we will stop them." The general was astonished and reassured. His batteries were put in position, and ready to open upon the approaching enemy. The rebels had paused upon the field from which they swept McClernand, to rifle the pockets of the dead and dying.

The elated General Pillow telegraphed to Nashville: "On the honor of a soldier, the day is ours!" Uniting their columns, and flushed with success and the spoils of victory, Generals Buckner and Pillow again advanced. Over the bloody brook, the piled bodies, and the mangled living, rushed the angry masses of armed men. The rebel forces struck at length the First Nebraska, whose stalwart hunters neither feared nor wasted fire, and the "proud waves were stayed." They stood wild and raging a moment, and, failing where the hunters were most effective in their aim, then trembling, rolled back.

Lying before the breastworks, in ambush, were Birge's sharpshooters. A splendid rebel marksman, whose rifle had slain a number of our officers, and one of these hunters, had a comical duel. The former, raising his hat above the ramparts, deceived the sharpshooter, sending a loud laugh to the equally shrewd antagonist. Then a return shot passed over him. Turning on his back, he loaded his gun, and lay perfectly still. After waiting a while, the rebel thought his ball had done the work. Up went his head, cap and all, that he might enjoy the view of his dead enemy. "Crack!" went the well-aimed rifle, and backward into the trenches fell the just now laughing rebel.

In his tent, at head-quarters, General Grant sat, without any shadow of despondency on his face; his lips, well surrounded by short, sandy hair, compressed with his native inflexibility of purpose. One after another, the subor-

dinate officers brought in reports from the commanders. His brightening eye glanced over the pages scarcely dry, and with triumph he exclaimed to a member of his staff: "We have them now just where we want them." His plan was formed. The rifle-pits on the northwest angle of the fort must be carried, and make an approach for the batteries to shell it. General Smith's Division, stationed there, had been in reserve, and could start fresh on the daring and awful venture. General Wallace was ordered to drive the rebels, before whom he had retired, back, and assault the works there.

Colonel M. L. Smith led the brigade. Right there on the bloody field, with a desperate attack before them, and certain death to many, the Eighth and Eleventh Missouri fairly quarreled for the honor of taking the front, the most exposed position in the assault. To the announcement of the work before them, the reply was, "Hurra! hurra!" and then "Forward!" to the storming of the ramparts. But away in the mellow glory of the setting sun, in solid masses, General Smith's Division advanced over the meadow, toward the bristling rows of rifle-pits. Along the dauntless lines of "citizen soldiery," like an incarnation of the daring and gallantry of the high occasion, rode the veteran, his long locks, whitening to the "almond blossom," streaming back upon the electric air of that eventful evening. Heavy shot and bursting shell made clean avenues through the unflinching columns. They closed again for another harvest of death. Up and down that front, lifting high his cap, amid the hissing missiles that rent the air, galloped General Smith. "Steady! steady!" and it was steady—steady advance and steady slaughter. Wallace did his work on the right, and Cook upon the left. Against fallen trees, into the thunder-cloud ablaze, and raining bolts, the unshrinking battalions dashed, as though they were leaping into the spray of a summer sea.

We will let "Carleton," who was there, tell, in his own fine style, the rest of that memorable day's story of carnage and heroism, and what the rebel commanders did "at dead of night."

"The rebels reeled, staggered, tumbled, ran!

"'Hurra!'

"It is a wild, prolonged, triumphant shout, like the blast of a trumpet. They planted their banners on the works, and fired their volleys into the retreating foe. Stone's battery galloped over the meadow, over the logs, up the hill; the horses leaped and plunged as if they, too, knew that victory was hanging in the scale. The gunners sprang from their seats, wheeled their pieces, and threw their shells—an enfilading fire—into the upper works.

"'Hurra! hurra! hurra!' rang through the forest, down the line to Wallace's men.

"'We have carried the works! We are inside!' shouted an officer, bearing the welcome news.

"The men tossed their caps in the air; they shook hands; they shouted, and broke into singing. They forgot all their hardships and sufferings, the hungry days, the horrible nights, the wounded and the dead. The success is worth all the sacrifice.

"All through the night, the brave men held the ground they had so nobly won. They rested on snowy beds. They had no supper. They would kindle no fires to warm the wintry air. The cannon above them hurled down shells, and sent volleys of grape, which screamed above and around them, like the voices of demons, in the darkness. The branches of the trees were torn from their trunks by the solid shot, and the trunks were splintered from top to bottom; but they did not falter or retire from that slope, where the snow was crimsoned with the life-blood of hundreds of their comrades. Nearly four hundred had fallen in that attack. The hill had cost a great deal of blood; but it was worth all it cost, and they would not give it up. So they braved the leaden rain and iron hail through the weary hours of that winter night. They only waited for daybreak, to storm the inner works and take the fort. Their ardor and enthusiasm were unbounded.

"As the morning approached they heard a bugle-call. They looked across the narrow ravine, and saw, in the dim light of the dawn, a man waving a white flag upon the intrenchments. It was a sign for a parley. He jumped down from the embankment and descended the hill.

"'Halt! Who comes there?' shouted the picket.

"'Flag of truce, with a letter for General Grant.'"

An officer took the letter, and hastened down the slope, across the meadow, up to the house on the Dover Road, where General Grant had his head-quarters.

During the night, there had been another council of war at General Floyd's head-quarters. Nearly all the rebel officers commanding brigades and regiments were there. They were downhearted. They had fought bravely, won a victory, as they thought; but had lost it. A rebel officer, who was there, told me what they said. General Floyd and General Pillow blamed General Buckner for not advancing earlier in the morning, and for making what they thought a feeble attack. They could have escaped, after they drove McClernand across the brook; but now they were hemmed in. The prospect was gloomy. The troops were exhausted by the long conflict, by constant watching, and by the cold. What bitter nights those were to the men who came from Texas, Alabama, and Mississippi, where the roses bloom and the bluebirds sing through all the winter months!

What should be done? Should they make another attack, and cut their way out, or should they surrender?

"I cannot hold my position a half-hour. The Yankees can turn my flank or advance directly upon the breast-works," said General Buckner.

"If you had advanced at the time agreed upon, and made a more vigorous attack, we should have routed the enemy," said General Floyd.

"I advanced as soon as I could, and my troops fought as bravely as others," was the response from General Buckner, a middle-aged, medium-sized man. His hair is iron-gray. He has thin whiskers and a mustache, and wears a gray kersey overcoat with a great cape, and gold lace on the sleeves, and a black hat with a nodding black plume.

"Well, here we are, and it is useless to renew the attack with any hope of success. The men are exhausted," said General Floyd, a stout, heavy man, with thick lips, a large nose, evil eyes, and coarse features.

"We can cut our way out," said Major Brown, commanding the Twentieth Mississippi, a tall, black-haired, impetuous, fiery man.

"Some of us might escape in that way, but the attempt would be attended with great slaughter," responded General Floyd.

"My troops are so worn out, and cut to pieces, and demoralized, that I can't make another fight," said Buckner.

"My troops will fight till they die!" answered Major Brown, setting his teeth together.

"It will cost the command three-quarters of its present number to cut its way through; and it is wrong to sacrifice three-quarters of a command to save the other quarter," Buckner continued.

"No officer has a right to cause such a sacrifice," said Major Gilmer, of General Pillow's staff.

"But we can hold out another day, and by that time we can get steamboats here to take us across the river," said General Pillow.

"No, I can't hold my position a half-hour; and the Yankees will renew the attack at daybreak," Buckner replied.

"Then we have got to surrender, for aught I see," said an officer.

"I won't surrender the command, neither will I be taken prisoner," said Floyd. He doubtless remembered how he had stolen public property while in office under Buchanan, and would rather die than fall into the hands of those who, he knew, would be likely to bring him to an account for his villainy.

"I don't intend to be taken prisoner," said Pillow.

"What will you do, gentlemen?" Buckner asked.

"I mean to escape, and take my Virginia brigade with me, if I can. I shall turn over the command to General Pillow. I have a right to escape, if I can, but I haven't any right to order the entire army to make a hopeless fight," said Floyd.

"If you surrender it to me, I shall turn it over to General Buckner," said General Pillow, who was also disposed to shirk responsibility and desert the men whom he

had induced to vote to secede from the Union and take up arms against their country.

"If the command comes into my hands, I shall deem it my duty to surrender it. I shall not call upon the troops to make a useless sacrifice of life, and I will not desert the men who have fought so nobly," Buckner replied, with a bitterness which made Floyd and Pillow wince.

It was past midnight. The council broke up. The brigade and regimental officers were astonished at the result. Some of them broke out into horrid cursing and swearing at Floyd and Pillow.

"It is mean!" "It is cowardly!" "Floyd always was a rascal."

"We are betrayed!" "There is treachery!" said they.

"It is a mean trick for an officer to desert his men. If my troops are to be surrendered, I shall stick by them," said Major Brown.

"I denounce Pillow as a coward; and if I ever meet him, I'll shoot him as quick as I would a dog," said Major McLain, red with rage.

Floyd gave out that he was going to join Colonel Forrest, who commanded the cavalry, and thus cut his way out. But there were two or three small steamboats at the Dover landing. He and General Pillow jumped on board one of them, and then secretly marched a portion of the Virginia Brigade on board. Other soldiers saw what was going on—that they were being deserted. They became frantic with terror and rage. They rushed on board, crowding every part of the boat.

"Cut loose!" shouted Floyd to the captain.

The boats swung into the stream and moved up the river, leaving thousands of infuriated soldiers on the landing. So, the man who had stolen the public property, and who did all he could to bring on the war,—who induced thousands of poor, ignorant men to take up arms,—deserted his post, stole away in the darkness, and left them to their fate.

It is not strange that a messenger appeared, bringing this message:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, FORT DONELSON, *February* 16, 1862.

SIR:—In consideration of all the circumstances governing the present situation of affairs at this station, I propose to the commanding officer of the Federal forces the appointment of commissioners to agree upon terms of capitulation of the forces and fort under my command, and, in that view, suggest an armistice till twelve o'clock to-day.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

S. B. BUCKNER, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A.

To Brigadier-General GRANT, commanding United States forces near Fort Donelson.

Had the rebel general known his conqueror, he would never have sent such a line. Grant did not want many minutes to consider his reply. In place of any such proposal, the bearer's hand had the subjoined brief and comprehensive note:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY IN THE FIELD,
CAMP NEAR DONELSON, *February* 16, 1862.

To GENERAL S. B. BUCKNER, Confederate Army:

Yours of this date, proposing an armistice, and appointment of commissioners to settle terms of capitulation, is just received. *No terms other than unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.*

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Brig.-Gen. U. S. A. Commanding.

Buckner knew, what Grant did not, that Pillow and Floyd had fled the night before, leaving him alone. The proud, helpless, and chagrined Buckner was obliged to make the best of a very unpleasant affair. So he wrote this answer:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DOVER, TENNESSEE, *February* 16, 1862.

To Brigadier-General U. S. GRANT, U. S. A.:

SIR:—The distribution of the forces under my command, incident to an unexpected change of commanders, and the overwhelming force under your command, compel me, notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms yesterday, to accept the ungenerous and unchivalrous terms which you propose.

I am, sir, your very obedient servant,

S. B. BUCKNER, Brig.-Gen. C. S. A.

The soldiers again slept on their arms, with the intention of renewing the attack at daybreak; but the morning sun found a flag of truce waving over the enemy's works. The rebels wished to treat for a surrender.

And thus fell into the hands of General Grant and his army the whole of the forces that garrisoned the works of Forts Henry and Donelson, with the exception of one small brigade of rebel troops, which escaped during the night with Generals Floyd and Pillow. The troops under the former general were stationed in the extreme rear of the works; and when it was ascertained that the day was certainly lost, the two generals, with this brigade, left General Buckner to please himself as to whether he would run, fight, or surrender.

The rebel loss in the surrender of Fort Henry was the commander, General Tilghman, his staff, and about sixty men, the rest of the garrison having moved to support the troops at Fort Donelson. At Fort Donelson the rebels lost General Buckner, over thirteen thousand prisoners, three thousand horses, forty-eight field-pieces, seventeen heavy guns, twenty thousand stand of arms, and a large quantity of commissary stores. The rebels killed in the last engagement were two hundred and thirty-one, and wounded, one thousand and seven, some of whom were prisoners. The Union loss was four hundred and forty-six killed, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five wounded, and one hundred and fifty prisoners. The Union troops having to fight in an open field, against the works of the rebels, accounts for the disparity of numbers in killed and wounded.

Two regiments of rebel Tennesseans, who had been ordered to re-enforce the garrison at Fort Donelson, marched into that work on the day after the capitulation, being unaware of its capture. They went along with their colors flying and their bands playing, and were allowed to enter the camp without any warning as to the character and nationality of those who held it in possession. The whole force (one thousand four hundred and seventy-five, men and officers) were at once captured.

The result of this campaign was far more valuable than would at the first sight appear. The rebel line, at this particular part of the country, may be said to have extended from Columbus to Bowling Green, Kentucky, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, with the ex-

treme points of each wing resting on those two places, which had been strongly fortified. The reduction of Forts Henry and Donelson, and the opening of the rivers at this point, broke the center or backbone of this whole line, and, as a natural sequence, the wings had to fall. In a few days after, both Bowling Green and Columbus were in the possession of the Union troops, the rebels having evacuated those defences.

General Grant's clear and impartial outline of the struggle is quite characteristic :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY IN THE FIELD,
FORT DONELSON, *February* 16, 1862.

General G. W. CULLUM, Chief of Staff, Department of Missouri:

GENERAL :—I am pleased to announce to you the unconditional surrender, this morning, of Fort Donelson, with twelve to fifteen thousand prisoners, at least forty pieces of artillery, and a large amount of stores, horses, mules, and other public property.

I left Fort Henry on the 12th instant, with a force of about fifteen thousand men, divided into two divisions, under the command of Generals McClernand and Smith. Six regiments were sent around by water the day before, convoyed by a gunboat, or rather started one day later than one of the gunboats, with instructions not to pass it.

The troops made the march in good order, the head of the column arriving within two miles of the fort at twelve o'clock, M. At this point the enemy's pickets were met and driven in.

The fortifications of the enemy were from this point gradually approached and surrounded, with occasional skirmishing on the line. The following day, owing to the non-arrival of the gunboats and re-enforcements sent by water, no attack was made; but the investment was extended on the flanks of the enemy, and drawn closer to his works, with skirmishing all day. The evening of the 13th, the gunboats and re-enforcements arrived. On the 14th, a gallant attack was made by Flag-Officer Foote upon the enemy's works with his fleet. The engagement lasted probably one hour and a half, and bid fair to result favorably to the cause of the Union, when two unlucky shots disabled two of the armored gunboats, so that they were carried back by the current. The remaining two were very much disabled also, having received a number of heavy shots about the pilot-house and other parts of the vessels. After these mishaps, I concluded to make the investment of Fort Donelson as perfect as possible, and partially fortify, and await repairs to the gunboats. This plan was frustrated, however, by the enemy making a most vigorous attack upon our right wing, commanded by General J. A. McClernand, with a portion of the force under General L. Wallace. The enemy were repelled after a closely contested battle of several hours, in which our loss was heavy. The officers, and particularly field-officers, suffered out of proportion. I have

not the means yet of determining our loss even approximately, but it cannot fall far short of one thousand two hundred killed, wounded, and missing. Of the latter, I understand through General Buckner, about two hundred and fifty were taken prisoners. I shall retain enough of the enemy to exchange for them, as they were immediately shipped off and not left for recapture.

About the close of this action the ammunition in the cartridge-boxes gave out, which, with the loss of many of the field-officers, produced great confusion in the ranks. Seeing that the enemy did not take advantage of this fact, I ordered a charge upon the left—enemy's right—with the division under General C. F. Smith, which was most brilliantly executed, and gave to our arms full assurance of victory. The battle lasted until dark, giving us possession of part of their intrenchments. An attack was ordered upon their other flank, after the charge of General Smith was commenced, by the divisions under Generals McClernand and Wallace, which, notwithstanding the hours of exposure to a heavy fire in the fore part of the day, was gallantly made, and the enemy further repulsed. At the points thus gained, night having come on, all the troops encamped for the night, feeling that a complete victory would crown their labors at an early hour in the morning. This morning, at a very early hour, General S. B. Buckner sent a message to our camp under a flag of truce, proposing an armistice, etc. A copy of the correspondence which ensued is herewith appended.

I cannot mention individuals who specially distinguished themselves, but leave that to division and brigade officers, whose reports will be forwarded as soon as received. To division commanders, however, Generals McClernand, Smith, and Wallace, I must do the justice to say that each of them was with his command in the midst of danger, and was always ready to execute all orders, no matter what the exposure to himself.

At the hour the attack was made on General McClernand's command, I was absent, having received a note from Flag-Officer Foote, requesting me to go and see him, he being unable to call.

My personal staff—Colonel J. D. Webster, Chief of Staff; Colonel J. Riggin, Jr., Volunteer Aide; Captain J. A. Rawlins, Assistant Adjutant-General; Captains C. B. Lagow and W. S. Hillyer, Aides; and Lieutenant-colonel J. B. McPherson, Chief Engineer—all are deserving of personal mention for their gallantry and services.

For full details and reports and particulars, reference is made to the reports of the Engineer, Medical Director, and commanders of brigades and divisions, to follow.

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. Grant, Brigadier-General.

There will always be an unwritten history of such battle-days and nights—deeds and words of valor which

live only in the memories of the few who saw and heard them. An incident will illustrate.

In the Ninth Illinois Regiment, a soldier received a shot through his arm. The wound was dressed, and again he hastened to his place in the ranks. Soon after, a ball entered his thigh, and he fell. His brave associates offered him help. "No," he replied; "I think I can get along alone." Away he staggered, leaning on his gun, through the iron and leaden hail, found a surgeon, who did his work, and gave the brave refreshment. He rose, and saying, "I feel pretty well; I must go into the fight again," he joined his comrades. He stooped to point his gun; a bullet pierced his neck, and went downward into his body. The next moment balls riddled his head, and the mangled hero fell in death. Such were the warriors, who, thinking not of fame or life, lay down under the dear old flag waving on the battered walls of Donelson.

The magnificent conquest sent a thrill of joy over the nation. Thousands of cannon in the peaceful towns of the North thundered forth the rejoicing, and banners floated over almost every loyal house.

Our modest victor, in the successful performance of a great duty to the country he loved better than life, took another stride in the rapid march of fame. He was made Major-General of Volunteers, dating from the day of the fort's surrender, February 16, 1862.

No one would suspect, from the manner of General Grant, amid these exciting events and clustering honors, the echoing salutes and hurrahs of the soldiery and the people, that he was the hero and object of them all. Unostentatious, "calm as a clock," he kept time to the "drum-beat of duty," unheeding the storm of conflict, or the sunshine of triumph around him.

Let us take a glimpse at scenes apart from the hero and the strife. A friend, who went to the fort after the victory, in behalf of the Christian Commission—one of the noblest enterprises called out by the war, blessing the embattled hosts in its care for them physically and spiritually—related two striking incidents. He visited a hospital-steamer, and found, not far apart, fatally wound-

ed, a religious and a profane young man. The former was ready to die under the old flag, with a banner seen only by faith, bearing the "Star of Bethlehem" and the "stripes by which we are healed," flying over him. The other said: "I have never prayed. And do you think, after such a life, I will now ask for mercy! Never! I will face the music." And soon he also died.

Going to the plains of death, he saw a soldier half buried in the snowy mud, lying on his back with a Testament, which had fallen from the side-pocket of his coat, on the breast. Further on, he came against a corpse, from the pocket of whose coat a pack of cards had dropped, and were scattered over it and on the ground. What instructive contrasts along the track of unpitying war!

In the *Atlantic Monthly* appeared the following fine little poem, commemorative of the costly yet magnificent victory.

O gales, that dash the Atlantic swell
  Along our rocky shores,
Whose thunders diapason well
  New England's glad hurrahs;

Bear to the prairies of the West
  The echoes of our joy,
The prayer that springs in every breast—
  "God bless thee, Illinois!"

Oh, awful hours, when grape and shell
  Tore through the unflinching line!
"Stand firm! Remove the men who fell?
  Close up, and wait the sign!"

It came at last: "Now, lads, the steel!"
  The rushing hosts deploy;
"Charge, boys!" The broken traitors reel;
  Hurrah for Illinois!

In vain thy rampart, Donelson,
  The living torrent bars;
It leaps the wall—the fort is won—
  Up go the Stripes and Stars.

Thy proudest mother's eyelids fill,
  As dares her gallant boy,
And Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill
  Yearn to thee, Illinois.

CHAPTER VII.

HABITS OF MAJOR-GENERAL GRANT.

Rumors about the Habits of Major-General Grant.—Amusing Incident.—Enlarged Field of Action.—Congratulations to his Army.—Movements of the Fleet.—General Grant's Discipline.—Sword Presentation.—Enlarged Command.—Preparations for Conflict at Corinth.—The advance to Pittsburg Landing.—The Plans of the Enemy.—He Surprises the Union Army.—The Battle of Sunday.—The arrival of General Buell.—General Grant Victorious.—Congratulations.—A Christian Hero.

General Grant was becoming sufficiently conspicuous to attract general interest, and lead those who, for any reason, would weaken his influence, to parade before the public real or imaginary faults. With most of the officers of the regular army, and it may be added, of the volunteer service, he probably sometimes indulged in stimulants. But he certainly was never a drunkard, and, when he found himself rising to serious responsibilities in the national cause, abandoned the use of them altogether.

An incident occurred, after the victories of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, in connection with this discussion of the great commander's habits, which occasioned much merriment among his friends in the Southwest. The rumors that he *would* get intoxicated had moved the friends of the Illinois troops at home to send a delegation of gentlemen to confer with General Halleck respecting his removal. They accordingly waited upon the Chief of the Department, and gravely stated the object of their visit.

"You see, General, we have a number of Illinois volunteers under General Grant, and it is not safe that their lives should be intrusted to the care of a man who so constantly indulges in intoxicating liquors. Who knows what blunders he may commit?"

"Well, gentlemen," said General Halleck, "I am satisfied with General Grant, and I have no doubt you also soon will be."

While the deputation were staying at the hotel, the news arrived of the capture of Fort Donelson and thirteen thousand prisoners. General Halleck posted the intelligence himself on the hotel-bulletin, and as he did so he remarked, loud enough for all to hear:

"If General Grant is such a drunkard as he is reported to be, and can win such victories as these, I think it is my duty to issue an order that any man found sober in St. Louis to-night shall be punished with fine and imprisonment."

The people of St. Louis took the hint, and those whose temperance principles were easy, including members of the delegation, passed a festive night. Wrote a staff officer, about this time, to a friend in New York City:

"I have seen it stated in the public prints that General Grant is a drunkard. I have seen him in every phase of his military life, and I can assert that the accusation is false. I have been in the same tent with him at all hours of the day and night, and I never knew him to be under the influence of liquor, or any thing even approaching to it. I do not know what his former life may have been, but I do know that now he is a temperate man."

There was another reason for attacks upon distinguished generals, which should here be stated. It was, disappointment of ambitious or mercenary designs.

General Grant was approached by reporters of the press, to secure a place, and the compensation of it, on his staff. Generals Halleck, Sherman, and C. F. Smith agreed with him that no Government funds should be applied to such a purpose. The "cut" made a wound, whose irritation was aimed at the offenders. General Sherman was called crazy, and General Smith a traitor. It was only at the special request of General Grant that the United States Senate confirmed the nomination of General Smith, and he was able to retain General Sherman; he assuring the Government that both were true men.

To the same source may be traced repeated attempts to destroy the rising reputation of General Grant.

The operations of the early part of February, 1862, had brought him and his army into the State of Tennessee; and to enable him to act with promptitude and success it became necessary to increase his line of operations. Therefore, on the 14th day of February, General Halleck issued an order creating the new district of West Tennessee, to embrace all the country between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers, to the Mississippi State line, and Cairo, making the head-quarters temporarily at Fort Donelson, or wherever the general might be.

The first order issued by General Grant, after the assumption of the command of that district, was a congratulatory order to his troops on their late victory :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
FORT DONELSON, *February* 17, 1862.

The general commanding takes great pleasure in congratulating the troops of this command for the triumph over rebellion, gained by their valor, on the 13th, 14th, and 15th instants.

For four successive nights, without shelter, during the most inclement weather known in this latitude, they faced an enemy in large force, in a position chosen by himself. Though strongly fortified by nature, all the additional safeguards suggested by science were added. Without a murmur this was borne, prepared at all times to receive an attack, and, with continuous skirmishing by day, resulting ultimately in forcing the enemy to surrender without conditions.

The victory achieved is not only great in the effect it will have in breaking down rebellion, but has secured the greatest number of prisoners of war ever taken in any battle on this continent.

Fort Donelson will hereafter be marked in capitals on the map of our United Country, and the men who fought the battle will live in the memory of a grateful people.

By order,
U. S. GRANT, Brigadier-General Commanding.

General Grant never paused to enjoy congratulations or fruits of victory, but followed promptly every advantage gained over the enemy. West Tennessee was evidently within his grasp.

Although one of the principal objects of the campaign —the reopening of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers —had been accomplished, he did not allow his forces to

remain long idle. After Fort Donelson had been reduced, the gunboats, under Commodore Foote, were pushed up the Cumberland River, while, at the same time, a co-operating land force, under General C. F. Smith, consisting of a division of General Grant's army, marched along the western bank. On the 20th of February, the town of Clarksville was taken, without a fight; and at this dépôt were found supplies enough for subsisting General Grant's army for twenty days. The place was at once garrisoned and held, while the gunboats moved still further up the river, to open the way for the army of the Ohio to occupy Nashville.

The Union army had by this time advanced some distance into the territory of the rebels; and it became necessary, to protect the *morale* as well as the persons of those composing that army, that a most rigid discipline should be exacted, and searching law imposed upon all, both friend and foe. General Grant appended to his army orders of February 22d the following:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
FORT DONELSON, TENN., *Feb.* 22, 1862.

Tennessee, by her rebellion, having ignored all laws of the United States, no courts will be allowed to act under State authority; but all cases coming within the reach of the military arm will be adjudicated by the authorities the Government has established within the State.

Martial law is, therefore, declared to extend over West Tennessee. Whenever a sufficient number of citizens return to their allegiance to maintain law and order over the territory, the military restriction here indicated will be removed.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

In addition to the above, General Grant also had another order, from the head of the department, read at dress parade:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
February, 1862.

The following order from the commander of the department is published for the information of this command:

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF MISSOURI,
ST. LOUIS, *February* 23.

The major-general commanding this department desires to impress upon all officers the importance of preserving good order and discipline among these troops and the armies of the West, during their advance into Tennessee and the Southern States.

Let us show to our fellow-citizens of these States, that we come merely to crush out this rebellion, and to restore to them peace and the benefits of the Constitution and the Union, of which they have been deprived by selfish and unprincipled leaders. They have been told that we come to oppress and plunder. By our acts we will undeceive them. We will prove to them that we come to restore, not violate, the Constitution and the laws. In restoring to them the glorious flag of the Union, we will assure them that they shall enjoy, under its folds, the same protection of life and property as in former days.

Soldiers! Let no excesses on your part tarnish the glory of our arms! The orders heretofore issued from this department in regard to pillaging, marauding, and the destruction of private property, and the stealing and concealment of slaves, must be strictly enforced. It does not belong to the military to decide upon the relation of master and slave. Such questions must be settled by the civil courts. No fugitive slave will, therefore, be admitted within our lines or camps, except when especially ordered by the general commanding. Women and children, merchants, farmers, and all persons not in arms, are to be regarded as non-combatants, and are not to be molested, either in their persons or property. If, however, they assist and aid the enemy, they become belligerents, and will be treated as such. As they violate the laws of war, they will be made to suffer the penalties of such violation.

Military stores and public property of the enemy must be surrendered; and any attempt to conceal such property, by fraudulent transfer or otherwise, will be punished. But no private property will be touched, unless by order of the general commanding.

Whenever it becomes necessary, forced contributions for supplies and subsistence for our troops will be made. Such levies will be made as light as possible, and be so distributed as to produce no distress among the people. All property so taken must be receipted fully and accepted for as heretofore directed.

These orders will be read at the head of every regiment, and all officers are commanded strictly to enforce them.

By command of Major-General HALLECK.

Major-General U. S. GRANT.

Although strict martial law was to be exacted, and every effort made to crush the rebellion, still non-combatants were to be respected in their persons and property.

When, upon the evacuation of Nashville, our troops under General Buell occupied the city, a rebel officer significantly remarked to him:—

"We can leave our homes, and General Buell will protect our slave property more vigilantly than we can do it ourselves."

On the 23d of February, General Grant accompanied Admiral Foote up the river to Nashville. It was a strikingly beautiful interlude to the sanguinary scenes of conflict. The brightening verdure along the banks, the fragrant flowers, and the music of birds must have refreshed the stern warriors who ever acted with the perfect harmony of great and magnanimous minds.

No rebels in Nashville were more insulting in their conduct to our troops than females. They became too outrageous for even the patience of General Buell. Passing by a palatial residence, the fair and proud owner waved a secession flag, and shouted:—"Hurrah for Jeff Davis and the Southern Confederacy!" Reining up his steed, and touching his hat, he calmly said: "An excellent house for a hospital!" Before the evening darkened about it, the ambulances bore their melancholy burdens to its doors.

General Grant called on Mrs. James K. Polk, the widow of the former President, under whose administration was opened the Mexican war, and the cadet commenced his military career. He little dreamed, then, he should ever call upon the widow, a rebel in a conquered city.

The interview was cold and formal. She merely expressed the hope that her husband's tomb would be the protection of her home and property. The United States, which so elevated her before almost unknown husband, she despised.

After Nashville had been occupied, the gunboats were taken down the Cumberland River for further operations; and, among others, a reconnoissance was made up the Tennessee River, as far as the northern State lines of Mississippi and Alabama. It was ascertained by the officers of the fleet, that along the banks of this river the Union feeling was strongly manifested, and that the gunboats were welcomed with enthusiasm. It was also discovered that no large rebel force was concentrated near the river itself, and that a base of operations might be established near the borders of the southern Tennessee State line. General Grant, therefore, removed his head-

quarters to Fort Henry, on the Tennessee River, where he fitted out his expedition for operations at a distance of about one hundred miles further up that stream.

About this time, another very strong effort was made, by General Grant's detractors, to get him removed, and it was even reported, while the unjust suspicion was under investigation, that he had been deprived of his command. General C. F. Smith had been placed in command of the troops in the field, and General Grant was still at Fort Henry, organizing and fitting out the forces with which he was about to operate. The advance troops were sent by transports up the Tennessee River, to Savannah, Tennessee, and while *en route*, and even after disembarking, General Smith held the command until the arrival of General Grant at that place.

The Florence (Alabama) *Gazette*, of March 12, 1862, had the following very significant article:—

"We learned yesterday that the Unionists had landed a very large force at Savannah, Tennessee. We suppose they are making preparations to get possession of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. They must never be allowed to get this great thoroughfare in their possession, for then we would indeed be crippled. The labor and untiring industry of too many faithful and energetic men have been expended on this road to bring it up to its present state of usefulness, to let it fall into the hands of the enemy, to be used against us. It must be protected. We, as a people, are able to protect and save it. If unavoidable, let them have our river; but we hope it is the united sentiment of our people, that we will have our railroad."

On the 11th of March, 1862, General Grant, while at Fort Henry, was presented with a handsome sword, by the regimental commanding officers. The handle of the sword was made of ivory, mounted with gold, and the blade was of the finest tempered steel. Two scabbards were attached to the sword, the service one being of fine gilt, while the parade scabbard was of rich gilt, mounted at the band. The sword was inclosed in a fine rosewood case, and accompanied by a suitable sash and belt. The

inscription on the sword was very simple, being merely:—

"Presented to General U. S. Grant, by G. W. Graham, C. B. Lagow, C. C. Marsh, and John Cook, 1862."

While the Tennessee programme of operations was thus carried out, General Grant was not unmindful of the fact that he had hostile forces scattered about at posts nearer home. He sent expeditions and reconnoitring parties in all directions; and, on the 12th of March, 1862, he attacked with artillery and cavalry the enemy's works at a point a mile and a half west of Paris, and commanding the various roads leading to that place. The rebels were driven out, with a loss of about one hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Union forces occupied the works.

With the tendency of the movements of the different armies of the West toward the mouth of the Mississippi River and the Gulf, it became necessary that one chief should have the direction of the whole, to make the combinations at the proper time. Therefore, a new department was created, to be known as the "Department of the Mississippi," which embraced all the country west of a line drawn north and south through Knoxville, as far as Kansas and the Indian Territory, and running north to the lakes. Of this large department, General Grant commanded a very important district.

The fall of Donelson had startled the entire Confederacy, as the cannonading of Sumter did the North; and General Beauregard addressed himself to the work of mustering an irresistible army, with which to roll backward the advancing columns of the Army of Freedom. The rebels began concentrating a large force in the Southwest, under General Albert Sydney Johnston. General P. G. T. Beauregard commanded the troops which constituted the rebel army of the valley of the Mississippi. The head-quarters of this army were located at Corinth, Mississippi, with the intention of holding the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad; of preventing any advance of the Union forces below the line of the Tennessee River; and also to have a force ready to move into Kentucky and across the Ohio River, if an opportunity

should offer. The Mississippi River was also blockaded by fortified positions, at Island No. 10, and other points above Memphis, and at Vicksburg, New Orleans, &c., below that city. It was consequently thought by the rebels, that Corinth could not be attacked by the way of the Mississippi, and they determined to mass their forces to resist the advance of Grant's army from the Tennessee River.

As the remainder of the troops under General Grant passed up the river, they encamped at Savannah and Pittsburg Landing, about twenty miles from Corinth.

On the 15th of March, 1862, the troops belonging to the Third Division of Grant's army advanced from Savannah, Tennessee, into McNairy County, and struck the line of the Jackson and Corinth Railroad, at Purdy, where they burned the railroad bridge, and tore up the track for a long distance. This movement prevented a train, heavily laden with rebel troops, from passing over that line from Jackson, the cars arriving shortly after the bridge was destroyed. As the rebels held the road between Jackson and Grand Junction, thence to Corinth, the concentration of the rebel army was not prevented, but only delayed, by the destruction of this part of the line.

Never before, and perhaps not since, did the South summon with so much pride and confidence the flower of her army to overwhelm the "Yankee invaders." From Pensacola, under Bragg, from Mobile, where the troops had gone to dispute the landing of Butler, and other points, came the chivalry, and their poor whites, to swell the ranks. General Bishop Polk hastened forward divisions from Columbus; Johnson retraced his retreating steps to augment the Confederate force.

The rebel troops which had concentrated at Corinth, about the 1st of April, 1862, were supposed to number, at least, forty-five thousand men, under General A. S. Johnston, commanding department; General P. G. T. Beauregard, commanding army at Corinth; and Generals Bragg, Hardee, Breckinridge, and Polk, in command of divisions. It was also expected, by General Johnston,

that the forces under Generals Van Dorn and Price would have reached them within a few days, swelling his number to at least seventy thousand.

General Grant's forces had, by this time, been nearly all brought together at Pittsburg Landing, Savannah, and other places within reach—the cavalry pickets occupying the outposts of the army.

General Buell, who had been pursuing Johnston through Nashville, was leisurely marching across the country to join General Grant.

"Corinth must be defended," declared the papers of Memphis. And the Governor of Tennessee, by a flaming proclamation, called for enlistments:—

"As Governor of your State, and commander-in-chief of its army, I call upon every able-bodied man of the State, without regard to age, to enlist in its service. I command him who can obtain a weapon to march with our armies. I ask him who can repair or forge an arm to make it ready at once for the soldier."

The rebel generals had the railroads, by which they could rapidly concentrate their troops, and they determined to attack General Grant at Pittsburg, with their superior force, before General Buell could join him. Beauregard had his pickets within four miles of the Union forces, and he could move his entire army within striking distance before General Grant would know of his danger. He calculated that he could annihilate General Grant, drive him into the river, or force him to surrender, capture all his cannon, wagons, ammunition, provisions, steamboats—every thing—by a sudden stroke. If he succeeded, he could then move against General Buell, destroy his army, and not only recover all that had been lost, but he would also redeem Kentucky and invade Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

All but one division of General Grant's army was at Pittsburg. Two miles above the Landing, the river begins to make its great eastern bend. Lick Creek comes in from the west, at the bend. Three miles below Pittsburg is Snake Creek, which also comes in from the west. Five miles further down is Crump's Landing. General

Lewis Wallace's division was near Crump's, but the other divisions were between the two creeks. The banks of the river are seventy-five feet high, and the country is a succession of wooded hills, with numerous ravines. There are a few clearings and farm-houses, but it is nearly all forest—tall oak-trees, with here and there thickets of underbrush.

From the Landing at Pittsburg, which is the nearest point to Corinth on the Tennessee, the road runs beside a ravine in a southwesterly direction, passing, a mile distant, a log-house, where another road branches off to the left, leading to Hamburg, and a third to the right, which goes to Shiloh Church, two miles further, in the direction of Corinth. This primitive sanctuary is a dilapidated log-building, without ceiling or windows—a fair type of the legitimate effect, upon Church and State, of American slavery.

A great advantage would be secured to the rebel army if the attack upon Grant could be made before General Buell reached him. The hostile force would not only outnumber ours by fifteen thousand men, but General Van Dorn was expected from Arkansas with thirty thousand more. But his arrival was delayed, which hastened the movement against Grant to get the start of Buell, who, Johnston learned on the first of April, was within two or three days' march of Savannah. The orders to advance were hailed with wildest joy by the rebel columns, who were assured by their commanders that it would be but a holiday pastime to overwhelm and rout the adversary. The march of eighteen miles was commenced on Thursday, and, hindered by a storm Friday night, the position of attack was not gained till Saturday afternoon. Preparations were immediately made for the onset on Sabbath morning. Along the Union lines there was no dream of the impending danger; no thought of meeting the foe this side of Corinth, where General Halleck, Chief of the Department, was to take the command. A skirmish on the evening of Friday was regarded as a mere reconnoissance by the enemy.

The position of affairs Saturday night was unlike any

other in the progress of the war. There was certainly the appearance of vigilance in our army. But the divisions were scattered; the commanding general was at Savannah, ten miles from the threatened point, and Buell twenty miles away. Rebel sympathizers in the region had thoroughly posted the enemy, whose superior force had, it would seem, every possible advantage. And it must be recollected that nothing excepting the picket firing and light skirmishing changed at all the force of the many considerations which pointed to Corinth, the enemy's stronghold, as the battle-field.

General Grant personally reconnoitered, to discover if there were any indications that the rebels had advanced.

The rebel leader—the late candidate for Vice-President of the United States—addressed the soldiers with great earnestness and sensational eloquence:—

Soldiers of the Army of the Mississippi:

I have put you in motion to offer battle to the invaders of your country, with the resolution and discipline and valor becoming men, fighting, as you are, for all worth living or dying for. You can but march to a decisive victory over agrarian mercenaries, sent to subjugate and despoil you of your liberties, property, and honor.

Remember the precious stake involved; remember the dependence of your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your children, on the result. Remember the fair, broad, abounding lands, the happy homes, that will be desolated by your defeat. The eyes and hopes of eight million people rest upon you. You are expected to show yourselves worthy of your valor and courage, worthy of the women of the South, whose noble devotion in this war has never been exceeded in any time. With such incentives to brave deeds, and with trust that God is with us, your general will lead you confidently to the combat, assured of success.

General A. S. Johnston, Commanding.

The rebel army of the Mississippi was divided into three army corps, and was commanded as follows:—

Commanding-General, General Albert Sydney Johnston.

Second in Command, General P. G. T. Beauregard.

First Army Corps, Lieutenant-General L. Polk.

Second Army Corps, Lieutenant-General Braxton Bragg.

Third Army Corps, Lieutenant-General W. J. Hardee.

Reserves, Major-General G. B. Crittenden.

Against this force, Major-General Grant had but a small army in comparison, consisting of five divisions. The organization of this army was as follows :—

Commanding-General, Major-General U. S. Grant.
First Division, Major-General J. A. McClernand.
Second Division, Brigadier-General W. H. L. Wallace.
Third Division, Major-General Lewis Wallace.
Fourth Division, Brigadier-General S. A. Hurlburt.
Fifth Division, Brigadier-General W. T. Sherman.

General Johnston's plan of battle was to fall, with his entire force, upon the columns of Prentiss and Sherman. With their small fires deep in the ground, and whispered signals, that no tidings of their proximity might meet the Union lines, they partook of their Saturday evening repast, and laid down to dream of conquest and Yankee luxuries in the morning. Apart from the sleeping soldiery around General Johnston's bivouac-fire, was held a council of war, of which an aid-de-camp of General Breckinridge, who had been impressed into the rebel service, has published an account :—

"In an open space, with a dim fire in the midst, and a drum on which to write, you could see grouped around their 'Little Napoleon,' as Beauregard was sometimes fondly called, ten or twelve generals, the flickering light playing over their eager faces, while they listened to his plans, and made suggestions as to the conduct of the fight.

"Beauregard soon warmed with his subject, and, throwing off his cloak, to give free play to his arms, he walked about the group, gesticulating rapidly, and jerking out his sentences with a strong French accent. All listened attentively, and the dim light, just revealing their countenances, showed their different emotions of confidence or distrust of his plans.

"General Sydney Johnston stood apart from the rest, with his tall, straight form standing out like a spectre against the dim sky, and the illusion was fully sustained by the light-gray military cloak which he folded around him. His face was pale, but wore a determined expres-

sion, and at times he drew nearer the centre of the ring, and said a few words, which were listened to with great attention. It may be he had some foreboding of the fate he was to meet on the morrow, for he did not seem to take much part in the discussion.

"General Breckinridge lay stretched out on a blanket near the fire, and occasionally sat upright, and added a few words of counsel. General Bragg spoke frequently, and with earnestness. General Polk sat on a camp-stool at the outside of the circle, and held his head between his hands, buried in thought. Others reclined or sat in various positions.

"For two hours the council lasted, and as it broke up, and the generals were ready to return to their respective commands, I heard General Beauregard say, raising his hand and pointing in the direction of the Federal camp, whose drums we could plainly hear, 'Gentlemen, we sleep in the enemy's camp to-morrow night.'"

The beautiful Sabbath morning came with vernal beauty and fragrance, in strange contrast with the terrible scenes which would make it forever memorable in the world's history. Soon after two o'clock the rebel army quietly dispatched their breakfast, and by the hour of three stood in marching order, with only their arms, that they might move with the greater celerity through the woods.

The Union troops were still enjoying their night's repose. The whole aspect of the camp was that of assured security; a few early risers alone were astir, looking after the patient animals, and rekindling the dying fires. General Prentiss had increased the number of pickets, because of the reported presence of rebel cavalry near. In addition to this precaution, he sent Colonel Moore, with a part of the Twenty-first Missouri, to the front. He was met by the rebel skirmishers at the picket line, where the firing commenced. Though in the forest twilight every thing was indistinct, the rebel force was evidently large, and Colonel Moore sent for the rest of his regiment. General Prentiss immediately formed his several regiments into two brigades, and sent a mes-

senger to Generals Hurlburt and Wallace, in his rear toward the landing, with tidings of the attack. There was no haste in the camp to prepare for battle, because it was believed the alarm arose from the discharge of their guns by the returning pickets, who were accustomed to such daily exercise at target-shooting. Soon the Twenty-first Missouri came hurrying back from the front, reporting the advance of the rebel army. It marched in four lines, the third corps in front, led by Hardee; the Second Corps following under Bragg; the first corps next, commanded by Polk; and behind these, Breckinridge with the reserves.

Never, perhaps, was there a more sudden and intense excitement throughout a great army than that which spread over the Union camp. Amid the confusion, General Gladden's Brigade of Bragg's Corps poured in a murderous fire, killing soldiers still lying in their tents.

General Prentiss formed and encouraged his troops, determined to stem the advancing tide. And now Hardee brought his brigades between Prentiss and Sherman, flanking each by the adroit movement, determined to separate the former from the river. Regiments began to break, and the rebels, encouraged with their well-known and terrific shout, pressed forward. "Don't give way! Stand firm! Drive them back with the bayonet!" were the cool, ringing orders of Colonel Peabody, whose brave Missourians stood unmoved in the shock of battle. Just then, while General Gladden was shouting, "On! on! forward, boys!" a cannon-ball struck him, and he dropped from his horse.

The nearly surrounded regiments of General Prentiss were compelled to give way; the gallant Peabody falling before a rebel bullet.

General Hurlburt was met by them, but advanced with steady and rapid step.

The jubilant victors, wild with rum and premature joy, pillaged Prentiss's camp and robbed the prisoners taken.

But where, during this progress of the surprise, had been General Grant? He had ordered a signal-gun to be

fired if an attack occurred, and when its startling roar reached his ear, he instantly ordered his horses and also the train to be ready. At the same moment he sent a messenger to General Buell, ten miles away, to hasten his march to the scene of conflict; and in one hour and a quarter he was at the head of the army, breasting the wild tumult of panic and invasion.

We turn to another part of the field, and find the noble Sherman bringing order out of the chaos around him. The sun had risen when his frightened pickets came in with their alarming reports. "There was hurrying to and fro" after sabres, guns, and the various appliances of war. Fortunately General Hardee, instead of advancing with a charge upon the unprepared troops, halted to open his batteries. They formed in order of battle.

"When the alarm was given, General Sherman was instantly on his horse. He sent a request to McClernand to support Hildebrand. He also sent word to Prentiss that the enemy were in front, but Prentiss had already made the discovery, and was contending with all his might against the avalanche rolling upon him from the ridge south of his position. He sent word to Hurlburt that a force was needed in the gap between the church and Prentiss. He was everywhere present, dashing along his lines, paying no attention to constant fire aimed at him and his staff by the rebel skirmishers, within short musket range. They saw him, knew that he was an officer of high rank, saw that he was bringing order out of confusion, and tried to pick him off. While galloping down to Hildebrand, his orderly, Halliday, was killed."

And thus the battle raged with increasing fury, covering the entire field of the late quiet encampment with the roar, fire, and smoke of the severest battle thus far of the war. Major Taylor's and Barrett's batteries made frightful havoc with the enemy, and yielded their position when it was no longer possible to hold it. At length Sherman could no longer hold his camp, and fell back of McClernand. And again the rebels reveled with yells of delight upon the rations of the deserted camp, and

dressed themselves in the Federal uniform. While these scenes of carnage and disaster to the Union cause were transpiring around Shiloh Church, the prospect was no brighter between it and the Tennessee. The men of Meyer's Battery, who had never heard a shell, ran when its first shriek rent the air overhead.

General Johnston had made the clear gain of a mile, crushing in our front on every hand. When the sun was sinking toward the west, the hurrahs of treason over the expected triumph seemed to drown the fearful sounds of the conflict. General Wallace, the very incarnation of heroism, maintained his ground from eleven till four o'clock, his men repeating the deeds of valor which covered them with glory at Fort Donelson.

General Breckinridge had brought up his reserves near the river, and before Stuart's Brigade. Riding up to General Johnston, who was upon the hills, surrounded by his staff, and surveying the field, Johnston said to him:—"I will lead your men into the fight to-day, for I intend to show these Kentuckians and Tennesseeans that I am no coward," referring to the suspicion created by his abandonment of Nashville. Breckinridge moved against Hurlburt, but was repulsed. He sent to Johnston for instructions. As the aid rode up, a shell exploded overhead, and one of its fragments entered the Commander's thigh, cutting an artery from which he bled to death in a few hours. The disheartening blow was kept a secret from the Union troops by the order of General Beauregard. Soon after, General Wallace received a mortal wound, and his discouraged division followed his bleeding body to the rear. General Prentiss was surrounded and taken prisoner.

A passage from General Bragg's report will indicate the rebel view of the fortunes of the day, as that Sabbath-day's sun went down: "The enemy were driven headlong from every position, and thrown in confused masses upon the river-bank, behind his heavy artillery, and under cover of his gunboats at the Landing. He had left nearly all his light artillery in our hands, and some three thousand or more prisoners, who were cut off in their

retreat by the closing in of our troops on the left, under Major-General Polk, with a portion of his reserve corps, and Brigadier-General Ruggles, with Anderson's and Pond's brigades of his division."

In the midst of this disaster—the shattered army forced backward toward the Landing, where panic-smitten fugitives crowd the transports—General Grant is calm, and confident of final success. He says, in his quiet way, "We shall hold them yet." An officer of the gunboat Tyler approaches, and suggests that the silent leviathans on the tranquil river have now a chance to harm the enemy. He returns with the brief message: "Tell Captain Gwin to use his own discretion."

The impatient men of the Tyler and Lexington, with a bound, hasten to the guns and open their thunder.

On the banks of a ravine running northwest from the Landing was a battery, which, for want of men to work it, had been useless. The favoring moment urged the call for volunteers, and, led by Dr. Corwyn, Surgeon of the First Missouri Artillery, they soon send a tempest of shot and shell along the gorge. McAllister, Stone, Walker, and Silversparre, and, nearer the church, Richardson, Powell, Edwards, Taylor, Willard, Mann, Dresser, and Ross, had Parrots and howitzers ready to join in the cannonade of this decisive day—a day which would either give Tennessee to the rebels, and win foreign recognition of the Confederacy, or check the invaders till re-enforcements arrive.

The canteens left by the rebels on the battle-field showed that numbers of them were infuriated with whisky, in which was dissolved gunpowder; and they shouted wildly with every advantage gained, "Bull Run! Bull Run!" And whenever our troops made an impression on the hostile front, the shout rang back, "Fort Donelson! Fort Donelson!"

The columns of Beauregard boldly advanced, but suddenly met a wasting fire, and reeled before the unexpected welcome of the patient, hopeful, and determined Grant. In vain he shouted, "Forward, boys, and drive them into the Tennessee!" The horrible carnage mowed

down the ranks in the ravine, till the living could no longer endure the hopeless slaughter.

And thus, by the hour, destruction rode upon the awful storm of batteries protected by and acting in concert with the boats. Said Colonel Fagan, of an Arkansas brigade:—

"Three different times did we go into the 'Valley of Death,' and as often were forced back by overwhelming numbers, intrenched in a strong position. That all was done that possibly could be done, the heaps of killed and wounded left there give ample evidence."

Suddenly, there was a wild hurra on the highland near the river, which was caught up by the Union ranks, till its sound drowned the roar of the terrible and doubtful strife, and startled the rebel host, while it rekindled the fading eyes of our dying heroes.

Eager watchers had suddenly discerned in the distance, on the opposite bank, rapidly marching troops, bearing the dear old banner of the Republic. The advance columns of Buell were now at last near! It was four o'clock in the afternoon, when General Nelson, of Kentucky, commanding the welcome re-enforcements, rode up to General Grant, who was in the fiercest storm of battle, and with his martial salutation, pointing to his noble ranks of athletic, well-drilled men pouring on the transports to be ferried over the river, said exultingly: "Here we are. We are not very military in our division. We don't know many fine points or nice evolutions; but, if you want stupidity and hard fighting, I reckon we are the men for you."

General Buell, who had reached General Grant's headquarters, was depressed by the aspect of the battle-field, and saw little prospect of saving the fortunes of the day.

He asked General Grant what preparations he had made for retreat in case of defeat.

"I am not going to be defeated," replied the iron man.

"Such an event is possible," added Buell. "And it is the duty of a prudent general to provide for the contingency."

General Grant pointed to the transports, quietly asking:

"Don't you see those boats?"

"Yes; but they will not carry more than ten thousand, and we have thirty thousand."

"Well, ten thousand are more than I intend to retreat with," replied General Grant. General Buell evidently anticipated defeat.

That Sabbath's twilight curtained a Golgotha seldom known in war's dread havoc. Though the rebel chief did not finish the work anticipated, he had made good his promise of sleeping in Union camps, and paused, dripping with blood, to repeat on Monday the treasonable and deadly blows upon the hated Republic.

General Grant was anxious; but here he *had* held them at last. During the awful night of groans from the dying thousands, and shrieking of shells in the air, General Grant said to his officers: "We must not give the enemy the moral advantage of attacking to-morrow morning. We must fire the first gun."

Monday's sun had only streaked with herald-beams the east, when General Grant, strengthened by General Buell and his Army of the Ohio, ordered an attack. Beauregard, who anticipated a finishing onset upon his foe, was met by Nelson, on whose front the gunboats had driven back the rebels. For an hour the doubtful struggle raged, till Mendenhall's Battery came up, and poured in the grape. Hazen also was ordered forward.

"Into position there! Lively, men!" shouts Captain Tirrell to his battery, flying from one thundering tube of flame to another. "Grape and cannister!" he said to the officers of the twelve-pounders; and away he rode again to another post of peril.

Crittenden, McCook, Rousseau, advanced. A little later, the general and final engagement opened. Then, what deeds of valor lent sanguinary glory to the awful plains of battle for a nation's life! The falling banner was seized before it touched the dust, from the hand of the slain. Colonel Ammen, the first in the broken lines from General Buell's transports, husked corn and fed his noble steed in the tempest of shells.

"The enemy knew," wrote an eye-witness, "that a

defeat here would be the death-blow to their hopes, and that their all depended on this great struggle; and their generals still urged them on in the face of destruction, hoping, by flanking us on the right, to turn the tide of battle. Their success was again, for a time, cheering, as they began to gain ground on us, appearing to have been re-enforced; but our left, under General Nelson, was driving them, and with wonderful rapidity; and, by eleven o'clock, General Buell's forces had succeeded in flanking them, and capturing their batteries of artillery.

"They, however, again rallied on the left, and re-crossed; and the right forced themselves forward in another desperate effort. But re-enforcements from General Wood and General Thomas were coming in, regiment after regiment, which were sent to General Buell, who had again commenced to drive the enemy.

"About three o'clock in the afternoon, General Grant rode to the left where the fresh regiments had been ordered, and, finding the rebels wavering, sent a portion of his body-guard to the head of each of five regiments, and then ordered a charge across the field, himself leading; and as he brandished his sword, and waved them on to the crowning victory, the cannon-balls were falling like hail around him.

"The men followed with a shout that sounded above the roar and din of the artillery, and the rebels fled in dismay as from a destroying avalanche, and never made another stand.

"General Buell pursued the retreating rebels, driving them in splendid style, and, by half-past five o'clock, the whole rebel army was in full retreat to Corinth.

"There has never been a parallel to the gallantry and bearing of our officers, from the commanding General to the lowest officer.

"General Grant and staff were in the field, riding along the lines in the thickest of the enemy's fire, during the entire two days of the battle; and all slept on the ground Sunday night, during a heavy rain. On several occasions General Grant got within range of the enemy's guns, and was discovered and fired upon.

"Lieutenant-Colonel McPherson had his horse shot from under him when along side of General Grant.

"Captain Carson was near General Grant when a cannon-ball took off his head, and killed and wounded several others.

"General McClernand and General Hurlbut, each received bullet-holes through their clothes."

And no better vindication of General Grant's management of affairs at Pittsburg Landing can be offered, than the testimony of General Sherman, in his lengthy and able letter on the struggle; in which he says:—

"The battle-field was chosen by the lamented Major-General Charles F. Smith, and it was well chosen; on any other the Union army would have been overwhelmed. General Grant was early on the field, and visited his (Sherman's) division in person about ten A. M., when the battle was raging fiercest; approved of his stubborn resistance to the enemy, and, in answer to his inquiry concerning cartridges, told him that he had anticipated their want, and given orders accordingly; and, remarking that his presence was more needed over at the left, rode off to encourage the hardly-pressed ranks of McClernand's and Hurlburt's Divisions."

General Sherman says further: "About five P. M., before the sun set, General Grant came again to me, and, after hearing my report of matters, explained to me the situation of affairs on the left, which were not so favorable; still, the enemy had failed to reach the landing of the boats. We agreed that the enemy had expended the *furore* of his attack, and we estimated our loss and approximated our then strength, including Lew. Wallace's fresh division, expected each minute. He then ordered me to get all things ready, and, at daylight the next day, to assume the offensive. That was before General Buell had arrived, but he was near at hand. General Buell's troops took no essential part in the first day's fight, and Grant's army, though collected together hastily, green as militia, some regiments arriving without cartridges even, and nearly all hearing the dread sound of battle for the first time, had successfully withstood and repelled the

first day's terrific onset of a superior enemy, well commanded and well handled. I know I had orders from General Grant to assume the offensive before I knew General Buell was on the west side of the Tennessee. * * * I understood Grant's forces were to advance on the right of the Corinth road, and Buell's on the left (this was on the 7th), and, accordingly, at daylight I advanced my division by the flank, the resistance being trivial up to the very spot where the day before the battle had been most severe, and then waited till near noon for Buell's troops to get up abreast, when the entire line advanced and recovered all the ground we had ever held. I know that, with the exception of one or two severe struggles, the fighting of April 7th was easy as compared with that of April 6th. I never was disposed, nor am now, to question any thing done by General Buell and his army, and know that, approaching our field of battle from the rear, he encountered that sickening crowd of laggards and fugitives that excited his contempt and that of his army, who never gave full credit to those in the front line who did fight hard, and who had, at four P. M., checked the enemy, and were preparing the next day to assume the offensive."

The impressions made by the officers and scenes of the battle-days of Shiloh, recorded by Mr. A. D. Richardson, who was on the plains of death, are remarkably clear and just:—

"Throughout the battle, Grant rode to and fro on the front, smoking his inevitable cigar, with his usual stolidity and good fortune. Horses and men were killed all around him, but he did not receive a scratch. On that wooded field it was impossible for any one to keep advised of the progress of the struggle. Grant gave orders, merely bidding his generals to do the best they could.

"Sherman had many hair-breadth escapes. His bridle-rein was cut off by a bullet within two inches of his fingers. As he was leaning forward in the saddle, a ball whistled through the top and back of his hat. His metallic shoulder-strap warded off another bullet, and a third passed through the palm of his hand. Three horses were

shot under him. He was the hero of the day. All awarded to him the highest praise for skill and gallantry. He was promoted to a major-generalship, dating from the battle. His official report was a clear, vivid, and fascinating description of the conflict.

"Five bullets penetrated the clothing of an officer on McClernand's staff, but did not break the skin. A ball knocked out two front teeth of a private in the Seventeenth Illinois Infantry, but did him no further injury. A rifle-shot passed through the head of a soldier in the First Missouri Artillery, coming out just above the ear, but did not prove fatal. Dr. Corwyn, of St. Louis, told me that he extracted a ball from the brain of one soldier, who, three days afterward, was on duty, with the bullet in his pocket.

"Brigadier-General Thomas W. Sweeney, who had lost one arm in the Mexican War, received a Minié bullet in his remaining arm, and another shot in his foot, while his horse fell riddled with seven balls. Almost fainting from loss of blood, he was lifted upon another horse, and remained on the field through the entire day. His coolness and his marvelous escapes were talked of before many camp-fires throughout the army.

"Once, during the battle, he was unable to determine whether a battery, whose men were dressed in blue, was rebel or Union. Sweeney, leaving his command, rode at a gentle gallop directly toward the battery, until within pistol-shot, saw that it was manned by Confederates, turned in a half-circle, and rode back again at the same easy pace. Not a single shot was fired at him, so much was the respect of the Confederates excited by this daring act. I afterward met one of them, who described, with great vividness, the impression which Sweeney's gallantry made upon them.

"The steady determination of Grant's troops during that long April Sunday was, perhaps, unequaled during the war. At night companies were commanded by sergeants, regiments by lieutenants, and brigades by majors. In several regiments, one-half the men were killed and wounded; and in some entire divisions the killed and

wounded exceeded thirty-three per cent. of the numbers who went into battle.

"I have seen no other field which gave indication of such deadly conflict as the Shiloh ridges and ravines, everywhere covered with a very thick growth of timber—

'Shot-sown and bladed thick with steel.'

In one tree I counted sixty bullet-holes; another bore marks of more than ninety balls within ten feet of the ground. Sometimes, for several yards in the dense shrubbery, it was difficult to find a twig as large as one's finger, which had not been cut off by balls.

"A friend of mine counted one hundred and twenty-six dead rebels, lying where they fell, upon an area less than fifty yards wide and a quarter of a mile long. One of our details buried, in a single trench, one hundred and forty-seven of the enemy, including three lieutenant-colonels and four majors.

"It was long after the battle of Shiloh before all the dead were buried. Many were interred in trenches, scores together. A friend, who was engaged in this revolting labor, told me that, after three or four days, he found himself counting off the bodies as indifferently as he would have measured cord-wood.

"When the army began to creep forward, I messed at Grant's head-quarters, with his chief of staff; and around the evening camp-fires I saw much of the General. He rarely uttered a word upon the political bearings of the war; indeed, he said little upon any subject. With his eternal cigar, and his head thrown slightly to one side, for hours he would sit silently before the fire, or walk back and forth, with his eyes upon the ground, or look in upon our whist-table, now and then making a suggestion about the play.

"Most of his pictures greatly idealize his full, rather heavy face. The journalists called him stupid. One of my *confrères* used to say:—

"'How profoundly surprised Mrs. Grant must have been when she woke up and learned that her husband was a great man!'

"He impressed me as possessing great purity, integrity, and amiability, with excellent judgment, and boundless pluck. But I should never have suspected him of military genius. Indeed, nearly every man of whom, at the beginning of the war, I prophesied a great career, proved inefficient, and *vice versâ*.

"Military men seem to cherish more jealousies than members of any other profession, except physicians and artists. At almost every general head-quarters, one heard denunciations of rival commanders. Grant was above this 'mischievous, foul sin of chiding.' I never heard him speak unkindly of a brother officer.

"Hooker once boasted that he had the best army on the planet. One would have declared that Grant commanded the worst. There was little of that order, perfect drill, or pride, pomp, and circumstance, seen among Buell's troops, and in the Army of the Potomac. But Grant's rough, rugged soldiers would fight wonderfully, and were not easily demoralized. If their line became broken, every man from behind a tree, rock, or stump, blazed away at the enemy on his own account. They did not throw up their hats at sight of their general, but were wont to remark, with a grim smile :—

"'There goes the old man. He doesn't say much ; but he's a pretty hard nut for Johnny Reb. to crack.'

"Unlike Halleck, Grant did not pretend to familiarity with the details of military text-books. He could not move an army with that beautiful symmetry which McClellan displayed ; but his pontoons were always up, and his ammunition trains were never missing.

"Though not occupied with details, he must have given them close attention ; for, while other commanding generals had forty or fifty staff officers, brilliant with braid and buttons, Grant allowed himself but six or seven."

Whatever the valor of such commanders as Sherman, McPherson, and Buell, with his re-enforcements, accomplished for the country's imperiled cause, the record of the struggle is clear, that General Grant rode through it all with cool, resolute heroism, never for an instant despairing

of success. He was slightly wounded in the ankle, but able to remain on the field.

While the South was jubilant over the report of victory, the chaplains of the noble army were leading thousands of devout soldiers in prayer and thanksgiving to God.

An amusing incident made a singular interlude to the worship of one assembly. The chaplain was reading the lines,

> "Show pity, Lord; O Lord, forgive!
> Let a repenting rebel live,"

when a patriotic soldier, forgetting the exact meaning, exclaimed :—

"No, sir; not unless they lay down their arms, every one of them."

Of the Union troops, one thousand six hundred and fourteen were slain, seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-one wounded, and three thousand nine hundred and sixty-three missing; making the entire loss more than thirteen thousand men. The enemy's loss was at least as great. Over twenty-five thousand husbands, fathers, and sons—killed, mangled, captured, and astray—is the cost of a single battle!

The tidings of victory created a great excitement among the citizens of New York, and during the day it was telegraphed to the National Capital and to other parts of the Union. The proprietor of the newspaper in which it was published telegraphed it immediately to the President and to both Houses of Congress, in which it was read aloud. In the Lower House, Mr. Colfax, on asking leave to read the dispatch, was greeted on all sides of the House with cries of "To the Clerk's desk." The previous noise and excitement subsided, and as the House listened to the brief and pregnant details of the bloody struggle which preceded the glorious victory over the concentrated strength of rebeldom, all hearts were stilled, and the very breathing almost suppressed, till the last word of the dispatch was read. The rejoicing was great at the victory, though saddened at the price of blood with which it had been purchased.

The following extract from the official War Bulletin is complimentary to the commanding generals :—

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *April* 9, 1862.

That the thanks of the Department are hereby given to Major-Generals Grant and Buell, and their forces, for the glorious repulse of Beauregard, at Pittsburg, in Tennessee.

A salute of one hundred guns was fired at the National Capital; and from every part of the North the responsive echoes of gratitude and joy were heard.

It will be seen by the details of the struggle, that the first day the success seemed to be entirely on the side of the rebels, and on that ground, General Beauregard, who succeeded General Johnston, telegraphed to the rebel government as follows :—

CORINTH, *Tuesday, April* 8, 1862.

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR, RICHMOND:

We have gained a great and glorious victory. Eight to ten thousand prisoners, and thirty-six pieces of cannon. Buell re-enforced Grant, and *we retired to our intrenchments at Corinth*, which we can hold. Loss heavy on both sides. BEAUREGARD.

From the following correspondence, it does not appear that the rebels could have moved about at will, or had even the consolation of a victory :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF MISSISSIPPI,
MONTEREY, *April* 8, 1862.

SIR:—At the close of the conflict yesterday, my forces being exhausted by the extraordinary length of the time during which they were engaged with yours, on that and the preceding day, and it being apparent that you had received, and were still receiving, re-enforcements, I felt it my duty to withdraw my troops from the immediate scene of the conflict. Under these circumstances, in accordance with the usages of war, I shall transmit this under a flag of truce, to ask permission to send a mounted party to the battle-field of Shiloh, for the purpose of giving decent interment to my dead. Certain gentlemen wishing to avail themselves of this opportunity to remove the remains of their sons and friends, I must request for them the privilege of accompanying the burial party; and in this connection, I deem it proper to say, I am asking what I have extended to your own countrymen under similar circumstances.

Respectfully, General, your obedient servant,

P. G. T. BEAUREGARD, General Commanding.

To Major-General U. S. GRANT, Major-General, Commanding United States Forces, Pittsburg Landing.

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY IN FIELD,
PITTSBURG, *April* 9, 1862.

General P. G. T. BEAUREGARD, Commanding Confederate Army on Mississippi, Monterey, Tenn.:

Your dispatch of yesterday is just received. Owing to the warmth of the weather, I deemed it advisable to have all the dead of both parties buried immediately. Heavy details were made for this purpose, and it is now accomplished. There cannot, therefore, be any necessity of admitting within our lines the parties you desired to send on the ground asked. I shall always be glad to extend any courtesy consistent with duty, and especially so when dictated by humanity. I am, General, respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General Commanding.

On the morning of April 8th, General Sherman, the commander of the Fifth Division, at the head of a cavalry force and two brigades of infantry, made a reconnoissance along the Corinth road, where he found the abandoned camps of the rebels lining the roads, with hospital flags for their protection. Shortly after he came upon the rebel cavalry, which, after a skirmish, was driven from the field. He then destroyed the rebel camp, including the ammunition intended for the rebels' guns.

General Sherman found the road to Corinth strewed with abandoned wagons, ambulances, and limber-boxes, and other indications of a hasty retreat. The enemy had succeeded in removing the guns; but crippled his batteries by abandoning the limber-boxes of at least twenty pieces. The retreat of the enemy's infantry was evidently a disorderly one, and, had not the cavalry been in great force to protect the rear, might soon have been turned into a disastrous rout.

When the news of this battle reached St. Louis, General Halleck, the commander of the department, determined to take to the field himself, and inquire into the real results of the "Battle of Shiloh."

On his arrival at Pittsburg Landing, he issued the following order to the troops:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
PITTSBURG, TENN., *April* 18, 1862.

I. The major-general commanding this department thanks Major-

General Grant and Major-General Buell, and the officers and men of their respective commands, for the bravery and endurance with which they sustained the general attacks of the enemy on the 6th, and for the heroic manner in which, on the 7th instant, they defeated and routed the entire rebel army. The soldiers of the great West have added new laurels to those which they have already won on numerous battle-fields.

* * * * * * *

III. Major-Generals Grant and Buell will retain the immediate command of their respective armies in the field.

By command of Major-General HALLECK.

Cavalry skirmishes still continued, at intervals, to take place along the outposts of the Union army; but nothing important occurred until April 17, 1862, when the movement was made toward Corinth.

The hero of Shiloh gave his story of the contest in these words:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF WESTERN TENNESSEE,
PITTSBURG, *April* 9, 1862.

Captain N. H. McLEAN, Assistant Adjutant-General, Department of Mississippi, St. Louis:

CAPTAIN:—It becomes my duty again to report another battle, fought by two great armies, one contending for the maintenance of the best government ever devised, and the other for its destruction. It is pleasant to record the success of the army contending for the former principle.

On Sunday morning our pickets were attacked and driven in by the enemy. Immediately the five divisions stationed at this place were drawn up in line of battle to meet them.

The battle soon waxed warm on the left and centre, varying at times to all parts of the line. There was the most continuous firing of musketry and artillery ever heard on this continent kept up until nightfall.

The enemy, having forced the entire line to fall back nearly half way from their camps to the Landing, at a late hour in the afternoon a desperate effort was made by the enemy to turn our left and get possession of the Landing, transports, &c.

This point was guarded by the gunboats *Tyler* and *Lexington*, Captains Gwin and Shirk commanding, with four twenty-four-pounder Parrott guns, and a battery of rifled guns.

As there is a deep and impassable ravine for artillery or cavalry, and very difficult for infantry, at this point, no troops were stationed here, except the necessary artillerists and a small infantry force for their support. Just at this moment the advance of Major-General Buell's column and a part of the division of General Nelson arrived. The two generals named

BATTLE OF SHILOH OR PITTSBURGH LANDING.

both being present, an advance was immediately made upon the point of attack, and the enemy was soon driven back.

In this repulse much is due to the presence of the gunboats *Tyler* and *Lexington*, and their able commanders, Captains Gwin and Shirk.

During the night, the divisions under Generals Crittenden and McCook arrived.

General Lewis Wallace, at Camp Landing, six miles below, was ordered, at an early hour in the morning, to hold his division in readiness to move in any direction it might be ordered. At eleven o'clock the order was delivered to move it up to Pittsburg; but, owing to its being led by a circuitous route, it did not arrive in time to take part in Sunday's action.

During the night all was quiet, and, feeling that great moral advantage would be gained by becoming the attacking party, an advance was ordered as soon as day dawned. The result was the gradual repulse of the enemy at all points of the line, from nine until probably five o'clock in the afternoon, when it became evident the enemy was retreating.

Before the close of the action, the advance of General T. J. Wood's division arrived in time to take part in the action.

My force was too much fatigued from two days' hard fighting, and exposure in the open air to a drenching rain during the intervening night, to pursue immediately.

Night closed in cloudy, with a heavy rain, making the roads impracticable for artillery by the next morning.

General Sherman, however, followed the enemy, finding that the main part of their army had retreated in good order.

Hospitals, with the enemy's wounded, were found all along the road as far as pursuit was made. Dead bodies of the enemy, and many graves were also found. I enclose herewith a report of General Sherman, which will explain more fully the result of the pursuit and of the part taken by each separate command.

I cannot take special notice in this report, but will do so more fully when the reports of the division commanders are handed in.

General Buell, commanding in the field, with a distinct army long under his command, and which did such efficient service commanded by himself in person, on the field, will be much better able to notice those officers' commands, who particularly distinguished themselves, than I possibly can.

I feel it a duty, however, to a gallant and able officer, Brigadier-General W. T. Sherman, to make a special mention. He not only was with his command during the entire two days of the action, but displayed great judgment and skill in the management of his men. Although severely wounded in the hand on the first day, his place was never vacant. He was again wounded, and had three horses killed under him. In making this mention of a gallant officer, no disparagement is intended to other division commanders or Major-Generals John A. McClernand and Lewis Wallace, and Brigadier-Generals S. A. Hurlbut, P. M. Prentiss, and

W. H. L. Wallace, all of whom maintained their places with credit to themselves and the cause.

General Prentiss was taken prisoner on the first day's action, and General W. H. L. Wallace was severely and probably mortally wounded. His Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Wm. McMichael, is missing, and was probably taken prisoner.

My personal staff are all deserving of particular mention, they having been engaged during the entire two days in carrying orders to every part of the field. It consists of Colonel J. D. Webster, Chief-of-Staff; Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. McPherson, Chief of Engineers, assisted by Lieutenants W. L. B. Jenney, and William Kossac; Captain J. A. Rawlins, Assistant Adjutant-General W. S. Hilger, W. R. Rawley, and C. B. Lagow, Aids-de-Camp; Colonel G. Pride, Volunteer Aid, and Captain J. P. Hawkins, Chief Commissary, who accompanied me upon the field.

The Medical Department, under direction of Surgeon Hewitt, Medical Director, showed great energy in providing for the wounded, and in getting them from the field, regardless of danger.

Colonel Webster was placed in special charge of all the artillery, and was constantly upon the field. He displayed, as always heretofore, both skill and bravery. At least, in one instance, he was the means of placing an entire regiment in position of doing most valuable service, and where it would not have been but for his exertions.

Lieutenant-Colonel McPherson, attached to my staff as Chief of Engineers, deserves more than a passing notice for his activity and courage. All the grounds beyond our camp, for miles, have been reconnoitred by him, and the plans, carefully prepared under his supervision, give the most accurate information of the nature of the approaches to our lines. During the two days' battle he was constantly in the saddle, leading the troops as they arrived, to points where their services were required. During the engagement he had one horse shot under him.

The country will have to mourn the loss of many brave men who fell at the battle of Pittsburg, or Shiloh, more properly.

The exact loss in killed and wounded will be known in a day or two. At present I can only give it approximately at fifteen hundred killed, and thirty-five hundred wounded.

The loss of artillery was great, many pieces being disabled by the enemy's shots, and some losing all their horses and many men. There were, probably, not less than two hundred horses killed.

The loss of the enemy, in killed and left upon the field, was greater than ours. In the wounded, an estimate cannot be made, as many of them must have been sent to Corinth and other points.

The enemy suffered terribly from demoralization and desertion.

A flag of truce was sent to-day from General Beauregard.

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

We shall leave the field of Shiloh with a single scene after the shock of battle was over, illustrating the Christian heroism, which was never, since men were arrayed against each other in arms, so conspicuous as in the war of our nation's redemption.

On Tuesday morning, among the wounded borne from the red field to the hospitals, was a brave and devout captain, fatally shot through both thighs with a bullet. He gave the following narrative of the long night, whose shades had just departed, and uncovered its horrors to the calm, sweet light:—

"While lying there, I suffered intense agony from thirst. I leaned my head upon my hand, and the rain from heaven was falling around me. In a little while a pool of water formed under my elbow, and I thought, if I could only get to that puddle, I might quench the burning thirst. I tried to get into a position to suck up a mouthful of muddy water, but was unable to reach within a foot of it. I never felt so much the loss of any earthly blessing. By and by, night fell, and the stars shone out clear and beautiful above the dark field, and I began to think of that great God who had given His Son to die a death of agony for me, and that he was up there—up above the scene of suffering, and above these glorious stars; and I felt that I was going home to meet Him, and praise Him there; and I felt that I ought to praise God, even wounded and on the battle-field. I could not help singing that beautiful hymn:

'When I can read my title clear
To mansions in the sky,
I'll bid farewell to every fear,
And wipe my weeping eyes.'

And there was a Christian brother in the brush near me. I could not see him, but I could hear him. He took up the strain, and beyond him another and another caught it up, all over the terrible battle-field of Shiloh. That night the echo was resounding, and we made the field of battle ring with hymns of praise to God."

Nor were there wanting instances of similar trust in the

ranks of treason; soldiers who were deluded by their leaders, and others impressed into the service, whose souls went up from the ensanguined plain or hospital, to worship in "goodly fellowship" before the throne, with him who sang, in the dark, damp night, of Heaven!

CHAPTER VIII.

RECONNOISSANCE TOWARD CORINTH.

Reconnoissance toward Corinth.—Movements on the Mississippi River.—Capture of New Orleans.—Beauregard alarmed.—Calls upon the Planters to burn their Cotton.—Cavalry Skirmish near Corinth.—Reconnoissance toward Jackson, Tennessee.—Troops concentrate at Pittsburg Landing.—General Grant's Command farther Enlarged.—Enemies again assail his Reputation.—Hon. Mr. Washburne's Defense.—General Halleck's Confidence in Grant.—Siege and Evacuation of Corinth.

On the morning of April 17, 1862, a heavy cavalry force, under Brigadier-General Smith, Chief of Cavalry, was detailed to make a reconnoissance along the upper road from Pittsburg Landing to Corinth. The force arrived within two miles of Monterey without meeting any opposition. Several of the men dismounted to act as skirmishers, and steadily advanced until they discovered the exact position of a large force of the enemy, when they fell back upon the main body, and returned.

On April 24th, another similar reconnoissance was made, under the same commander, toward an elevation known as Pea Ridge, where a rebel camp was discovered and destroyed, and a few prisoners taken.

Meanwhile, there had been in progress a naval campaign, whose grand success followed immediately the great land triumphs at Donelson and Shiloh. And as it was connected, in its results, directly with General Grant's movements and victories during the succeeding months, it will lend interest to the narrative of them, and shed light upon the whole field of conflict, to glance at the naval expedition culminating in the fall of New Orleans. It will be recollected, that the first battle of Manassas was fought in July, 1861.

The latter part of August, the first secret naval expedition, including the *Minnesota*, *Wabash*, *Pawnee*, *Mon-*

ticello, and *Harriet Lane*, war-steamers, sailed with transports from Hampton Roads for Hatteras Inlet, to take the rebel forts erected there, and hold the key of Albemarle Sound. Commodore Stringham commanded the sea forces, and General Butler those of the land. The splendid success of the expedition we know. After a protracted and terrible bombardment, the white flag was raised on the walls of Fort Hatteras.

The next grand move in the naval field of action was under Dupont, in October, 1861, whose fleet consisted of eighteen men-of-war and thirty-eight transports; the latter carrying troops for the land attack. Port Royal was the destination of the *armada*. The guarding forts were Beauregard and Walker, which the rebels thought were impregnable, till the fleet rained its ponderous iron hail and exploding shells upon the garrisons. The terrified enemy made their escape. Among the heroes of this battle was William H. Steel, only fourteen years of age, who handed up powder for one of the guns, amid the fiery hail and flying fragments, as coolly as a veteran of three-score years could have done.

January, 1862, a third maritime expedition was fitted out, Commodore Goldsborough commanding, and General Burnside leading the land forces. The splendid fleet moved from Hampton Roads while a host of admiring spectators watched the grand march of the seventy ships, with banners in the breeze, and bands of music beneath the starry ensigns.

Off Cape Hatteras a terrific gale scattered the fleet. Amid the awful dash and roar of the billows, General Burnside was calm in his trust; "feeling," he said, "that God held them in the hollow of his hand."

February 8th, saw the victorious charge on Park Point battery, followed by the capture of Roanoke Island and Newbern. A month later, the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* met at Hampton Roads, and the "Yankee Cheese-Box" sent the rebel monster limping to his guarded den.

Fort Pulaski was added, early in April, to the bombarded and conquered strongholds of the rebellion.

On the 15th, the troops selected for a grand expedition

against New Orleans, having their rendezvous at Ship Island, near New Orleans, the fleets under Commodores Porter and Farragut were united, and the mortar flotilla anchored not far from Pilot Town. Farragut commanded the fleet, whose flag-ship was the *Hartford.*

The formidable defenses of the Southern metropolis were Forts Jackson and St. Philip, sixty miles below it, two magnificent fortresses, whose scientific and elaborate construction defied attack; and the garrisons within them, with the Confederacy around them, laughed the united fleets to scorn. They were reared by our own Government to guard from foreign invasion the common purchase of Revolutionary blood. They stand at a sharp bend of the "Father of Waters," and before them the current is rapid.

On the 15th, a sudden alarm was signaled through the fleet. A raft, with its cords of pine-wood in a blaze, was running with the glow of wrath upon the Union fleet. Providentially, before reaching its goal it grounded and burned to the water's edge. Commodore Porter made prompt provision for a similar assault. One hundred and fifty boats were furnished with picked crews, axes, grapnel-ropes, and buckets, to intercept the flaming heralds of treason. We quote from a fine sketch of the scene:

"As the signal rose at two o'clock on the morning of the 24th, which was two red lights, too common to attract the attention of the enemy, Commodore Farragut's fleet started on its voyage of victory or ruin. The advance was made in two columns. In the van were the three magnificent ships, the *Hartford*, the *Brooklyn*, and the *Richmond*, followed by the gunboats *Sciota*, *Iroquois*, *Kennebec*, *Pinola*, *Itasca*, and *Winona;* the second column by the *Pensacola* and the *Mississippi*. They all made for the chasm in the barrier of hulks and chains, keeping up an incessant fire upon the forts, and, as one after another they passed through, the vessels of the first division ranged themselves to assail Fort St. Philip, and the second Fort Jackson, while all alike were prepared to attack and repel the rebel rams and gunboats, as occasion might require. It may be safely said that such a

naval conflict was never witnessed on this earth before. The enemy were on the alert, and the beacon-fires soon blazed so brightly as to expose every movement of the fleet; and the whole stormy scene was illumined with a lurid glare, which added vastly to its sublimity, and its almost fiendlike horror. The *Cayuga* was the first which passed the chain-boom, under a terrible fire from both of the forts, which struck her repeatedly from stem to stern. The rest of the squadron rapidly followed. They were now directly abreast of the forts, exposed to the direct action of their guns, while the river above was crowded with the fire-rafts, rams, and gunboats of the foe.

"Every ship in the fleet signalized itself by heroism which could not be surpassed. We cannot record the deeds of all; let us allude to a few, as specimens of the rest. The United States steamship *Brooklyn*, in the darkness, and while exposed to the hottest fire, became entangled in the barricading hulks and chains. In attempting to extricate the ship her bow grazed the shore. She, however, worked her way through, when the ram *Manassas* came rushing upon her from the gloom. At the distance of ten feet the ram discharged her shot, which pierced the ship, and then, with a crash, struck her side, battering in the starboard gangway. The chain armor saved the ship from destruction, and the ram slid off and disappeared in the darkness.

"Fort Jackson, in the liftings of the smoke, caught a glimpse of the majestic ship, and opened upon her a raking fire. Just then a large rebel steamer came rushing up on the port broadside. When at the distance of but sixty yards, the *Brooklyn* poured into the audacious stranger one single volley of shell and red-hot shot, and the fragments of the steamer, in a mass of crackling flame, drifted down the stream.

"The *Brooklyn*, still groping its way along, lighted by the flames of an approaching fire-raft, and yet enveloped in its resinous smoke, soon found itself abreast of St. Philip, almost touching the shore. The ship chanced to be in such a position that she could bring almost every gun to bear. Tarrying for a moment, she poured into the

fort such a storm of grape and canister as completely to silence the work. The men stationed in the tops of the frigate said that, by the light of their bursting shrapnels, they could see the garrison 'running like sheep for more comfortable quarters.'

"The *Brooklyn* then rushed into the nest of rebel gunboats, fighting them indiscriminately, with her broadsides striking the most terrific blows, and continuing the contest, in connection with the other vessels, for an hour and a half, until the rebel fleet was annihilated. After the action was over, Commodore Farragut took the hand of Captain Craven, of the *Brooklyn*, in both of his, and said: 'You and your noble ship have been the salvation of my squadron. You were in a complete blaze of fire; so much so that I supposed your ship was burning up. I never saw such rapid and precise firing. It never was surpassed, and probably never was equaled.'

"The *Mississippi* encountered the ram *Manassas*, rushing upon her at full speed. The noble old frigate, undaunted, instead of evading the blow, turned to meet her antagonist, and, with all steam on, made a plunge at the monster. Just as the blow was to come which would decide whose head was to be broken open, the *Manassas*, taking counsel of discretion, dodged. But as she glided by, a point-blank broadside from the immense armament of the *Mississippi* swept off her smoke-stack, crashed through her iron sides, and set her on fire. The crew took to the shore, and the redoubtable ram drifted, a total wreck, down the stream. The nondescript monster presented a curious spectacle as she floated along, the flames bursting through the broken chinks of her mail, her shot-fractures, and her port-holes. Commodore Porter, wishing to save her as a curiosity, sent some boats to pass a hawser around the ram and secure it to the shore. Scarcely was this done when the monster uttered as it were, an expiring groan, as the water rushed in, driving the air and the belching flames through her bow-port, and then, 'like a huge animal, she gave a plunge, and disappeared under the water.' The achievements of the *Varuna*, under Captain Boggs, were among the crowning

glories of this eventful day. It has been well said, he 'fought a battle fully equal in desperate hardihood and resolute bravery to the famous sea-fight of John Paul Jones, which nothing human could surpass.' After taking or destroying six of the enemy's vessels, an unarmed point was pierced, and, while the water rushed in, the crew jumped into the boats of the *Oneida*, sent for their rescue, as she went down with her dead, 'victorious in death,' her flag still flying, covered with glory."

The next morning dawned on drifting wrecks and smoke, through and beyond which the Union fleet was marching for New Orleans. A dispatch was sent to General Butler that the way was clear for landing his troops. Soon after, at noon, the armada, having had only three gunboats disabled, thirty men killed, and one hundred and ten wounded, moored in front of the city.

The pride of the boastful chivalry, already humbled, on the 26th, was now in the dust, under the national colors floating from the public buildings.

With New Orleans safely under the Stars and Stripes, Flag-Officer Farragut pushed up the "Father of Waters." On the 27th he reached and passed the batteries above the city without injury.

The object of the expedition was to communicate with Flag-Officer Davis, commanding the Mississippi squadron, look after the rebel ram *Arkansas*, and complete arrangements for a joint attack on Vicksburg. A bombardment proved fruitless, because the high banks, bristling with ordnance, could not be battered down, nor the fortress taken by shot from the decks of the fleet, without the co-operation of land forces. Eighteen days later, Farragut returned, successfully repassed the batteries, and made Pensacola the place of rendezvous for the squadron.

The operations along the Mississippi River had opened that highway some distance below Island No. 10, and, on learning this, General Beauregard, who had assumed the chief command of the rebel troops, issued an address to the planters, as follows :—

"The casualties of war have opened the Mississippi to our enemies. The time has, therefore, come to test the earnestness of all classes, and I call upon all patriotic planters owning cotton in the possible reach of our enemies, to apply the torch to it without delay or hesitation."

It was thought that by this mode of procedure the Union troops would have less inducement to fight, as the profit of their victories would necessarily be greatly decreased. In this, however, the rebels had greatly deceived themselves.

On April 27th, Purdy, on the Jackson and Corinth Railroad, was abandoned by the rebels, and a cavalry skirmish took place near Monterey, a village situated about ten miles from Corinth. Several prisoners were taken, from whom it was ascertained that Beauregard was concentrating all his available force at Corinth, which he had fortified, and where, he said, he was determined to make a desperate resistance. On the 29th, a similar affair took place at Monterey, the rebels losing their camp and several prisoners.

A reconnoissance in force was made by the right wing of General Halleck's grand army, on April 30, 1862, to a point of the railroad four miles above Purdy, between Corinth and Jackson, Tennessee. The Union troops were met by a body of rebel cavalry, who fled to that town, closely pursued by the advancing forces. Purdy was taken possession of by the Unionists, who soon, by the destruction of bridges, etc., cut off all railroad communication along that route between Corinth and Northwestern Tennessee. On this day the siege of Corinth may be said to have commenced.

General Halleck, determined to have a force of men under him, that should be invincible in the event of a battle, sent for all the unemployed troops in his large department, ordering them to be concentrated at Pittsburg Landing, which was constituted a base of operations in the movement upon Corinth. This force he designated as the "Grand Army of the Tennessee," a special compliment to General Grant, the commander of

the original Army of the Tennessee. The "Grand Army" was divided as follows:—

The Army of the Ohio (centre), under General Buell.

The Army of the Mississippi (left), under General Pope.

The Army of the Tennessee (right), under General Grant.

This grand army was composed of sixteen divisions, eight of which formed the Army of the Tennessee, and were placed under the immediate command of General Grant; four under General Pope, and four under General Buell. General Grant's command was, therefore, as large as the two other armies combined, and was divided into the "right," or active wing, under General Thomas, and "the reserve," under General McClernand.

At this time there was again bitter opposition to General Grant, and complaints were heard from the excited friends of those who had fallen at Donelson and Shiloh. The charges preferred against him were incapacity and inebriety, and the persons who made them had, doubtless, been stirred up by those who wished to kill the rising fame of the heroic commander. The feeling against him found its way into the halls of Congress, and every effort was made to remove him from his command. The Hon. E. B. Washburne, representing in Congress the Galena District, the home of both General Grant and himself, promptly undertook his defense. As a comprehensive review of the commander's history, an index of the popular feeling at that period of the war, and an eloquent vindication of comparatively unappreciated generalship, his words have a peculiar and abiding interest. It seems indeed strange to us now, and can only awaken a smile both in him and his admirers, in the present light of his world-wide and undying fame.

The loyal member from Illinois said in his address:—

"Lamartine, in his celebrated history of the Girondins, speaking of one of those incidents so characteristic of the French Revolution, says:

"'The news of the victory of Hondschoote filled Paris with joy. But even the joy of the people was cruel. The

Convention reproached as a treason the victory of a victorious general. Its commissioners to the army of the North, Hentz, Peyssard, and Duquesnoy, deposed Houchard, and sent him to the revolutionary tribunal. The unfortunate Houchard was condemned to death, and met his fate with the intrepidity of a soldier and the calmness of an innocent man. It was shown that even victory was not protection against the scaffold.'

"It may be inquired whether, in this rebellion, history is not repeating itself. I come before the House to do a great act of justice to a soldier in the field, and to vindicate him from the obloquy and misrepresentations so persistently and cruelly thrust before the country. I refer to a distinguished general who has recently fought the bloodiest and hardest battle ever fought on this continent, and won one of the most brilliant victories. I refer to the battle of Pittsburg Landing, and to Major-General Ulysses S. Grant. A native of Ohio, he graduated at West Point, July 1, 1843, with the brevet rank of second-lieutenant, and was appointed second-lieutenant September 30, 1845. Though but forty years old, he has been oftener under fire and been in more battles than any other man living on this continent, excepting that great chieftain now reposing on his laurels and on the affections of his countrymen, Lieutenant-General Scott. He was in every battle in Mexico that it was possible for any one man to be in. He followed the victorious standard of General Taylor on the Rio Grande, and was in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey. He was with General Scott at Vera Cruz, and participated in every battle from the Gulf to the City of Mexico. He was breveted first-lieutenant September 8, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Molino del Rey, and on the 13th of the same month he was breveted captain for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Chapultepec. He has received the baptism of fire. No young officer came out of the Mexican War with more distinction than Grant, and the records of the War Department bear official testimony to his gallant and noble deeds. He resigned in 1855, and afterward settled in Galena,

in the district I have the honor to represent on this floor.

"Grant was among the first to offer his services to the country at the commencement of hostilities, saying that as he had been educated by the Government, that Government was entitled to his services in its time of peril. Early made a colonel of one of the Illinois regiments, he went into actual service in Missouri. His commands there were important, and he discharged every duty with great fidelity and advantage to the public service. With a military head and a military hand, he everywhere evoked order from chaos. Military discipline, order, and economy traveled in his path. In time he was made a brigadier-general, and intrusted with the important command of the district of Cairo; and how diligently, how faithfully, how satisfactorily he discharged all his duties, is well known to the country. While in that command, learning of a movement about being made by the rebels at Columbus to send out a large force to cut off Colonel Oglesby, who had gone into Missouri after that roaming bandit, Jeff. Thompson, by a sudden and masterly stroke he fell upon Belmont, and, after a brilliant and decisive action, in which he and all his troops displayed great bravery, he broke up the rebel camp with great loss, and then returned to Cairo. The expedition was broken up, Oglesby's command was saved, and every thing was accomplished that was expected.

"In time came the operations up the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, and I state what I know. By a singular coincidence, on the 29th day of January last, without any suggestion from any source, General Grant and Commodore Foote, always acting in entire harmony, applied for permission to move up those rivers, which was granted. The gunboats and land forces moved up to Fort Henry. After that fort was taken, it was determined to attack Fort Donelson. The gunboats were to go round and up the Cumberland River, while the army was to move overland from Fort Henry to Fort Donelson.

"The roads were the worst ever known, and almost any other general or any other troops would have de-

spaired of moving. But they did move. If General Grant had been told that it was impossible to move his army there, he would have made a reply like to that of the royal Pompey, when he was told that his fleet could not sail: "It is necessary to sail, not necessary to live." It was necessary for this western army to march, but it was not necessary to live. The country knows the result —Donelson fell. The enemy, twenty thousand strong, behind his intrenchments, succumbed before the unrelenting bravery and vigor of our troops, no more than twenty-eight thousand engaged. We took there, not twelve thousand, not fifteen thousand, but more than sixteen thousand prisoners. I have it from General Halleck that we have actually paid transportation for more than sixteen thousand prisoners. That, in most countries, would have been called a most brilliant military achievement. Napoleon surrounded Old Mack at Ulm, and captured twenty thousand or more prisoners, and that exploit has filled a great space in history.

"While the capture of Donelson filled the country with joy, there was a cruel disposition to withhold from the commanding general the meed of gratitude and praise so justly his due. Captious criticisms were indulged in that he did not make the attack properly, and that if he had done differently the work might have been better accomplished. It was not enough that he fought and gloriously conquered, but he ought to have done it differently, forsooth. Success could be no test of merit with him. That was the way the old generals spoke of the young Napoleon when he was beating them in every battle, and carrying his eagles in triumph over all Europe. He did not fight according to the rules of war. But there was a more grievous suggestion touching the general's habits. It is a suggestion that has infused itself into the public mind everywhere. There never was a more cruel and atrocious slander upon a brave and noble-minded man. There is no more temperate man in the army than General Grant. He never indulges in the use of intoxicating liquors at all. He is an example of courage, honor, fortitude, activity, temperance, and modesty, for he is as

modest as he is brave and incorruptible. To the bravery and fortitude of Lannes, he adds the stern republican simplicity of Guvion St. Cyr. It is almost vain to hope that full justice will ever be done to men who have been thus attacked. Truth is slow upon the heels of falsehood. It has been well said that 'falsehood will travel from Maine to Georgia while truth is putting on its boots.'

"Let no gentleman have any fears of General Grant. He is no candidate for the Presidency. He is no politician. Inspired by the noblest patriotism, he only desires to do his whole duty to his country. When the war shall be over he will return to his home, and sink the soldier in the simple citizen. Though living in the same town with myself, he has no political claims on me; for, so far as he is a politician, he belongs to a different party. He has no personal claims upon me more than any other constituent. But I came here to speak as an Illinoisian, proud of his noble and patriotic State; proud of its great history now being made up; proud above all earthly things of her brave soldiers, who are shedding their blood upon all the battle-fields of the Republic. If the laurels of Grant shall ever be withered, it will not be done by the Illinois soldiers who have followed his victorious banner.

"But to the victory at Pittsburg Landing, which has called forth such a flood of denunciation upon General Grant. When we consider the charges of bad generalship, incompetency, and surprise, do we not feel that 'even the joy of the people is cruel?' As to the question of whether there was, or not, what might be called a surprise, I will not argue it; but even if there had been, General Grant is nowise responsible for it, for he was not surprised. He was at his head-quarters at Savannah when the fight commenced. Those head-quarters were established there as being the most convenient point for all parts of his command. Some of the troops were at Crump's Landing, between Savannah and Pittsburg, and all the new arrivals were coming to Savannah. That was the proper place for the head-quarters of the commanding

general at that time. The general visited Pittsburg Landing and all the important points every day. The attack was made Sunday morning by a vastly superior force. In five minutes after the first firing was heard, General Grant and staff were on board a steamboat on their way to the battle-field, and instead of not reaching the field till ten o'clock, or, as has been still more falsely represented, till noon, I have a letter before me from one of his aids who was with him, and who says he arrived there at eight o'clock in the morning, and immediately assumed command. There he directed the movements, and was always on that part of the field where his presence was most required, exposing his life, and evincing in his dispositions the genius of the greatest commanders. With what desperate bravery that battle of Sunday was fought! What display of prowess and courage! What prodigies of valor! Our troops, less than forty thousand, attacked by more than eighty thousand of the picked men of the rebels, led by their most distinguished generals!

"But it is gravely charged by these military critics who sit by the fireside while our soldiers are risking their lives on the field of conflict, that Grant was to blame in having his troops on the same side of the river with the enemy. I suppose they would have the river interpose between our army and the enemy, and permit that enemy to intrench himself on the other side, and then undertake to cross in his face. It was, in the judgment of the best military men, a wise disposition of his forces, placing them where he did. To have done otherwise, would have been like keeping the entire Army of the Potomac on this side of the river, instead of crossing it when it could be done, and advancing on the other side.

"After fighting all day with immensely superior numbers of the enemy, they only drove our forces back two and one-half miles, and then it was to face the gunboats and the terrible batteries so skilfully arranged and worked by the gallant and accomplished officers, Webster and Callender, and which brought the countless host of the enemy to a stand. And when night came, this unconquerable army stood substantially triumphant on that

bloody field. I am not here to speak disparagingly of the troops of any other State, but I will speak in praise of the troops of my own State. No Illinois regiment, no Illinois company, no Illinois soldier, fled from the battle-field. If any did flee, they were not from Illinois, and they would be the ones who, after their own flight, would seek to cover up their own disgrace, but only add to it, by attacks upon an Illinois general.

"I have something to say about the generals and the soldiers who fought in the battle. I have a word to say about the brave McClernand, so lately our colleague here, who, as I learn from a man who was on the battle-field on that Sunday, was seen riding at the head of his division, holding his flag in the face of the enemy, daring them to come on. I would say something in relation to the bravery and skill of Hurlburt, from my own district, who commanded another division there, and won great glory. I would say something in defence of another man who has been charged with having his division surprised, and having been taken prisoner at the time. I mean General Prentiss. I have a letter upon my desk which says, that instead of being surprised on Sunday morning, the writer saw him at half-past two o'clock of that day fighting most gallantly at the head of his division. I rejoice to have this opportunity to make that statement in justice to a brave man and true soldier.

"If I had time I would like to speak of others; I would speak of General Wallace, of my State, who fell nobly fighting at the head of his division, a soldier by nature, a pure and noble man, whose memory will be ever honored in Illinois. I would speak of the gallant Colonel Ellis, falling at the head of the Fifteenth, and of Major Goddard, of the same regiment, also killed; of Davis, of the Forty-sixth, terribly wounded while gallantly bearing in his own hands the colors of his regiment. I would speak of the deeds of valor of the lead-mine Forty-fifth, covering itself with undying honor; of Captains Connor and Johnson, falling at the head of their companies; of the genial and impetuous young Irishman, Lieutenant George Moore, mortally wounded; of Captains Wayne,

and Nase, and Brownell—all killed. Nor would I fail to mention Brigadier-General McArthur and Acting Brigadier-General Kirk, who boldly led their brigades wherever duty called and danger threatened, and were at last carried from the field badly wounded. And of Colonel Chetlain, of the old Twelfth, rising from a sick-bed and entering into the thickest of the fight. And, too, I would like to speak of the dauntless valor of Rawlings, and Rowley, and Campbell, and of many others who distinguished themselves on that field.

"I see before me my friend from Pennsylvania (Mr. McPherson), which reminds me of a friend of us both—young Baugher, a lieutenant in the lead-mine regiment, who, wounded six times, refused to leave the field; and, when finally carried off, waved his sword in defiance to the enemy. But who shall attempt to do justice to the bravery of the soldiers and the daring and skill of the officers; who shall describe all the valor exhibited on those days; who shall presume to speak of all the glory won on that blood-stained field? I have spoken of those more particularly from my own part of the State; but it is because I know them best, and not because I claim more credit for them than I know to be due to the troops from all parts of the State. They all exhibited the same bravery, the same unbounded devotion, the same ardor in vindicating the honor and glory of the flag, and maintaining the prestige of our State.

"I have detained the House too long, but I have felt called upon to say this much. I came only to claim public justice; the battle of Pittsburg Landing, though a bloody one, yet it will make a bright page in our history. The final charge of General Grant at the head of his reserves will have a place, too, in history. While watching the progress of the battle, on Monday afternoon, word came to him that the enemy was faltering on the left. With the genius that belongs only to the true military man, he saw that the time for the final blow had come. In quick words he said, 'Now is the time to drive them.' It was worthy the world-renowned order of Wellington, 'Up, Guards, and at them!'

"Word was sent by his body-guard to the different regiments to be ready to charge when the order was given; then, riding out in front amid a storm of bullets, he led the charge in person, and Beauregard was driven howling to his intrenchments. His left was broken, and a retreat commenced which soon degenerated into a perfect rout. The loss of the enemy was three to our two in men, and in much greater proportion in the demoralization of an army which follows a defeat. That battle has laid the foundation for finally driving the rebels from the Southwest. So much for the battle of Pittsburg Landing, which has evoked such unjust and cruel criticism, but which history will record as one of the most glorious victories that has ever illustrated the annals of a great nation."

General Halleck does not appear to have been influenced at all by the attempts to injure his most successful general. On the contrary, May 1st, he expressed his strengthening confidence in the ability of the patient, dignified officer, whose silence amid detraction and misrepresentation was a sublime assurance of his true greatness—by placing him second in command to himself over the grand army, and allowing him to retain the personal command of his own special forces on the right, and of the District of Tennessee, in which the expected battle was to be fought.

General Beauregard being advised of the manner of procedure of the Union troops, and expecting a severe battle, called for all the re-enforcements he could obtain. On the 2d of May, 1862, a strong rebel force concentrated at Corinth, and to this united command he issued a very spirited address.

Reconnoissances were continually sent out, and, on the 8th of May, the cavalry penetrated the enemy's lines within a mile and a half of Corinth. The rebels made several dashes upon our front, and succeeded in compelling some of the forces on the left to retire.

On the 11th of May, a consultation of the officers was held at General Halleck's head-quarters, and it was decided that a general advance should be made. Shortly

after, the movement of the troops commenced. Steadily they marched forward toward a common centre, which was understood to be Corinth, with enthusiasm, sobered by the anticipation of a terrific battle to secure victory.

The rebels did not intend to let the Union troops arrive at Corinth, or in its close vicinity, without a struggle. And, on May 17, 1862, General Sherman's Fifth Division of General Grant's Army of the Tennessee was brought into conflict with the enemy at Russell's House, on the road to that city. They were forced back to their strongholds, while the Union forces continued to occupy this former rebel position, which they intrenched.

When the strength of Corinth was definitely ascertained, the plan was to reduce the fortified city by regular approaches. General Beauregard, as an engineer officer, being fully aware of the ultimate result, began to withdraw his garrison by the roads still open to him. This movement became the more necessary, as the United States naval forces were rapidly approaching Memphis from above, and New Orleans and other points of the Mississippi River below had already fallen into our hands. Should Memphis and Vicksburg be taken before his forces could escape from Corinth, it was more than likely that his whole command, which was becoming demoralized, would have surrendered, rather than endure the horrors of a siege.

To cover his retrograde movements, General Beauregard sent out a force to resist the advance of our troops, who were about to take possession of the ridge to the north of Phillip's Creek. On May 21st, the Second Division of General Grant's Army of the Tennessee, under General T. A. Davis, made the necessary movements to occupy the elevation, but found the rebels very strongly posted. By a feint of a retreat the garrison was brought out of their works, and, after a vigorous contest, was completely routed. The Union division then took possession of the heights, securing at the same time several prisoners, with their arms, camp, and equipage. A recon-

noissance was then made toward Corinth, to find out the position of the enemy, who still was able to show a bold front.

The parallels of the Union army began daily to get nearer and nearer to the city, and skirmishing was a constant occurrence along the whole line. A sharp fight between General Sherman's division and the rebels took place on May 27th; but as the latter, though having the largest force, retreated, it was evident that the contest was merely to delay the advance of the Union army.

General Sherman, in his report of the engagement, says:—

"The enemy was evidently surprised, and only killed two of our men, and wounded nine. After he had reached the ridge he opened on us with a two-gun battery on the right and another from the front and left, doing my brigades but little harm, but killing three of General Veatch's men. With our artillery we soon silenced his, and by ten A. M. we were masters of the position. Generals Grant and Thomas were present during the affair, and witnessed the movement, which was admirably executed, all the officers and men keeping their places like real soldiers."

The above extract indicated that the impression was false that General Grant had been relieved from actual command in the field for the result of the first day's engagement at Shiloh.

Three columns of Union troops advanced the next day, under the personal superintendence of General Grant, to within gunshot of the rebel works at Corinth, and made a reconnoissance in force. The enemy hotly contested the ground; but, being closely pressed, fell back, with considerable loss. The column on the left encountered the greatest opposition.

The following account of the advance is given by one who participated in the siege:—

"Though the task be a most difficult one, yet I will try to give a faint idea of the scenes which an advance presents.

"First, the enemy must be driven back. Regiments

and artillery are placed in position, and generally the cavalry is in advance; but, when the opposing forces are in close proximity, the infantry does the work. The whole front is covered by a cloud of skirmishers, and then reserves formed, and then, in connection with the main line, they advance. For a moment all is still as the grave to those in the background; as the line moves on, the eye is strained in vain to follow the skirmishers as they creep silently forward; then, from some point of the line, a single rifle rings through the forest, sharp and clear, and, as if in echo, another answers it. In a moment more, the whole line resounds with the din of arms. Here the fire is slow and steady, there it rattles with fearful rapidity, and this mingled with the great roar of the reserves as the skirmishers chance at any point to be driven in; and if, by reason of superior force, these reserves fall back to the main force, then every nook and corner seems full of sound. The batteries open their terrible voices, and their shells sing horribly while winging their flight, and their dull explosion speaks plainly of death; their canister and grape go crashing through the trees, rifles sing, the muskets roar, and the din is terrific. Then the slackening of the fire denotes the withdrawing of the one party, and the more distant picket-firing, that the work was accomplished. The silence becomes almost painful after such a scene as this, and no one can conceive of the effect who has not experienced it; it cannot be described. The occasional firing of the pickets, which shows that the new lines are established, actually occasions a sense of relief. The movements of the mind under such circumstances are sudden and strong. It awaits with intense anxiety the opening of the contest, it rises with the din of battle, it sinks with the lull which follows it, and finds itself in fit condition to sympathize most deeply with the torn and bleeding ones that are fast being borne to the rear.

"When the ground is clear, then the time for working-parties has arrived, and as this is the description of a real scene, let me premise that the works were to reach through the center of a large open farm of at least three hundred

acres, surrounded by woods, one side of it being occupied by rebel pickets. These had been driven back, as I have described.

"The line of the works was selected, and at the word of command three thousand men, with axes, spades, and picks, stepped out into the open field from their cover in the woods; in almost as short a time as it takes to tell it, the fence-rails which surrounded and divided three hundred acres into convenient farm-lots were on the shoulders of the men, and on the way to the intended line of works. In a few moments more a long line of crib-work stretches over the slope of the hill, as if another anaconda fold had been twisted around the rebels. Then as for a time, the ditches deepen, the cribs fill up, the dirt is packed on the outer side, the bushes and all points of concealment are cleared from the front, and the center divisions of our army had taken a long stride toward the rebel works. The siege-guns are brought up and placed in commanding positions. A log-house furnishes the hewn and seasoned timber for the platforms, and the plantation of a Southern lord has been thus speedily transferred into one of Uncle Sam's strongholds, where the Stars and Stripes float proudly. Thus had the whole army (under the immediate charge of General Grant, the commander in the field) worked itself up into the very teeth of the rebel works, and rested there on Thursday night, the twenty-eighth, expecting a general engagement at any moment.

"Soon after daylight, on Friday morning, the army was startled by rapid and long-continued explosions, similar to musketry, but much louder. The conviction flashed across my mind that the rebels were blowing up their loose ammunition and leaving. The dense smoke arising in the direction of Corinth strengthened this belief, and soon the whole army was advancing on a grand reconnoissance. The distance through the woods was short, and in a few minutes shouts arose from the rebel lines, which told that our army was in the enemy's trenches. Regiment after regiment pressed on, and passing through extensive camps just vacated, soon reached Corinth, and

found half of it in flames. Beauregard and Bragg had left the afternoon before, and the rear-guard had passed out of the town before daylight, leaving enough stragglers to commit many acts of vandalism, at the expense of private property. They burned churches and other public buildings, private goods, stores, and dwellings, and choked up half the wells in the town. In the camps immediately around the town, there were few evidences of hasty retreat, but on the right flank, where Price and Van Dorn were encamped, the destruction of baggage and stores was very great, showing precipitate flight. Portions of our army were immediately put in pursuit.

"It seems that it was the slow and careful approach of General Halleck which caused the retreat. They would doubtless have remained had we attacked their positions without first securing our rear. But they could not stand a siege. The position was a most commanding one and well protected."

The works were first occupied by the Fifth Division of General Grant's Army of the Tennessee, under the command of Major-General William T. Sherman, which, between the interval of leaving Shiloh and the occupation of Corinth, had occupied and strongly intrenched seven distinct camps, in a manner to excite the admiration and high commendation of the commanding generals. This division was on the right flank of the grand army during the whole advance, and was, therefore, especially exposed by its position, and having to detail a larger guard and perform more work than its companion divisions.

Shortly before midnight, on May 29, 1862, the last column of the rebel army was withdrawn from the works, leaving their pickets unprotected. The evacuation of Corinth at the time, and the manner in which it was done, was a clear back-down from the high and arrogant tone heretofore used by the rebels. They had chosen their own ground, which they had fortified, occupying a very large force for two months in the construction of their defenses, and they naturally believed the works to be strong enough to resist and defeat their assailants.

Ten days before, General Grant had urged an advance upon the works, sure that the Union forces could "bag" the rebel army. After the evacuation, General Halleck acknowledged the mistake, and assured Grant he should, after that, have his own way.

Corinth was, indeed, a stronghold, and its importance, to whichever side should hold it, cannot be over-estimated. As an evidence of its value, it was kept by the United States forces as a strongly-garrisoned military post until the beginning of 1864.

There is a good description of the occupation of Corinth, written on the spot, but the name of the author is not given :—

"The siege of Corinth, begun on April 30, ended this morning. About half-past six, in the morning, orders to march were received, and at seven, the greater portion of the men were outside their breastworks, cautiously feeling their way through the dense underbrush which intervened between our fortifications and the defenses of Corinth; but, after proceeding three-eighths of a mile, they came to an open space, and the enemy's works, abandoned and desolate, burst upon their astonished gaze. The sight was entirely unexpected.

"The opening was made by the rebels, who had felled the timber for about three hundred yards in front of their intrenchments, for the double purpose of obstructing our progress and giving them a fair view of our column when within rifle-range.

"The view from the highest point of the rebel works, immediately in front of Davies's, now Rosecrans's, division of Grant's Army of the Tennessee, was truly grand. The circle of vision was at least five miles in extent, stretching from the extreme right to the extreme left, and the magnificent display of banners, the bristling of shining bayonets, and the steady step of the handsomely-attired soldiers, presented a pageant which has seldom been witnessed on this continent.

"Upon many of the regimental ensigns were printed 'Wilson's Creek,' 'Dug Springs,' 'Donelson,' or 'Shiloh,' and one or two wave all these mottoes in the breeze.

Those who passed through all these trying ordeals, unscathed, or who received honorable wounds in either, in in future can look back upon a life devoted to their country's service, and feel that proud satisfaction which is denied to others not less patriotic, but less fortunate. In future pageants in honor of the nation's birthday, when the last relics of former struggles have become extinct, and when these shall be bowed down with age, they will be their country's honored guests, and receive that consideration due their noble deeds.

"Notwithstanding the desire of the soldiers to possess themselves of relics of the retreating foe, perfect order was maintained in the lines. Your correspondent wandered around the large area lately occupied by the rebel troops, but found few trophies which were worth preserving. A broken sword and double-barrelled shot-gun were picked up after an hour's search, but these were seized by the provost-marshal at the Landing, and confiscated.

"The enemy, with the exception of the rear-guard, had left with the greatest deliberation. A few worthless tents, some heavy kettles, a large number of old barrels, tin cups, and articles of this description, were the only camp equipages not taken away.

"There is nothing so desolate as a newly-deserted camp. But yesterday, and all was life and animation; today the white tents have disappeared, the heavy footsteps have ceased to sound, and no evidence, save the desolated, hard-trodden ground, and a few tent-stakes, remains to tell the story.

"Nothing surprised me more than the character of the rebel works. From the length of time Beauregard's army had been occupying the place, with a view to its defense, and from the importance the rebel general attached to it, in his dispatch which was intercepted by General Mitchel, I had been led to suppose that the fortifications were really formidable. But such was not the case. I admire the engineering which dictated the position of the intrenchments, and the lines they occupied, but that is all that deserves the slightest commendation.

"But a single line of general fortifications had been constructed, and these were actually less formidable than those thrown up by our forces last night, after occupying a new position. There were, beside this general line, occasional rifle-pits, both outside and inside the works, but they could have been constructed by three relief-details in six hours.

"The only fortifications really worthy the name were a few points where batteries were located, but these could not have resisted our Parrot and siege-guns half an hour. Yet the positions occupied by the breastworks were capable of being strengthened so as to render them almost invulnerable to a front attack, and no little difficulty would have been experienced in flanking the position, either on the right or left.

"The works were on the brow of a ridge, considerably higher than any in the surrounding country, and at the foot of it was a ravine, correspondingly deep. The zigzag course of the line gave the defenders the command of all the feasible approaches, and hundreds could have been mowed down at every step made by an assailing army, even from the imperfect earth-banks which had been thrown up.

"Had a fight occurred, it must have been decided by artillery, and in this respect we had the advantage, both in number and calibre of our guns; but had they improved the advantages they possessed, and fortified as men who really intended to make a stubborn defense, this superiority might have been overcome.

"The conduct of the rebels is, indeed, beyond comprehension. Here is a place commanding several important railroads; a place, the seizure of which, Beauregard confessed, in his celebrated dispatch to Davis, would open to us the valley of the Mississippi; a position capable of as stubborn a defense as Sebastopol, and yet scarcely an effort is made to fortify it, and its possessors fly at our approach. A stubborn resistance, even though followed by defeat, would command respect abroad; but a succession of evacuations, upon the slightest approach of danger, can insure only contempt.

"The troops from every direction marched toward a common center—Corinth; and as they neared each other and friends recognized friends, whom they had not seen for weeks or months, though separated but a few miles, greetings were exchanged, and as regiments met for the first time since leaving the bloody fields of Donelson and Shiloh, cheer after cheer resounded through the forests, and was echoed and re-echoed by the hills as if the earth itself desired to prolong the sound.

"As no rain had fallen for some time, the roads were exceedingly dusty, as was the whole camping-ground, which had been trampled solid by eighty thousand rebels. But all forgot obstacles and annoyances in the eagerness to see the town before which they had lain so long. A little after eight o'clock, a portion of the left and centre filed in, and were met by Mr. Harrington, the Mayor's clerk, who asked protection for private property, and for such of the citizens as had determined to remain. It is needless to add that his request was granted, and guards stationed at every door, as the object of our march was, not to plunder, but to save."

Corinth is built upon low lands and clay soil, so that in wet weather the place may very properly be denominated a swamp; but the soil is as easily affected by the drought as by rains. Just outside of the town are the ridges, which might be appropriately denominated hills, and upon which second, third, and fourth lines of defenses could have been erected. The highest lands are in the direction of Farmington on the east, and College Hill on the southwest. The town is situated at the junction of the Mobile and Ohio and the Memphis and Charleston railroads, both very important lines of communication, and indispensable to the enemy. The town is nearly all north of the Memphis and east of the Mobile road. Corinth was at one time a pleasant country village, of about twelve hundred inhabitants, and the houses were built in a style only used in the South.

The rebel generals all had their head-quarters in houses during the siege, generally occupying the finest residences in the place. Beauregard's was on the east of the Purdy

road, and at the outskirts of the village. The rebel chieftain was evidently surrounded by all the comforts and luxuries of life. Telegraph wires ran in every direction from the building, but the wires were all cut, and the instruments taken away.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PURSUIT.—GENERAL GRANT'S WESTERN COMMAND.

The pursuit.—Colonel Elliott's Cavalry.—Sheridan.—Sherman takes Holly Springs.—General Halleck called to Washington.—General Grant succeeds him in the Western command.—He takes care of disloyal citizens, editors, and the Gurrillas.—Guards the rights of loyal people.—The Contrabands.—Refugees.—A rebel letter to General Grant.—West Point Generals in the war.—The position of the armies.—Their advance.—Iuka.—A bloody battle.—Victory.—Pursuit of the enemy.—Congratulations.—Effort to restore the former condition of things in the State.—General Bragg gets near the capital.

THE Union army pursued promptly the flying foe far down the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, through a difficult country much obstructed by the enemy. On the afternoon of the 30th of May, the forces, sent out on the night of May 28th to cut off the rebel retreat, reached Boonesville, Missouri, and there destroyed the track, both north and south of the town, blew up one culvert, burned the dépôt, locomotives, and a train of twenty-six cars loaded with supplies, destroyed a quantity of arms, including artillery, clothing, and ammunition, besides taking a number of prisoners who belonged to the rear of the retreating forces. So desolated had the country become, that the pursuers had to live upon meat alone, such as they could find around them on their line of travel. Colonel Elliott, the commander of the cavalry, among whose officers was the gallant Sheridan, then just entering upon his brilliant career as a cavalry chief, not having any wagons with him, could not collect food and forage: he, however, found a few sheep, which he devoted to the use of his followers; but the flesh was very poor and tough. The prisoners he captured were mostly infantry, and finding that he would have very great difficulty in looking after them if he took them along with him, he merely disarmed them and sent them about their business.

Plans were laid by the rebels to cut off Colonel Elliott's command, on its return; but he judiciously chose another road, and arrived safely at Tuscumbia, on June 1st, 1862. The route taken was by Iuka, Eastport, and Fulton, thence along the Tuscumbia and Jacinto road to Cartersville, thence to Padens and Boonesville, where the damage was principally inflicted on the rebels. The return was by the road to Tuscumbia.

On the 9th of June, 1862, General Halleck reported that the rebels had fallen back fifty miles from Corinth, by the nearest railroad route, and seventy miles by the wagon-road, and that the estimated rebel loss, during the campaign near that place, was about forty thousand men. He also reported a state of demoralization existing in General Beauregard's army, and that the prisoners taken in many cases begged that they should not be exchanged, as they had purposely allowed themselves to be captured.

Holly Springs, Missouri, on the railroad from Jackson, Tennessee, to New Orleans, was taken possession of by General Sherman's forces on June 20th, 1862; and, to prevent surprise by the rebels, several pieces of trestle-work on the Mississippi Central Railroad were destroyed. The enemy, before evacuating the place, had removed their machinery, for the repairing and making of arms, to Atlanta, Georgia.

The campaign in this part of the country having virtually ended, General Halleck was, on July 11, 1862, ordered to Washington, to assume the position of General in-Chief; and, on the 17th, he took leave of his army in a farewell address, congratulating the officers and soldiers, for their endurance and bravery.

The removal of General Halleck was followed by a reorganization of the troops in the West, and new departments were created out of the original Department of the Mississippi. General Buell's forces were formed into the Department of the Ohio, embracing the district of country north and east of the Tennessee River. Missouri was also made a distinct department.

All the country from the Mississippi River to the western shores of the Tennessee, Cairo, Forts Henry and

Donelson, the western shore of the Mississippi River, and the northern part of the State of Mississippi, became the "Department of West Tennessee." Of this, General Grant was made the commander, with his head-quarters at Corinth.

Memphis, which had surrendered on June 6, 1862, soon after the evacuation of Corinth, was in this department, and was, by this time, a very important post, both as a base of operations and of supplies. General Grant, while commanding the district, visited the post, placing it under the jurisdiction of a provost-marshal. Among other orders, he issued the following, as it was necessary to prevent the co-operation between the latent rebels in that city with those in arms outside our lines :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL-GENERAL,
MEMPHIS, *June* 28, 1862.

* * * * * *

Passes issued for persons to pass out of the city will be understood to mean the person alone, and will not include goods, letters, or packages.

Where letters are found on persons passing out, without being marked PASSED by the provost-marshal, post-commander, or general-commanding, they will be seized and delivered to the provost-marshal, and the offender arrested.

Powder, lead, percussion-caps, and fire-arms of all descriptions are positively prohibited from being carried out of the city by citizens. Citizens are also prohibited from carrying them within the city limits on pain of forfeiture of such weapons, and ten days' confinement, for the first offense, and expulsion south of our lines, to be treated as spies, if ever caught within them thereafter, for the second.

By command of U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

The disloyal editors and speculators in conspiracy with the enemy at large took their turn, as will appear in the annexed spicy correspondence. It is paper warfare, in part, but, in General Grant's hands, made the traitors wince, and act like honest men :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL-GENERAL,
MEMPHIS, TENN., *July* 1, 1862.

MESSRS. WILLS, BINGHAM & Co., Proprietors of the Memphis *Avalanche:*

You will suspend the further publication of your paper. The spirit

with which it is conducted is regarded as both incendiary and treasonable, and its issue cannot longer be tolerated.

This order will be strictly observed from the time of its reception.

By command of U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

MEMPHIS, *July* 1, 1862.

WM. S. HILLYER, Provost-Marshal-General:

The *Avalanche* can continue by the withdrawal of the author of the obnoxious article under the caption of "Mischief Makers," and the editorial allusion to the same. U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

TO OUR PATRONS.—For reasons apparent from the foregoing order, I withdraw from the official management of the *Avalanche*. Self-respect, and the spirit of true journalism forbid any longer attempt to edit a paper. I approved and endorsed the articles in question. Prudence forbids my saying more, and duty less, to the public. JEPTHA FOWLKES.

For the lawless guerrillas, who were murdering and plundering around Memphis, General Grant had also a message:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
MEMPHIS, TENN., *July* 3, 1862.

The system of guerrilla warfare now being prosecuted by some troops organized under authority of the so-called Southern Confederacy, and others without such authority, being so pernicious to the welfare of the community where it is carried on, and it being within the power of the community to suppress this system, it is ordered that, wherever loss is sustained by the Government, collections shall be made, by seizure of a sufficient amount of personal property, from persons in the immediate neighborhood sympathising with the rebellion, to remunerate the Government for all loss and expense of the same.

Persons acting as guerrillas without organization, and without uniform to distinguish them from private citizens, are not entitled to the treatment of prisoners of war when caught, and will not receive such treatment.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

JOHN A. RAWLINS, A. A. G.

Finding that the previous order had no effect upon the illicit traffic, General Grant had more positive commands issued, which greatly aided him in restoring the City of Memphis to order and loyalty:—

DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
OFFICE OF THE PROVOST-MARSHAL-GENERAL,
MEMPHIS, TENN., *July* 9, 1862.

* * * * * *

All passes heretofore issued to citizens, either by the commanding-

general, the provost-marshal-general, the provost-marshal of Memphis, or any other officer, which may have been issued without the party being required to take the oath of allegiance, or give the prescribed parole of honor, are hereby revoked.

No pass will be granted, in any case hereafter, except upon the taking of the oath or parole.

The parole will be substituted for the oath only in special cases (at the discretion of the officer authorized to grant passes), where the party lives beyond the protection of our army.

By command of Major-General GRANT.

The next edict of military authority was demanded by the constant sympathy and aid extended to the rebel army by the conquered, but unsubdued, traitors at home—the great hindrance to the success of loyal arms from the beginning of the contest. The people, from the Gulf to Canada, and across the Atlantic, who, under our own and a foreign flag, have taken sides with treason against freedom, are the most responsible, and therefore guilty of all connected with the murderous work.

DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL-GENERAL,
MEMPHIS, *July* 10, 1862.

The constant communication between the so-called Confederate army and their friends and sympathizers in the City of Memphis, despite the orders heretofore issued, and the efforts to enforce them, induced the issuing of the following order:

The families now residing in the City of Memphis, of the following persons, are required to move South, beyond the lines within five days of the date hereof:

First—All persons holding commissions in the so-called Confederate army, or who have voluntarily enlisted in said army, or who accompany and are connected with the same.

Second—All persons holding office under or in the employ of the so-called Confederate Government.

Third—All persons holding State, county, or municipal offices, who claim allegiance to said so-called Confederate Government, and who have abandoned their families, and gone South.

Safe conduct will be given to the parties hereby required to leave, upon application to the provost-marshal of Memphis.

By command of Major-General GRANT.

To guard the justly severe measure from any oppres-

sive effect upon the innocent, General Grant added, the next day, the following modification:—

DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
OFFICE OF THE PROVOST-MARSHAL-GENERAL,
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, *July* 11, 1862.

* * * * * *

In order that innocent, peaceable, and well-disposed persons may not suffer for the bad conduct of the guilty parties coming within the purview of Special Order, dated July 10, 1862, they can be relieved from the operation of said order by signing the following parole, and producing to the provost-marshal-general, or the provost-marshal of Memphis, satisfactory guarantees that they will keep the pledge therein made:

PAROLE.

First—I have not, since the occupation of the City of Memphis by the Federal army, given any aid to the so-called Confederate army, nor given or sent any information of the movements, strength, or position, of the Federal army to any one connected with said Confederate army.

Second—I will not, during the occupancy of Memphis by the Federal army and my residing therein, oppose or conspire against the civil or military authority of the United States, and that I will not give aid, comfort, information, or encouragement to the so-called Confederate army, nor to any person co-operating therewith.

All of which I state and pledge upon my sacred honor.

By command of Major-General GRANT.

The ruinous system of guerrilla warfare continuing, and it being found almost impossible to stop the contraband trade which was being carried on through Memphis, in aid of the rebellion, General Grant appointed General Sherman to the command of that city, quite confident that he would soon check both operations. On the 21st of July, 1862, he entered upon the new official duties.

The difficulty was soon discovered, and a remedy applied, as the subjoined order intimates:

U. S. MILITARY TELEGRAPH, CORINTH, *July* 26, 1862.

To Brigade-General J. T. QUIMBY, Columbus, Kentucky:

GENERAL:—Examine the baggage of all speculators coming South, and when they have specie turn them back. If medicine and other contraband articles, arrest them and confiscate the contraband articles. Jews should receive special attention.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

General Grant was resolved to have the most stringent

measures enforced against all guerrillas and their agents; and the following dispatch is an indication of the way in which his orders were carried out:—

TRENTON, TENNESSEE, *July* 29, 1862.

GENERAL:—The man who guided the rebels to the bridge that was burned was hung to-day. He had taken the oath. The houses of four others who aided have been burned to the ground.

G. M. DODGE, Brigadier-General.

On July 28th, General Grant ordered General Sherman to take possession of all unoccupied dwellings, manufactories, and stores, within the City of Memphis, to hire them out, and to collect the rents for the United States Government, in all cases where the owners were absent and in arms against the United States. This plan was adopted to prevent the destruction and abuse of property, besides securing a revenue from the enemy to help pay the expenses of the war.

A part of the hostile forces engaged at Corinth were afterward concentrated at Jackson, Mississippi, whence they were sent to Vicksburg, Baton Rouge, Port Hudson, and other points along the Mississippi River, again to blockade the stream. On the 5th of August, a battle was fought at Baton Rouge.

The large number of negroes who had found refuge within the Union lines were becoming a serious incubus upon the army, and it was decided to give them some useful employment. General Grant, in his own special department, issued the following order, relating to both the negro refugees and the Confiscation law, as passed by the Houses of Congress, and signed by the President:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
CORINTH, MISSOURI, *August* 11, 1862.

The recent Act of Congress prohibits the army from returning fugitives from labor to their claimants, and authorizes the employment of such persons in the service of the Government. The following orders are therefore published for the guidance of the army in this matter:

1. All fugitives thus employed must be registered; the names of the fugitives and claimant given, and must be borne upon the morning report of the command in which they are kept, showing how they are employed.

2. Fugitives may be employed as laborers in the quartermaster's subsistence, and engineer's department; and whenever, by such employment, a soldier may be saved to its ranks, they may be employed as teamsters and as company cooks, not exceeding four to a company, or as hospital attendants and nurses. Officers may employ them as private servants; in which latter case, the fugitives will not be paid or rationed by the Government. Negroes thus employed must be secured as authorized persons, and will be excluded from the camps.

3. Officers and soldiers are positively prohibited from enticing slaves to leave their masters. When it becomes necessary to employ this kind of labor, the commanding officer of the post or troops must send details, all under the charge of a suitable commissioned officer, to press into service the slaves of persons to the number required.

4. Citizens within reach of any military station, known to be disloyal and dangerous, may be ordered away or arrested, and their crops and stock taken for the benefit of the Government or the use of the army.

5. All property taken from rebel owners must be duly reported and used for the benefit of the Government, and be issued to the troops through the proper department, and, when practicable, the act of taking should be accompanied by the written certificate of the officer so taking to the owner or agent of such property.

It is enjoined on all commanders to see that this order is executed strictly under their own direction. The demoralization of troops subsequent upon being left to execute laws in their own way, without a proper head, must be avoided.

By command of Major-General GRANT.

General Grant intended to execute the laws according to their letter and spirit, but would allow no wholesale plunder within the limits of his department.

Several itinerant refugees had taken advantage of the advance of the armies to visit places in the Southern States within the Union lines; they had fled from their own States to avoid the enrollment ordered under the Conscription Act. These men were generally of a disreputable character, and made their living by following the army, robbing the soldiers, or trading with the rebels. General Grant, from his departmental head-quarters, sent forth his timely communication in their behalf:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
CORINTH, MISSOURI, *August* 16, 1862.

1. All non-residents of this department, found within the same, who, if at home, would be subject to draft, will at once be enrolled under the

supervision of the local commanders where they may be found, and, in case of a draft being made by their respective States, an equal proportion will be drawn from persons thus enrolled. Persons so drawn will at once be assigned to troops from the States to which they owe military service, and the executive thereof notified of such draft.

2. All violation of trade by army-followers may be punished by confiscation of stock-in-trade, and the assignment of offenders to do duty as private soldiers.

By order of Major-General U. S. Grant.

There was very soon a thinning of the ranks of the worthless wanderers.

A specimen of a rebel letter written about this time will show you how bitter was the hate of our enemies, and how demoniac their conduct. It is addressed to General Grant, on account of his proclamation respecting the guerrillas, threatening to confiscate rebel property in return for their ravages. The gentle missive was written on three leaves out of a memorandum-book, about four by three inches in size:—

Sinatobia, *July* 16, 1862.

U. S. Grant: Sir: We have seen your infamous and fiendish proclamation. It is characteristic of your infernal policy. We had hoped that this war would be conducted upon principles recognized by civilized nations. But you have seen fit to ignore all the rules of civilized warfare, and resort to means which ought to, and would, make half-civilized nations blush. If you attempt to carry out your threat against the property of citizens, we will make you rue the day you issued your dastardly proclamation. If we can't act upon the principle of *lex talionis* in regard to private property, we will visit summary vengeance upon your men. You call us guerrillas, which you know is false. We are recognized by our government, and it was us who attacked your wagon-train at Morning Sun. We have twenty-three men of yours, and as soon as you carry out your threat against the citizens of the vicinity of Morning Sun, your Hessians shall pay for it. You shall conduct this war upon proper principles.

We intend to force you to do it. If you intend to make this a war of extermination, you will please inform us of it at the earliest convenience. We are ready, and more than willing, to raise the "black flag." There are two thousand partisans who have sworn to retaliate. If you do not retract your proclamation, you may expect to have scenes of the most bloody character. We all remember the manner in which your vandal soldiers put to death Mr. Owens, of Missouri. Henceforth our motto shall be, Blood for blood, and blood for property. We intend, by the help of God, to hang on the outskirts of your rabble, like lightning around

the edge of a cloud. We don't intend this as a threat, but simply as a warning of what we intend to do, in case you pursue your disgraceful and nefarious policy toward our citizens, as marked out in your threat of recent date.

Respectfully,

GEO. R. MERRITT.

The active business-life of the North had, previous to the civil war, demanded so largely our young men, that the majority of cadets in the Military Academy at West Point were from the South; and, for the same reason, the largest number of commanders in the army and navy were of Southern origin or associations.

It was therefore truly, though boastfully, stated by a rebel writer, after the battle of Shiloh, that, "of the West Point graduates, who are officers in the armies of the United States and Confederate States, it appears that there are in the United States army seventeen major-generals and twenty-four brigadier-generals; in the Confederate States army, five generals (beside A. S. Johnson, killed at Shiloh), eighteen major-generals, forty-one brigadier-generals. From this list, which ends with 1848, it appears that we have sixty-four generals from West Point in our army, while the United States have but forty-one. It was no idle or unmeaning boast of President Davis that he had the pick and choice of the officers of the old army. Notwithstanding the frequent flings at West Pointers, we may yet find it a cause of congratulation that we had at the head of our Government one who was educated at West Point himself, but who, by his service in the army and in the War Department, was thoroughly acquainted with the military talent of all the United States officers."

Here we may pause, and see how the combatants stand. The Mississippi is clear to Memphis, and at the mouth; for Butler, who knew so well how to deal with rebels, is at New Orleans.

The forces defeated by Halleck and Grant had gone to Vicksburg, Port Hudson, and Baton Rouge, and other points on the Mississippi, to blockade and hold that great thoroughfare of trade in the valley of the West.

Although, during the summer months, there was a lull

in the wide arena of the Western conflict, neither army was idle. Major-General Buell's forces were east of Memphis, not far from Huntsville in Alabama, with Chattanooga for his coveted prize. For this, he left Corinth in June. Major-General Curtis was west of the Mississippi, at Helena, Arkansas. Brigadier-General Schofield was north of him, in Southwestern Missouri; while General Grant, with the central army, was on the line of West Tennessee, and North Mississippi, between Memphis and Iuka, protecting the railroads south from Columbus, our only channels of supply.

As far as actual fighting was concerned, from June to September, 1862, General Grant's department was particularly quiet. Skirmishes would occasionally take place between guerrillas and the troops occupying small districts, as at Bolivar, on August 30th, and at the Medon Station of the Mississippi Central Railroad, on August 31st. In every instance the rebels were routed, because the vigilant commander had not overlooked the defenses of these posts.

The mighty sweep of these combined armies was around and across a territory six hundred miles in width, from Western Arkansas to the Cumberland Gap, and more than one hundred and fifty miles in the other direction. From this area the enemy had been recently driven. The foe, greatly re-enforced by conscription, while we were weakened by losses, had formed magnificent plans of conquest. The grand programme was to reoccupy the lost ground back to Kentucky, and then roll their tide of invasion, like the Goths and Huns of old, over the borders of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Raids into Maryland and Pennsylvania, with Indian troubles at the West, were to furnish a most auspicious time for the sublimely daring advance through the valley of the West.

General Braxton Bragg, of the rebel army, opened the gigantic enterprise finely. Hastening from Tripoli, Mississippi, through Alabama and Georgia, he reached Chattanooga, by nature a stronghold, ahead of Buell, who fell back to Nashville, Tennessee. Another hostile column had got into Cumberland Gap, and looked menacingly

toward Cincinnati. Meanwhile the President had, wisely, and just in season, issued another call for troops. Oh, how wildly the great Northwest echoed back the appeal! Her sons went streaming down like the rivers, in living tides, toward the seat of war. Cincinnati and Louisville were soon fortified.

September 5th, while the general advance of the rebel army was in progress, General Bragg published an order, dated at Sparta, in the southern part of Alabama, to deceive the Union generals in regard to his whereabouts, while at the same moment he was at Chattanooga, Tennessee, preparing for a flank movement through East Tennessee and Kentucky to the Ohio River. The trick seems to have succeeded with the commander of the Army of the Ohio, but did not impose upon General Grant. He was found, and General Buell sent after him with one hundred thousand men.

At Perryville a severe battle was fought, and the enemy routed. Bragg had hoped to swing, by a flank movement, around Grant, to the Ohio River; Corinth lying nearly in a direct westerly line from Chattanooga. It was ascertained that Generals Van Dorn and Price were advancing toward our camp at Jacinto, which was at once removed, to prepare for the greater conflict impending.

September 18th, soon after break of day, in a drenching rain, and through mud, the uncomplaining volunteers moved toward the enemy; Generals Grant and Ord approaching Iuka from the north, and General Rosecrans from the south. The position of the rebel army cut off communication between Generals Grant and Buell, and at any cost it must be routed. Price, finding that the Union lines were likely to close around him, left the town, and fell on Rosecrans, with desperate fury, at four o'clock P. M. Till the sun went down, darkened with the "sulphurous canopy," bullets and steel, cannon and shell did their work well. From the long ridge, commanding a large extent of the country around, the rebels rained down destruction, till one-third of our troops were killed or wounded.

The careful system of reconnoissance adopted in Gen-

eral Grant's army made the commander of the Department of West Tennessee, and his subordinate general officers, fully aware of the approach of the rebels upon their lines long before the actual attack took place. Even as early as September 10, 1862, it was known that General Sterling Price, at the head of a far superior force of rebel troops, was marching upon the little camp at Jacinto, Tishamingo County, Mississippi. Orders were, of course, quickly given to break up this camp, and take the wagon trains to the defenses at Corinth. The men who were ordered to remain behind were thereby compelled to sleep on their arms, and in the open air, for several nights.

On September 17th, a general advance was ordered by General Grant, and, at four o'clock on the morning of September 18th, the regiments from Corinth and Jacinto were pushing toward Iuka, where General Price had concentrated his forces. The march of the Union troops was made amid a drenching rain, and along muddy roads, advancing upon the place by different routes; the force under General Rosecrans, known as the Army of the Mississippi, moving along the road from the south, while that under Generals Grant and Ord approached the town from the north, *viâ* Burnsville.

At daybreak, on the morning of September 19th, the march was renewed, and the advance of General Hamilton's Division encountered the rebel pickets at Barnett's Corners, on the road to Iuka. After a sharp skirmish, the pickets were driven six miles toward that town, losing slightly in killed and prisoners. The division again pushed forward, until within two miles of Iuka, where they were received with a hot fire of musketry from the rebels, who were posted on the ridge which commanded the country for several miles around. The engagement soon became general on this part of the line, and lasted until dark, when the men threw themselves down on their arms, to snatch the rest needed to renew the struggle on the morrow. The contest had been very sanguinary and fierce while it lasted, nearly one-third of the Union forces engaged being placed *hors de combat*.

During the night General Price evacuated the town,

and in the morning General Rosecrans's troops entered Iuka from the south, and hastened after the flying rebels. Shortly after, the forces under Generals Grant and Ord arrived by the northern route. As the intention of General Grant was to cut off Price's retreat by that road, and he had chosen another toward the east, this part of the army was not engaged, although its position contributed toward forcing the enemy to evacuate the place.

The following extracts from a private letter of a rebel to a friend, under date of September 24, 1862, present a graphic view from the enemy's side:—

"We held peaceable possession of Iuka for one day, and on the next were alarmed by the booming of cannon, and were called out to spend the evening in battle array in the woods. On the evening of the 19th, when we supposed we were going back to camp, to rest awhile, the sharp crack of musketry on the right of our former lines told us that the enemy was much nearer than we imagined. In fact, they had almost penetrated the town itself. How on earth, with the woods full of our cavalry, they could have approached so near our lines, is a mystery. They had planted a battery sufficiently near to shell General Price's head-quarters, and were cracking away at the Third Brigade when the Fourth came up, at double-quick; and then, for two hours and fifteen minutes, was kept up the most terrific fire of musketry that ever dinned my ears. There was one continuous roar of small-arms, while grape and canister howled in fearful concert above our heads and through our ranks. General Little was shot dead early in the action. * * * * It was a terrible struggle, and we lost heavily. All night could be heard the groans of the wounded and dying, forming a sequel of horror and agony to the deadly struggle, over which night had kindly thrown its mantle. Saddest of all, our dead were left unburied, and many of the wounded on the battle-field to be taken in charge by the enemy.

"Finding that the enemy were being re-enforced from the north, and as our strength would not justify us in

trying another battle, a retreat was ordered, and we left the town during the night. The enemy pressed our rear the next day, and were only kept off by grape and canister.

"It grieves me to state that acts of vandalism, disgraceful to any army, were, however, perpetrated along the line of retreat, and makes me blush to own such men as my countrymen. Corn-fields were laid waste, potato-patches robbed, barn-yards and smoke-houses despoiled, hogs killed, and all kind of outrages perpetrated in broad daylight, and in full view of the officers. The advance and retreat were alike disgraceful, and I have no doubt that women and children along the route will cry for the bread which has been rudely taken from them by those who should have protected and defended them."

The Army of the Mississippi bore the brunt of the fight, but the combinations caused the evacuation of the town. On the morning of the 20th of September, 1862, General Grant sent the following dispatch to the general-in-chief at Washington:—

IUKA, MISS., *September* 20, 1862.

To Major-General H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief:

General Rosecrans, with Stanley's and Hamilton's Divisions and Misener's Cavalry, attacked Price south of this village, about two hours before dark, yesterday, and had a sharp fight until night closed in. General Ord was to the south with an armed force of about five thousand men, and had some skirmishing with the rebel pickets. This morning the fight was renewed by General Rosecrans, who was nearest to the town; but it was found that the enemy had been evacuating during the night, going south. Generals Hamilton and Stanley, with cavalry, are in full pursuit.

This will, no doubt, break up the enemy, and possibly force them to abandon much of their artillery. The loss on either side, in killed and wounded, is from four hundred to five hundred. The enemy's loss in arms, tents, &c., will be large. We have about two hundred and fifty prisoners.

I have reliable intelligence that it was Price's intention to move over east of the Tennessee. In this he has been thwarted. Among the enemy's loss are General Little, killed, and General Whitefield, wounded.

I cannot speak too highly of the energy and skill displayed by General Rosecrans in the attack, and of the endurance of the troops. General Ord's command showed untiring zeal; but the direction taken by the

enemy prevented them from taking the active part they desired. Price's force was about eighteen thousand.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

The examination of the field, after the first excitement of the battle was over, showed a still more favorable result for the Union forces, as will be seen by the following dispatch :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, CORINTH, *September* 22, 1862.

Major-General HALLECK, General-in-Chief:

In my dispatch of the 20th our loss was over-estimated, and the rebel loss under-estimated. We found two hundred and sixty-one of them dead upon the field, while our loss in killed will be less than one hundred.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

General Grant, on the same day he sent the dispatch, complimented his officers and men upon their bravery, not forgetting those who fell in the conflict :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
CORINTH, *September* 22, 1862.

The General Commanding takes great pleasure in congratulating the two wings of the army, commanded respectively by Major-General Ord and Major-General Rosecrans, upon the energy, alacrity, and bravery displayed by them on the 19th and 20th insts., in their movement against the enemy at Iuka. Although the enemy was in numbers reputed far greater than their own, nothing was evinced by the troops but a burning desire to meet him, whatever his numbers, and however strong his position.

With such a disposition as was manifested by the troops on this occasion, their commanders need never fear defeat against any thing but overwhelming numbers.

While it was the fortune of the command of General Rosecrans, on the evening of the 19th inst., to engage the enemy in a most spirited fight for more than two hours, driving him with great loss from his position, and winning for themselves fresh laurels, the command of General Ord is entitled to equal credit for their efforts in trying to reach the enemy, and in diverting his attention.

And while congratulating the noble living, it is meet to offer our condolence to the friends of the heroic dead, who offered their lives a sacrifice in defense of constitutional liberty, and in their fall rendered memorable the field of Iuka.

By command of

Major-General U. S. GRANT.

General Bragg's forces were all this time pushing forward toward the Ohio River, and General Grant moved his head-quarters to a more central position. He selected Jackson, Tennessee, placing the commander of the Army of the Mississippi in local command at Corinth.

The rebel forces which had retreated from Iuka were next concentrated near Ripley, Tippah County, Mississippi, and southwest of Corinth, at which point they were joined by those under Generals Van Dorn and Lovell. Price's forces, in retreating from Iuka, countermarched at a point several miles south of the Union position, crossed the Mobile and Ohio Railroad in the vicinity of Baldwyn, Tupello, &c., and were able to form a junction with the troops under the before-mentioned generals, combining all the available rebel forces in North Mississippi. The intention of the enemy was to retake Corinth at all hazards, at least to break the line of communications, and force a retreat.

General Grant, advised of these facts, so arranged his forces that if the rebels were driven from Corinth—and he had no doubt they would be—they should not escape without severe punishment.

Cavalry scouts were sent out in all directions, and demonstrated the fact that the rebels were, on October 1, 1862, moving from Ripley, *viâ* Buckersville, upon Corinth, while the main army was at Pocahontas. The question then was, where did they intend to strike the principal blow, as they were situated in such a position that they could attack with equal ease either of the posts at Bethel, Bolivar, Corinth, or Jackson. In fact, they held the center of the base of the irregular triangle which had Jackson for its apex and Corinth for its right-hand corner.

General Grant was master of the situation, and it mattered little at what point the rebels struck, as he could move his forces to support the position attacked—so admirably were they arranged within available reach of each other. General Ord held the position at Bolivar, General Hurlburt was stationed nearer Pocahontas, General Rosecrans was at Corinth, and General Grant at Jackson. It will be seen, by reference to the map, that the rebels

were hemmed in by the triangular lines of the Union army, except on the south.

On the 4th of October, the enemy made a determined and vigorous attack upon the works at Corinth, and the most obstinate fighting ensued. General Grant was in constant telegraphic communication with General Rosecrans, during the attack, and also with his other generals. He could move his forces to meet the manœuvering of the enemy.

October 2d, skirmishing began before Corinth. Brigadier-Generals Hamilton, McKean, Davies, and Stanley, were within its walls, with Rosecrans.

On the 3d the contest was fairly opened. General Grant, with his eye on the field, was directing the whole machinery of the opening struggle. General McPherson, at Jackson, was ordered to join, with a brigade, General Rosecrans; while General Hurlburt, with other forces, was marching to cut off retreat by way of Pocahontas.

Noon came, and thunder, smoke, hissing shot, screaming shell, yelling combatants, and the shouts of command, were the signs of the terrible strife.

The sun sank toward the west, flinging his golden beams over the rich autumnal landscape, and on the surging columns of the foemen, on both sides equally unyielding. For many miles the heavy roar of the artillery swelled with strange distinctness, as the twilight stillness stole upon the bosom of nature. Then, darkness hung a veil between the fiery eyes of the grappling brethren of a common heritage, and they relaxed the bloody grasp, and lay down in weariness on their arms to sleep.

The next morning's light kindled upon the uprisen hosts among the dead and wounded, in battle array. Back and forth the swaying masses of armed men moved in the darkened atmosphere, till noon. Then the rebel ranks fell back: the die was cast.

The struggle had been a fierce and sanguinary one, and bravely did the garrison defend the position. The rebels had even forced their way into the town, and severe fighting took place in the streets; but they were

driven out of Corinth, and their broken fragments chased into the woods.

The victory had, however, cost the Union army dearly, as may be seen from the following brief dispatch from General Grant to the general-in-chief:—

GRANT'S HEAD-QUARTERS, JACKSON, TENN., *October* 5—8 A. M.

To Major-General H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief U. S. A.:

Yesterday the rebels under Price, Van Dorn, and Lovell, were repulsed from their attack on Corinth with great slaughter.

The enemy are in full retreat, leaving their dead and wounded on the field.

Rosecrans telegraphs that the loss is serious on our side, particularly in officers, but bears no comparison with that of the enemy.

General Hackleman fell while gallantly leading his brigade.

General Oglesby is dangerously wounded.

General McPherson, with his command, reached Corinth yesterday.

General Rosecrans pursued the retreating enemy this morning; and, should they attempt to move toward Bolivar, will follow to that place.

General Hurlburt is at the Hatchie River, with five or six thousand men, and is no doubt with the pursuing column.

From seven hundred to a thousand prisoners, besides the wounded, are left in our hands.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General Commanding.

According to the above dispatch, General Rosecrans pursued the enemy, on the morning of the 5th of October, and pushed them toward the Hatchie River. General Hurlburt, who had moved forward to that position along the line of railroad from Grand Junction, had already, on the previous day, driven in the rebel videttes, but his advance had been somewhat disputed during the night. General Hurlburt was, on the morning of October 5th, joined by General Ord's forces from Bolivar. General Ord assumed command; but finding General Hurlburt had made excellent arrangements for the advance, he followed out the same plan. The road, narrow and winding, through swamps and over precipitous ridges, across which the guns were with great labor dragged by hand, made the advance more than ordinarily dangerous in the face of the enemy, especially as the retreating forces from Corinth were likely soon to be joined with the others in the front. The rebels made

use of every advantage the country gave them, using the swamps and jungles for their infantry, and the ridges for their artillery; but so heroic and impetuous was the attack of the forces under Generals Ord and Hurlburt, that the enemy was driven for five miles to, and across the Hatchie, and up the heights beyond.

The following dispatch from General Grant announces the victory on the Hatchie:—

GRANT'S HEAD-QUARTERS, JACKSON, TENN., *October* 5, 1862.

To Major-General H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief U. S. A.:

General Ord, who followed General Hurlburt, met the enemy to-day on the south side of the Hatchie, as I understand from a dispatch, and drove them across the stream, and got possession of the heights with our troops.

General Ord took two batteries and about two hundred prisoners.

A large portion of General Rosecrans's forces were at Chevalla.

At this distance every thing looks most favorable, and I cannot see how the enemy are to escape without losing every thing but their small-arms.

I have strained every thing to take into the fight an adequate force, and to get them to the right place.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General Commanding.

The union of General McPherson's forces with those at Corinth enabled General Rosecrans to continue vigorously the pursuit of the enemy, and about noon on the 6th of October General Grant sent the following dispatch, which announces the rout of the rebels on every side:—

HEAD-QUARTERS OF GENERAL GRANT,
JACKSON, TENN., 12:20 P. M., *October* 6, 1862.

To Major-General HALLECK, General-in-Chief:

Generals Ord and Hurlburt came upon the enemy yesterday, and, General Hurlburt having driven in small bodies of the rebels the day before, after seven hours hard fighting, drove the enemy five miles back across the Hatchie toward Corinth, capturing two batteries, about three hundred prisoners, and many small arms.

I immediately apprised General Rosecrans of these facts, and directed him to urge on the good work. The following dispatch has just been received from him:

CHEVALLA, *October* 6, 1862.

To Major-General GRANT:

The enemy is totally routed, throwing every thing away. We are following sharply.

W. S. ROSECRANS, Major-General.

Under previous instructions, General Hurlburt is also following. General McPherson is in the lead of General Rosecrans's column. The rebel General Martin is said to be killed.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General Commanding.

It was a disastrous repulse to the enemy. The accounts published in the Southern newspapers indicated a heavy loss, and that they failed in accomplishing the object of their movement—the capture of Corinth. But the same journals endeavored to console themselves and the people with the idea that General Grant had, at least, been prevented from sending re-enforcements to the aid of General Buell, who was then about to engage the rebel forces under General Bragg.

The following is the congratulatory order of General Grant to his troops relative to this campaign :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
JACKSON, TENNESSEE, *October* 7, 1862.

It is with heartfelt gratitude the general commanding congratulates the armies of the West for another great victory won by them on the 3d, 4th, and 5th instants, over the combined armies of Van Dorn, Price, and Lovell.

The enemy chose his own time and place of attack, and knowing the troops of the West as he does, and with great facilities for knowing their numbers, never would have made the attempt except with a superior force numerically. But for the undaunted bravery of officers and soldiers, who have yet to learn defeat, the efforts of the enemy must have proved successful.

While one division of the army, under Major-General Rosecrans, was resisting and repelling the onslaught of the rebel hosts at Corinth, another, from Bolivar, under Major-General Hurlburt, was marching upon the enemy's rear, driving in their pickets and cavalry, and attracting the attention of a large force of infantry and artillery. On the following day, under Major-General Ord, these forces advanced with unsurpassed gallantry, driving the enemy back across the Hatchie, over ground where it is almost incredible that a superior force should be driven by an inferior, capturing two of the batteries (eight guns), many hundred small-arms, and several hundred prisoners.

To those two divisions of the army all praise is due, and will be awarded by a grateful country.

Between them there should be, and I trust are, the warmest bonds of brotherhood. Each was risking life in the same cause, and, on this occasion, risking it also to save and assist the other. No troops could do more than these separate armies. Each did all possible for it to do in the places assigned it.

As in all great battles, so in this, it becomes our fate to mourn the loss of many brave and faithful officers and soldiers, who have given up their lives as a sacrifice for a great principle. The nation mourns for them.

By command of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

President Lincoln, upon receiving the intelligence from General Grant announcing the victories at Corinth and on the Hatchie, dispatched to him the following congratulations and inquiries:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October* 8, 1862.

Major-General GRANT:

I congratulate you and all concerned in your recent battles and victories. How does it all sum up? I especially regret the death of General Hackleman, and am very anxious to know the condition of General Oglesby, who is an intimate personal friend.

A. LINCOLN.

The rebel forces of General Bragg were by this time in full retreat from the Ohio River, and were being pursued by the Army of the Ohio.

Skirmishes with guerrillas occurred occasionally within General Grant's lines; but otherwise this department was once more quiet.

On the 16th of October, 1862, it was designated as the Department of the Tennessee, and was further extended so as to embrace the State of Mississippi as far as Vicksburg. General Rosecrans was shortly after made commander of the Army of the Ohio, in the place of General Buell. The combined troops under General Grant were now known as the Thirteenth Army Corps.

The victories of General Grant's forces were supposed, in Washington, to have had a beneficial effect upon the people of Tennessee; and, to aid them in resuming their own government under the auspices of the United States, the following document was sent to General Grant:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *October* 21, 1862.

Major-General GRANT, Governor JOHNSON, and all having Military, Naval, and Civil Authority under the United States within the State of Tennessee:

The bearer of this, Thomas R. Smith, a citizen of Tennessee, goes to that State, seeking to have such of the people thereof as desire to avoid

the unsatisfactory prospect before them, and to have peace again upon the old terms under the Constitution of the United States, to manifest such desire by elections of members to the Congress of the United States particularly, and perhaps a Legislature, State officers, and a United States Senator friendly to their object. I shall be glad for you and each of you to aid him, and all others acting for this object, as much as possible. In all available ways give the people a chance to express their wishes at these elections. Follow law, and forms of law, as far as convenient; but, at all events, get the expression of the largest number of the people possible. All see how much such action will connect with and affect the proclamation of September 22d. Of course, the men elected should be gentlemen of character, willing to swear support to the Constitution as of old, and known to be above reasonable suspicion of duplicity.

Yours, very respectfully, A. Lincoln.

We smile at the talk, then, of "peace again upon the old terms, under the Constitution." The good President had much to learn of the true character of the war, and the will of the King of kings in regard to the struggle then scarcely begun, in its connection with slavery, the bitter cause of the war. To prevent any practical result from the President's message to General Grant and the State authorities, General Bragg moved his forces to within striking distance of Nashville.

General Grant's report, of October 22d, presents a clear record of his plans and successes:—

Head-Quarters District West Tennessee,
Jackson, Tenn., *October* 22, 1862.

Colonel J. C. Kelton, A. A.-G., Washington, D. C.:—

Colonel:—I have the honor to make the following report of the battle of Iuka, and to submit herewith such reports of subordinates as have been received.

For some ten days or more before the final move of the rebel army under General Price, eastward from the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, it was evident that an attack upon Corinth was contemplated, or some change to be made in the location of that army. This caused great vigilance to be necessary on the part of our cavalry, especially that to the southern front under Colonel Mizner. The labor of watching, with occasional skirmishing, was most satisfactorily performed, and almost every move of the enemy was known as soon as commenced.

About the 11th of September, Price left the railroad, the infantry and artillery probably moving from Baldwin, and the cavalry from the roads north of Baldwin, toward Bay Springs. At the latter place a halt of a few

days seems to have been made; likely for the purpose of collecting stores, and reconnoitering on the eastern flank. On the 13th of September, the enemy's cavalry made their appearance near Iuka, and were repulsed by the small garrison under Colonel Murphy, of the Eighth Wisconsin Infantry, still left there to cover the removal of stores not yet brought into Corinth. The enemy appearing again in increased force on the same day, and having cut the railroad and telegraph between there and Burnsville, Colonel Murphy thought it prudent to retire to save his forces.

This caused a considerable amount of commissary stores to fall into the hands of the enemy, which property should have been destroyed. Price's whole force soon congregated at Iuka.

Information brought in by scouts, as to the intention of the enemy, was conflicting. One report was, that Price wanted to cross Bear Creek and the Tennessee River, for the purpose of crossing Tennessee and getting into Kentucky. Another, that Van Dorn was to march by way of Ripley and attack us on the southwest, while Price should move on us from the east or northwest. A third, that Price would endeavor to cross the Tennessee, and, if pursuit was attempted, Van Dorn was in readiness to attack Corinth.

Having satisfied myself that Van Dorn could not reach Corinth under four days, with an army embracing all arms, I determined to leave Corinth with a force sufficient to resist cavalry, and to attack Price at Iuka. This I regarded as eminently my duty, let either of the enemy's plans be the correct solution. Accordingly, on the 16th, I gave some general directions as to the plan of operations.

General Rosecrans was to move on the south side of the railroad to opposite Iuka, and attack from that side with all his available force, after leaving a sufficient force at Rienzi and Jacinto, to prevent the surprise on Corinth from that direction.

Major-General Ord was to move to Burnsville, and from there take roads north of the railroad and attack from that side. General Ord having to leave from his two divisions, already very much reduced in numbers, from long-continued service and the number of battles they had been in, the garrison at Corinth; he also had one regiment of infantry and a squadron of cavalry at Kossuth, one regiment of infantry and one company of cavalry at Cheuvall, and one regiment of infantry that moved, under Colonel Mower, and joined General Rosecrans's command, reduced the number of men of his command, available to the expedition, to about thirty thousand.

I had previously ordered the infantry of General Ross's command at Bolivar to hold themselves in readiness to move at a moment's warning; had also directed the concentration of cars at Jackson, to move these troops.

Within twenty-four hours from the time a dispatch left Corinth for those troops to "come on," they had arrived—three thousand four hundred in number. This, notwithstanding the locomotive was thrown off the track on the Mississippi Central Road, preventing the passage of other trains for several hours. This force was added to General Ord's command, making his entire strength over six thousand to take into the field. From this force

two regiments of infantry and one section of artillery were taken, about nine hundred men, for the garrison or rear guard, to be held at Burnsville. Not having General Ord's report, these figures may not be accurate. General Rosecrans was moving from Jacinto eastward, with about nine thousand men, making my total force, with which to attack the enemy, about fifteen thousand. This was equal to or greater than their number, as I estimated them.

General Rosecrans, at his suggestion, acquiesced in by me, was to move northward from his eastern march in two columns—one, under Hamilton, was to move up the Fulton and Eastport road; the other, under Stanley, on the Jacinto road from Barnett's.

On the 18th, General Ord's command was pushed forward, driving in the enemy's pickets and capturing a few prisoners, taking position within six miles of Iuka. I expected, from the following dispatch, that General Rosecrans would be near enough by the night of the 18th to make it safe for Ord to press forward on the morning of the 19th, and bring on an engagement:

"*September* 18, 1862.

"To General GRANT:—

"One of my spies, in from Reardon's, on the Bay Spring Road, tells of a continuous movement, since last Friday, of forces eastward. They say Van Dorn is to defend Vicksburg, Breckinridge to make his way to Kentucky, Price to attack Iuka or go to Tennessee. If Price's forces are at Iuka, the plan I propose is, to move up as close as we can to-night, conceal our movements; Ord to advance from Burnsville, commence the attack, and draw their attention that way, while I move in on the Jacinto and Fulton road, and, crushing in their left, cut off their retreat eastward.

"I propose to leave, in ten minutes, for Jacinto, whence I will dispatch you by line of vedettes to Burnsville. Will wait a few minutes to hear from you before I start. What news from Burnsville?

"Signed, W. S. ROSECRANS, Brigadier-General."

To which I sent the following reply:

"HEAD-QUARTERS DISTRICT WEST TENNESSEE,
BURNSVILLE, MISS., *September* 18, 1862.

"General ROSECRANS:—

"General Ross's command is at this place, McArthur's division is north of the road, two miles to the rear, and Davis's division south of the road, north. I sent forward two regiments of infantry, with cavalry, by the road north of the railroad toward Iuka, with instructions for them to bivouac for the night at a point, which was designated, about four miles from here, if not interrupted, and have the cavalry feel where the enemy are. Before they reached the point on the road (you will see it on the map—the road north of the railroad), they met what was supposed to be Armstrong's cavalry. The rebel cavalry were forced back, and I sent instructions there to have them stop for the night where they thought they could safely hold.

"In the morning troops will advance from here at half-past four A. M.

An anonymous dispatch, just received, states that Price, Magruder, and Breckinridge have a force of sixty thousand between Iuka and Tupelo. This, I have no doubt, is the understanding of citizens; but I very much doubt this information being correct. Your reconnoissances prove that there is but little force south of Corinth for a long distance, and no great force between Bay Spring and the railroad. Make as rapid an advance as you can, and let us do to-morrow all we can. It may be necessary to fall back the day following. I look upon the showing of a cavalry force so near us as an indication of a retreat, and they a force to cover it.

"Signed: U. S. GRANT, Major-General."

After midnight the following dispatch was received:—

"HEAD-QUARTERS ENCAMPMENT, *September* 18, 1862.

"GENERAL:—Your dispatch received. General Stanley's division arrived after dark, having been detained by falling in the rear of Ross through fault of guide. Our cavalry six miles this side of Burnett's; Hamilton's first brigade eight, second brigade nine miles this side; Stanley's near Davenport Mills. We shall move as early as practicable; say half-past four A. M. This will give twenty miles march for Stanley to Iuka. Shall not, therefore, be in before one or two o'clock, but when we come in will endeavor to do it strongly.

"Signed: W. S. ROSECRANS, Brigadier-General U. S. A."

Receiving this dispatch, as I did, late at night, and when I supposed these troops were far on their way toward Iuka, and had made my plans accordingly, caused some disappointment, and made a change of plans necessary. I immediately dispatched General Ord, giving him the substance of the above, and directions not to move on the enemy until Rosecrans arrived, or he should hear firing to the south of Iuka. Of this change General Rosecrans was promptly informed by dispatch, sent with his return messenger. During the day General Ord returned to my head-quarters at Iuka, and, in consultation, we both agreed that it would be impossible for General Rosecrans to get his troops up in time to make an attack that day. The General was instructed, however, to move forward, driving in the enemy's advance guards, but not to bring on an engagement unless he should hear firing. At night another dispatch was received, from General Rosecrans, dated from Barnett's, about eight miles from Iuka, written at 12:40 P. M., stating that the head of the column had arrived there at 12 M. Owing to the density of the forests, and the difficulties of passing the small streams and bottoms, all communications between General Rosecrans and myself had to pass far around—near Jacinto—even after he had got on the road leading north. For this reason his communication was not received until after the engagement. I did not hear of the engagement, however, until the next day, although the following dispatch had been promptly forwarded:—

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
TWO MILES SOUTH OF IUKA, *September* 19, 1862—10½ P. M.

"GENERAL:—We met the enemy in just about this point. The engagement lasted several hours. We have lost two or three pieces of artillery. Firing was very heavy. You must attack in the morning, and in force. The ground is horrid—unknown to us, and no room for development—couldn't use our artillery at all; fired but few shots. Push in on to them until we can have time to do something. We will try to get a position on our right, which will take Iuka.

"Signed: W. S. ROSECRANS, Brigadier-General, U. S. A."

This dispatch was received at 8:35 A. M., on the 20th, and the following was immediately sent:

"BURNSVILLE, *September* 20, 1862—8:35 A. M.

"General ORD:—

"Get your troops up and attack as soon as possible. Rosecrans had two hours' fighting last night, and now this morning again, and, unless you can create a diversion in his favor, he may find his hands full.

"Hurry up your troops—all possible.

"Signed: "U. S. GRANT, Major-General."

The statement that the engagement had commenced again in the morning was on the strength of hearing artillery. General Ord, hearing the same, however, pushed on with all possible dispatch, without awaiting orders.

Two of my staff—Colonels Dickey and Logan—had gone around to where General Rosecrans was, and were with him during the early part of the engagement. Returning in the dark, and endeavoring to cut off some of the distance, they became lost and entangled in the woods, and remained out over night, arriving at head-quarters next morning about the same hour that General Rosecrans's messenger arrived. For the particular troops engaged, and the part taken by each regiment, I will have to refer you entirely to the accompanying report of those officers who were present.

Not occupying Iuka afterward for any length of time, and then, not until a force sufficient to give protection for any great distance arrived (the battle was fought about two miles out), I cannot accompany this with a topographical map. I send, however, a map showing all the roads and plans named in this report. The country between the road traveled by General Ord's command, to some distance south of the railroad, is impassable for cavalry, and almost so for infantry. It is impossible for artillery to move southward to the road traveled by General Rosecrans's command. Soon after dispatching General Ord, word was brought by one of my staff, Colonel Hillyer, that the enemy were in full retreat. I immediately proceeded to Iuka, and found that the enemy had left during the night, taking every thing with them except their wounded, and the artillery taken by them the evening before. Going south by the Fulton road, Generals Stanley and Hamilton were in pursuit.

This was the first I knew of the Fulton road; with it occupied, no route would have been left them except east, with the difficult bottom of Bear Creek to cross, or northeast, with the Tennessee River in their front, or to conquer their way out. A partial examination of the country afterward convinced me, however, that troops moving in separate columns by the route suggested could not support each other until they arrived near Iuka. On the other hand, an attempt to retreat, according to programme, would have brought General Ord, with his force, on the rear of the retreating column.

For casualties and captures, see accompanying reports.

The battle of Iuka foots up as follows:

On the 16th of September we commenced to collect our strength to move upon Price, at Iuka, in two columns; the one to the right of the railroad commanded by Brigadier-General (now Major-General) W. S. Rosecrans; the one to the left commanded by Major-General E. O. C. Ord. On the night of the 18th, the latter was in position to bring on an engagement in one hour's march. The former, from having a greater distance to march, and, through the fault of a guide, was twenty miles back. On the 19th, by making a rapid march, hardy, well-disciplined, and tried troops arrived within two miles of the place to be attacked. Unexpectedly the enemy took the initiative and became the attacking party. The ground chosen was such that a large force on our side could not be brought into action; but the bravery and endurance of those brought in were such that, with the skill and presence of mind of the officer commanding, they were able to hold their ground till night closed the conflict. During the night the enemy fled, leaving our troops in possession of the field, with their dead to bury and wounded to care for. If it was the object of the enemy to make their way into Kentucky, they were defeated in that; if to hold their position until Van Dorn could come up on the southwest of Corinth, and make a simultaneous attack, they were defeated in that. Our only defeat was in not capturing the entire army, or in destroying it, as I had hoped to do.

It was a part of General Hamilton's command that did the fighting, directed entirely by that cool and deserving officer. I commend him to the President for acknowledgment of his services.

During the absence of these forces from Corinth, that post was left in charge of Brigadier-General T. J. McKean. The southern front, from Jacinto to Rienzi, was under the charge of Colonel Du Bois, with a small infantry and cavalry force. The service was most satisfactorily performed, Colonel Du Bois showing great vigilance and efficiency. I was kept constantly advised of the movements of flying bodies of cavalry that were hovering in our front.

The wounded, both friend and enemy, are much indebted to Surgeon J. G. F. Holbrook, Medical Director, for his untiring labor in organizing hospitals and providing for their every want.

I cannot close this report without paying a tribute to all the officers and soldiers comprising this command. Their conduct on the march was exem-

plary, and all were eager to meet the enemy. The possibility of defeat I do not think entered the mind of a single individual, and I believe this same feeling now pervades the entire army which I have the honor to command.

I neglected to mention, in the proper connection, that, to cover our movements from Corinth, and to attract the attention of the enemy in another direction, I ordered a movement from Bolivar toward Holly Springs. This was conducted by Brigadier-General Lauman.

Before completing this report, the report of Major-General Ord was received, and accompanies this.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

CHAPTER X.

GENERAL GRANT'S NEW COMMAND.—HIS INTEGRITY.

General Grant's New Command.—Its Limits and Sub-divisions.—Preparation for a Grand Campaign.—Reconnoitering.—Protects Citizens.—A new Staff.—Light-Marching.—The Contrabands.—Robbery in Camp.—Regulation of Trade.—The Jews Expelled from the Department.—Anecdote Illustrating General Grant's Integrity.—On to Vicksburg.—Plans for Assaulting or Investing the City.—The Army in Motion.—Holly Springs Taken by the Rebels.—General Grant's Campaign Interrupted.—General Sherman's Advance.

GENERAL GRANT assumed the command of his new department on the 25th day of October, 1862, and immediately announced the new order of things to his troops:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
JACKSON, TENN., *October* 25, 1862.

I. In compliance with general orders of the War Department, of date October 16, 1862, the undersigned hereby assumes command of the Department of the Tennessee, which includes Cairo, Fort Henry, and Fort Donelson, Northern Mississippi, and the portions of Kentucky and Tennessee west of the Tennessee River.

II. Head-quarters of the Department of the Tennessee will remain, until further orders, at Jackson, Tennessee.

III. All orders of the District of West Tennessee will continue in force in the Departments.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General Commanding.

The following day, the boundaries of the districts into which the vast field would be divided were also given:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
JACKSON, TENN., *October* 26, 1862.

I. The geographical divisions designated in general orders, from head-quarters, District of West Tennessee, dated September 24, 1862, will hereafter be known as districts. The First Division will constitute the "District of Memphis," Major-General W. T. Sherman commanding; the Second Division, the "District of Jackson," commanded by Major-General S. A. Hurlburt; the Third Division, the "District of Corinth," Brigadier-General C. S. Hamilton, commanding; the Fourth Division, the "District of Columbus," commanded by Brigadier-General T. A. Davies.

II. The army heretofore known as the "Army of the Mississippi," being now divided and in different departments, will be continued as a separate army.

III. Until army corps are formed, there will be no distinction known, except those of departments, districts, divisions, posts, brigades, regiments, and companies.

By command of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

As General Grant had now heavy work before him, and it was necessary to have his forces thoroughly organized, under his personal supervision, he began by rooting out, as far as possible, guerrillas; and in the affair at Clarkson his forces were very successful.

In every great and difficult achievement there is, first, the hard, quiet business of preparation, to do. From the very last of October till late in November, General Grant had just this less exciting and unappreciated toil, before attempting the gigantic enterprise of taking Vicksburg. The vast machinery of a moving army—wagons, tents, stores, hospital shelter—he determined to reduce to the smallest possible amount, as indicated in the laws to govern the grand campaign:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
JACKSON, TENN., *November* 1, 1862.

I. General Orders, No. 160, from the adjutant-general's office, having been received at head-quarters, is published for the information of all concerned:—

The following regulations are established for army trains and baggage:

1. There will be allowed—

For head-quarters train of an army corps, four wagons; of a division or brigade, three; of a full infantry regiment, six; and of a light artillery battery or squadron of cavalry, three.

In no case will this allowance be exceeded, but always proportionably reduced, according to the officers, and men actually present. All surplus wagons will be turned over to the chief quartermaster, to be organized, under direction of the commanding generals, into supply trains, or sent to the nearest dépôt.

The requisite supply trains, their size depending upon the state of the roads and character of the campaign, will be organized by the chief quartermaster, with the approval of the commanding generals, subject to the control of the War Department.

2. The wagons allowed to a regiment, battery, or squadron, must

carry nothing but forage for the teams, cooking utensils, and rations for the troops, hospital stores, and officers' baggage. One wagon to each regiment will transport exclusively hospital supplies, under direction of the regimental surgeon; the one for regimental head-quarters will carry the grain for the officers' horses, and the three allowed for each battery or squadron will be at least half loaded with the grain for their own teams.

Stores in bulk and ammunition will be carried in the regular or special supply trains.

3. In active campaign, troops must be prepared to bivouac on the march, the allowance of tents being limited, as follows:

For the head-quarters of an army corps, division, or brigade, one wall-tent to the commanding general, and one to every two officers of his staff.

For the colonel, field and staff of a full regiment, three wall tents; and for every other commissioned officer, one shelter-tent each.

For every two non-commissioned officers, soldiers, officers' servants, and authorized camp followers, one shelter-tent.

One hospital-tent will be allowed for office purposes, at corps head-quarters, and one wall-tent at those of a division or brigade. All tents beyond this allowance will be left in dépôt.

4. Officers' baggage will be limited to blankets, one small valise or carpet-bag, and a moderate mess-kit. The men will carry their own blankets and shelter-tents, and reduce the contents of their knapsacks as much as possible.

The dépôt quartermaster will provide storage for a reasonable amount of officers' surplus baggage, and the extra clothing and knapsacks of the men.

5. Hospital-tents are for the sick and wounded, and, except those allowed for army corps head-quarters, must not be diverted from their proper use.

6. Commanding officers will be held responsible for the strict enforcement of these regulations, especially the reduction of officers' baggage within their respective commands.

7. On all marches, quartermasters, under the orders of their commanding officers, will accompany and conduct their trains in a way not to obstruct the movement of troops.

8. All quartermasters and commissaries will personally attend to the reception and issue of supplies for their commands, and will keep themselves informed of the condition of the dépôt, roads, and other communications.

9. All quartermasters and commissaries will report, by letter, on the first of every month, to the chiefs of their respective departments, at Washington, D. C., their station, and generally the duty on which they have been engaged during the preceding month.

By command of Major-General HALLECK

L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

II. District commanders will immediately cause an inspection of their command, with the view to a strict compliance of the above order, and see that all tents and transportation in excess of allowance are turned over to the quartermaster; that all extra clothing and knapsacks of enlisted men are delivered for storage as provided; that the baggage of officers does not exceed the limitation prescribed; and that all hospital-tents not in use for the sick and wounded are turned over to the quartermaster at once.

III. Where there is a deficiency of clothing or tents, as allowed by regulations and said order, proper requisitions will be made on the chief quartermaster of the Department, Captain C. A. Reynolds, for same.

IV. The requirements of this order must be complied with without delay, and report of such compliance promptly made to these head-quarters.

By command of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

The last of October, Colonel Lee, of General Grant's army, with a body of cavalry, dashed down to Ripley, Mississippi, on a reconnoissance, took it, and held it for a day. After also occupying the town of Orizaba, Colonel Lee returned to Grand Junction on November 2d, with several prisoners.

On the evening of the 4th of November, General Grant removed his head-quarters to La Grange, west of Grand Junction, occupying that place with a heavy body of troops, outgeneraling the rebels, who were concentrating their forces in the vicinity of Ripley, a long distance further east.

Colonel Lee again made a successful reconnoissance, with about fifteen hundred cavalry, to Hudsonville, Mississippi. This was but the beginning of a grand reconnoissance as follows:—

On November 8th, General Grant ordered a strong force, consisting of two divisions of infantry and artillery, and part of a cavalry division, upon a special reconnoissance. The cavalry was under the command of Colonel Lee, and the infantry under General McPherson. This force started from La Grange, the cavalry taking the lead. At Lamar, the infantry halted, while the cavalry pushed toward Hudsonville. On the road Colonel Lee encountered a body of rebel cavalry, which he engaged on the flank with one half of his force, while the other half pro-

ceeded to Hudsonville. After routing the cavalry, killing sixteen and capturing one hundred and thirty-four, with their horses and arms, Colonel Lee joined the remainder of his command at Hudsonville, and then returned to La Grange.

The following is General Grant's brief but complimentary dispatch to the general-in-chief in relation to this movement:—

La Grange, *November* 11, 1862, 10:30 P. M.

Major-General Halleck, General-in-Chief:

One hundred and thirty-four prisoners were taken by Colonel Lee, of the Seventh Kansas Cavalry, and sixteen rebels killed. Our loss is two wounded. Colonel Lee is one of our best cavalry officers. I earnestly recommend him for promotion.

U. S. Grant.

The reconnoitering expedition brought valuable information to the chief, whose busy, noiseless thought was shaping martial enterprise, which, if successful, would eclipse all former achievements, and make the hosts of rebeldom tremble as never before. He learned that General Lovell, who had been in command of the rebel forces north of Holly Springs, Mississippi, had fallen back through that place on November 2d; but while retreating, was met on November 5th by General Pemberton, who had come up from the State Capital—Jackson. General Lovell was ordered back to his old post, which he held, with two divisions, on the 8th of November. Price, with twelve thousand men, was seven miles below Holly Springs, on the Salem road, and twenty-two miles further south, at Abbeville, was a rebel conscript camp of about thirteen thousand men.

General Grant was a just and gentlemanly officer. These qualities were visible in all his conduct. He won from friends and foes the homage of true virtue—of honor and integrity above a mean military ambition, or mercenary use of office and its opportunities to get money. No reasonable complaint was disregarded, though it came from rebels.

Complaints having been made by the farmers in the vicinity, of the conduct of the rebel forces, while passing

through their country, General Grant issued the following order, to prevent his troops from falling into a like disgraceful system of plunder :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
LA GRANGE, TENN., *November* 9, 1862.

Hereinafter stoppage will be made on muster and pay-rolls against divisions for the full amount of depredations committed by any member or members of the division, unless the act can be traced either to the individuals committing them, or to the company, regiment, or brigade to which the offenders belong.

In all cases the punishment will be assessed to the smallest organization containing the guilty parties.

Confiscation acts were never intended to be executed by soldiers; and if they were, the General Government should have full benefit of all property of which individuals are deprived. A stoppage of pay against offenders will effect this end, and it is to be hoped will correct the growing evil.

It is not only the duty of commissioned officers to correct this evil, but of all good men in the ranks to report every violation; and it is determined now that they shall have a pecuniary interest in doing so.

Assessments will also be made against commissioned officers, in the proportion of their pay proper.

Where offenses of the nature contemplated in this order are traced to individuals, they will be summarily punished to the full extent formerly given to garrison courts-martial, or be arrested and tried by a general court-martial, according to the enormity of the offense, and the severest penalties provided imposed and executed.

This order shall be read on parade, before each regiment and detachment, for three successive evenings.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

It was by this strict discipline that General Grant gathered around him one of the finest working armies in the United States.

The change in the Department naturally led to a remodeling of the commander's staff, the officers of which were announced as follows :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS,
DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
LA GRANGE, TENN., *November* 11, 1862.

I. The following officers are announced as the staff and staff-corps of this department, and will be recognized and obeyed accordingly :

Brigadier-General J. D. Webster, Superintendent Military Railroads.

Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Rawlins, Assistant Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff.

Colonel T. Lyle Dickey, Chief of Cavalry.

Colonel William S. Hillyer, Aid-de-Camp and Provost-Marshal-General.

Colonel Clark B. Lagow, Aid-de-Camp and Acting Inspector-General.

Colonel George P. Ihrie, Aid-de-Camp and Acting Inspector-General.

Colonel John Riggin, Jr., Aid-de-Camp and Superintendent of Military Telegraphs.

Colonel George G. Pride, Chief-Engineer of Military Railroads.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. L. Duff, Chief of Artillery.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. Hawkins, Chief of Subsistence Department.

Lieutenant-Colonel C. A. Reynolds, Chief of Quartermaster's Department.

Surgeon Horace R. Wirtz, Chief of Medical Department.

Major William R. Rowley, Aid-de-Camp and Mustering Officer.

Captain T. S. Bowers, Aid-de-Camp.

Captain F. E. Prime, Chief of Engineers.

Lieutenant James H. Wilson, Chief of Topographical Engineers.

Lieutenant S. C. Lyford, Chief of Ordnance Department.

By command of Major-General U. S. Grant.

John A. Rawlins, A. A. G.

Two difficulties now required further attention in the progress of the enlarged army movements. The baggage was too heavy for sudden or rapid marches, and the rebel cotton accumulated on our hands. We were just beginning to strip and arm for the fight. Modern warfare required celerity, and both black and white contraband property a care unknown before in any land. The commander, in accordance with previous orders, applied such means of relief as the circumstances allowed.

Chief Quartermaster's Office,
La Grange, Tennessee, *November* 13, 1862.

1. In compliance with general orders from the War Department, and general orders from Head-Quarters, Department of the Tennessee, all officers of the Quartermaster's Department are required to reduce their means of transportation as much as possible until shelter-tents are provided, when the transportation will be reduced in compliance with the above orders.

2. All surplus teams and wagons in charge of regimental quartermasters will be transferred to division quartermasters, who are hereby required to organize a supply-train of from fifty to one hundred teams, as the service of their division may require; and any teams in excess of the

demands for division supply-trains will be turned over to such officer as may be designated to take charge of the general supply-train.

3. All division and brigade quartermasters are required to report immediately, by letter, their address and the division or brigade to which they belong, and the name of its commander to the chief quartermaster of the department; if an acting assistant quartermaster, they will report, in addition, the regiment to which they are attached.

4. Brigade quartermasters will not be required to have supply-trains, as the division quartermaster will issue direct to regiments. Division, brigade, and regimental quartermasters are required to remain in camp with their respective commands. The only quartermasters allowed to take quarters or offices in the towns which the army may occupy are the dépôt and post quartermasters; and no quarters will be occupied by any officer whatsoever, unless duly assigned thereto by the post quartermaster, under the direction of the chief quartermaster.

5. All cotton coming into the hands of quartermasters, seized south of Jackson, Tennessee, will be sent to that point, and invoiced to Captain G. L. Fort, A. Q. M., or the post quartermaster, giving the name and residence of the parties from whom it was taken. And all cotton seized north of that place will be shipped to Captain Thomas O'Brien, A. Q. M., or the post quartermaster, at Columbus, Kentucky. The quartermasters above mentioned will hold such cotton until ordered to sell the same at public auction by the general commanding or the chief quartermaster of the department.

6. All regimental and other quartermasters are required to show that they have sent the monthly papers and returns prescribed by regulations and existing orders to the quartermaster-general and the proper Auditor of the Treasury at Washington, before they can receive funds for the payment of extra-duty men. Extra-duty rolls should have attached to the certificate, "And that I have forwarded a copy of the above roll to the quartermaster-general at Washington." Estimates for funds should be approved by the division general.

By command of Major-General U. S. Grant.

The negro refugees became a source of much anxiety, as well as an incubus on the army. Several of these men had played the parts of spies, at the instigation of their rebel masters, by entering the Union lines under the pretense of being escaped slaves, and, after gaining what information they could, had made their way back to the rebel lines with the intelligence.

General Grant is humane, and did not ignore the claims of those whose unrequited toil was the cause of the war,

by organizing a camp especially for them. The wise provision is clearly stated in the order creating it:—

HEAD-QUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
LA GRANGE, TENNESSEE, *November* 14.

I. Chaplain J. Eaton, Jr., of the Twenty-seventh Regiment Ohio Infantry Volunteers, is hereby appointed to take charge of all fugitive slaves that are now, or may from time to time come within the military lines of the advancing army in this vicinity, not employed and registered in accordance with General Orders, No. 72, from Head-Quarters District of West Tennessee, and will open a camp for them at Grand Junction, where they will be suitably cared for, and organized into companies, and set to work, picking, ginning, and baling all cotton now outstanding in fields.

II. Commanding officers of troops will send all fugitives that come within the lines, together with such teams, cooking utensils, and other baggage as they may bring with them, to Chaplain J. Eaton, Jr., at Grand Junction.

III. One regiment of infantry from Brigadier-General McArthur's division will be temporarily detailed as guard in charge of such contrabands, and the surgeons of said regiment will be charged with the care of the sick.

IV. Commissaries of subsistence will issue on the requisitions of Chaplain J. Eaton, Jr., omitting the coffee rations, and substituting rye.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

The order relative to plundering led to the detecting of guilty parties; and General Grant, fully determined to have his orders obeyed in the spirit, assessed the guilty regiment for the whole amount of the injury inflicted, and punished the officers for neglect of duty.

This summary method of dealing with "light-fingered" warriors, under military government, is amusing, and is given in practical form by the subjoined document:—

HEAD-QUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
LA GRANGE, TENNESSEE, *November* 16, 1862.

The facts having been officially reported to the major-general commanding, that a portion of the Twentieth Regiment Illinois Infantry Volunteers did, on the night of the 7th of November inst., at Jackson, Tennessee, break into the store of G. W. Graham & Co., and take therefrom goods to the value of $841.40, the property of said Graham & Co., and did cut the tent of R. B. Kent and N. A. Bass, and take therefrom goods to the value of $345, the property of said Kent & Bass, and burn and destroy the tent and poles, also the property of said Kent & Bass, of

the value of $56.26—all of which damages amount to the sum of $1,242.66; and it further appearing from said report that Captain C. L. Page, Co. D; Captain J. M. North, Co. E; Captain G. W. Kennard, Co. I; Lieutenants Harry King, Co. B; William Seas, Co. C; John Edmonston, Co. E; David Wadsworth, Co. F; J. Bailey. Co. F; Victor H. Stevens, Co. H; R. M. Evans, Co. I; Charles Taylor, Co. I, of said regiment, were absent from their commands at the time of the perpetration of those outrages, in violation of orders, and without proper cause, when they should have been present; and also that Captain Orton Frisbee, of Co. H, acting in the capacity of major, and Captain John Tunison, of Co. G, the senior captain, immediately after the commission of these depredations, did not exercise their authority to ferret out the men guilty of the offenses; but, that, on the contrary, Captain Tunison interposed to prevent search and discovery of the parties really guilty, and that Captain Frisbee, after the commission of the said depredations, being in command of the regiment, remained behind twenty-four hours after the regiment marched, and the names of the individual parties guilty not having been disclosed, it is therefore ordered—

I. That the said sum of $1,242.66 be assessed against said regiment and the officers hereinbefore named, excepting such enlisted men as were, at the time, sick in the hospital or absent with proper authority; that the same be charged against them on the proper muster and pay rolls, and the amount each is to pay noted opposite his name thereon—the officers to be assessed pro rata with the men on the amount of their pay proper; and that the sum so collected be paid by the commanding officer of the regiment to the parties entitled to the same.

II. That Captain Orton Frisbee and Captain John Tunison, of the Twentieth Regiment Illinois Infantry Volunteers, for wilful neglect of duty and violation of orders, are hereby mustered out of the service of the United States, to take effect this day.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

The civil war among States whose commercial relations had been so interwoven gave to the question of trade an importance both great and delicate. It required wise patriotism and high moral courage to deal justly with all parties interested in traffic, not only as the means of livelihood, but also of speculation.

The Treasury Department had interposed some general regulations, which could not meet the peculiar embarrassments which arose, not unfrequently, in the conquest of insurrectionary territory by our commanders.

Good sense, and the inflexible purpose to deal without the rashness of revenge, and yet thoroughly, with

treason, made the military rule of General Grant, like that of General Sherman, uniformly the best that, in the posture of affairs at the time, could have been for the army and the people. The clear statement of principles curtailing the traffic in the Department of the Tennessee is worthy of its origin:—

HEAD-QUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE, LA GRANGE, TENNESSEE, *November* 19, 1862.

I. In addition to permits from the Treasury Department, all persons are required to have a permit from the local provost-marshal at the post, before purchasing cotton or other Southern products in this department, and shipping the same North.

II. It will be regarded as evidence of disloyalty for persons to go beyond the lines of the army to purchase cotton or other products; and all contracts made for such articles in advance of the army, or for cotton in the field, are null and void, and all persons so offending will be expelled from the department.

III. Freight agents on military railroads will report daily to the post provost-marshal all cotton or other private property shipped by them; and when shipments are made by persons who have not the proper permits, notice will be given by telegraph to the provost-marshal at Columbus, Kentucky, who will seize the goods for the benefit of the Government.

IV. The Federal army being now in the occupancy of West Tennessee to the Mississippi line, and it being no part of the policy of the Government to oppress, or cause unnecessary suffering to those who are not in active rebellion, hereafter, until otherwise directed, licenses will be granted by district commanders to loyal persons at all military stations within the department, to keep for sale, subject to the Treasury regulations, such articles as are of prime necessity for families, and sell the same to all citizens who have taken, or may voluntarily take the oath of allegiance, and who have permits from the provost-marshal, obtained under oath, that all goods to be purchased are for their own and for their family's use, and that no part thereof is for sale or for the use of any person other than those named in the permit. Permits so given will be good until countermanded; and all violations of trading permits will be punished by the forfeiture of the permit, fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of a military commission.

V. Particular attention is called to existing orders prohibiting the employment or use of Government teams for hauling private property. All cotton, brought to stations or places for shipments in this department by Government teams, will be seized by the Quartermaster's Department for the benefit of the Government, and persons claiming such property ex-

pelled from the department. It is made the duty of all officers, and especially of local provost-marshals, to see that this order is rigidly enforced.

By command of Major-General U. S. Grant.

But, in spite of the above orders, the Jewish camp-followers were continually engaged in an illegal traffic; and there was no remedy for the outrage but a sweeping legislation, which not long after was so far modified, that, under careful limitations, the everywhere-present "children of Abraham" were permitted to share in the profits of trade. General Grant issued an order of expulsion:—

Head-Quarters Department of the Tennessee,
Oxford, Mississippi, *December* 17, 1862.

The Jews, as a class, violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department, also department orders, are hereby expelled from the department within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this order by post commanders. They will see that all this class of people are furnished with passes and required to leave; and any one returning after such notification will be arrested and held in confinement until an opportunity occurs of sending them out as prisoners, unless furnished with permits from these head-quarters. No passes will be given these people to visit head-quarters for the purpose of making personal application for trade permits.

By order of Major-General Grant.

An incident occurred, in connection with these perplexing consequences of war in the bosom of the Republic, which finely sets forth the ingrained integrity of General Grant's character. Notwithstanding his protests, agents of the Treasury Department urged the importance, if not necessity, of some system of trade.

For a long time he refused, for the reason that he could not successfully conduct his military operations while such persons were moving around him; but at last he conceded that a certain amount of trade in the recaptured districts of the South would be safe, proper, and even highly useful to the Union—provided it could be conducted through honest, unimpeachable Union hands. He was asked to name the persons to whom he would be willing to trust.

"I will do no such thing," was Grant's reply; "for,

if I did, it would appear in less than a week that I was a partner of every one of the persons trading under my authority."

"Vicksburg!" was now the enthusiastic war-cry of Grant's battalions.

To understand the exact position of the fortress, and its relation to the army and national cause, a glance at its history since the war began is necessary.

In January, 1861, the governor of Mississippi commenced the fortifications of Vicksburg—by natural position, with high bluffs, a place of remarkable strength for this purpose. Profiting by the loss of Island No. 10, and the forts above Memphis, no engineering skill and expense were spared to make it impregnable. Fortress was built within fortress; rows of heavy guns rose one over the other in the cliffs, till the stronghold defied ironclads from the river, and armies from the land. Next to Corinth, a railroad and general centre of the conflict in the field, Vicksburg was the object of interest to both armies.

The operations of the army and the naval forces in the West up to May, 1862, had principally been for two grand objects—the reopening of the Mississippi River to the Gulf, and the suppression of the rebels in arms. The movements were therefore general in their character up to this date, and had not been directed to any one particular point, until the advance upon Corinth, under General Halleck.

About June, 1862, the reduction of Vicksburg and its neighboring batteries became a subject of more direct importance, and a special object to be accomplished; and on the 1st of that month, Commodore Farragut's fleet, which had taken New Orleans, and the other points of the Lower Mississippi, arrived off Grand Gulf, where it attacked a rebel battery of rifled guns. After a brief engagement, the fleet passed up the river without reducing the battery. It was the approach of this fleet from below and of the gunboat fleet from above, that warned General Beauregard that his army was in great danger, if he should remain too long at Corinth.

As before stated, Memphis was reduced on June 6th;

and the next day Farragut's fleet arrived off Vicksburg. On June 8th, a portion of the fleet returned to Grand Gulf, and for the time silenced the rebel battery at that point. The gunboat fleet having cleared the river to Vicksburg from above, after reaching that place returned north, to operate on the rivers of Arkansas.

The movements of the Union army under General Grant, after the evacuation of Corinth, and the arrival of Farragut's fleet before Vicksburg, so alarmed the rebel inhabitants of the State of Mississippi, that, on June 16, 1862, they removed their State archives from their capital —Jackson—to a more remote position. On the 27th of June, the fleet began the bombardment of Vicksburg, and, with the aid of Porter's mortar-fleet, continued shelling the rebel position at intervals, until the end of July, when the river was found to be so low, that the fleet had to retire to New Orleans, to prevent the larger vessels from getting aground. For more than four long weeks, the awful storm beat upon the walls of this rebel Gibraltar in vain.

About twelve miles north of Vicksburg is the mouth of the Yazoo River, the waters of which are deep enough to float an ordinary river vessel, at almost any season of the year. Up this stream the rebels had established an improvised navy-yard; had there constructed a powerful iron-clad ram, called the *Arkansas;* and, to prevent an enemy from passing up the Yazoo River to destroy the ship-building, the rebels had fortified Haines's Bluff, a strong elevation, a short distance above the point where the Yazoo falls into the Mississippi River. On July 15th, this ram came down the Yazoo, ran by the fleet, and laid up before the city of Vicksburg, adding a floating battery to the works of that place. The gunboat *Essex* and the ram *Queen of the West* subsequently inflicted such injuries on the *Arkansas* that, in a short time, she was completely destroyed.

At this time Vicksburg and its vicinity formed a portion of the Union Department of the Gulf, and all military operations had to be made by troops having their base at New Orleans.

Another plan of weakening effectually, though not destroying, the apparently impregnable works, was proposed. It was believed to be possible to isolate the city of Vicksburg, which was located on a bend of the Mississippi River, by turning the course of that stream, and thus put the city inland, some six miles. As the only strategical value of Vicksburg to the rebels was its power in blockading the river, if the channel could be changed into another direction, the rebel works would be useless, and reduced without much bloodshed, if they were not voluntarily abandoned. To effect this, it was deemed necessary to cut a canal across the neck of land between De Soto and Richmond, Louisiana, and nearly opposite Vicksburg. The troops were employed on this work, while the fleet bombarded the city. If the channel had been changed, the piece of land cut off would have been taken out of the State of Louisiana, and added to the State of Mississippi.

On the 22d of July, 1862, the canal was declared completed; but the waters of the river were too low to flow through it, it was then supposed; but afterwards ascertained that the canal was in the wrong spot to cause any variation in the channel.

The waters of the river continuing to subside rapidly, it was deemed advisable to raise the siege; and the rebels took this opportunity to fill up the canal cut by the Union troops, and then to add their Vicksburg garrison to the force engaged against Corinth, during the early part of October. They, also, further fortified the hills around the city, on both the land and water sides, to put it beyond the power of any probable, if not possible, force that could be sent against it by the Government to which it belonged.

Such was the city, with its defenses, when General Grant turned his face toward it; with the added precaution, by the enemy, of strong fortifications at Port Hudson, just above Baton Rouge, to prevent further co-operation of the Union fleet.

On the 28th of November, a force of infantry and cavalry, under Generals A. P. Hovey and Washburne,

arrived at Delta, on the Mississippi River, near the mouth of the Yazoo Pass. They had started the previous day from Helena, on the Arkansas shore, at which point the Union troops about to join General Grant were being concentrated. General Washburne's cavalry made a reconnoissance to the mouth of the Coldwater River, where he captured a rebel camp, a number of horses, arms, and equipments, and routed the enemy. The reconnoissance was pushed along both the Coldwater and Tallahatchie Rivers, thence to Preston, after which an expedition was sent to Garner's Station, to destroy the railroad bridge and track. This expedition was completely successful, as were several others of a similar character. The cavalry then returned via Charleston, and formed a junction, near Mitchell's Cross-Roads, with General Hovey's forces. The reconnoissance was next pushed up to Panola, where an abandoned rebel camp was discovered, the occupants having fled during the previous night. The cavalry again moved in a southerly direction to Oakland, and along the road towards Coffeeville. After ascertaining the exact position of the rebel forces, and being engaged in a few skirmishes, this part of the expedition returned to the mouth of the Coldwater River. General Hovey's command also cut some portions of the railroad lines. This movement created quite a panic among the rebels of the Southwest.

Meanwhile, the main forces, under General Grant, moved steadily forward along the line of railroad leading from Grand Junction to Grenada. On November 28th, the advance left Davis's mills for Holly Springs, Colonel Lee's cavalry pushing on ahead. Along the line of march were evidences of the recent cavalry operations of the Union forces. All day Saturday and Sunday, November 29th and 30th, the troops poured through the charming streets, lined with foliage, of Holly Springs, until its six thousand inhabitants "began to think the entire North was emptying itself through them." In this place were discovered several evidences of the illegal traffic that had been carried on through the rebel lines;

one house, in St. Louis, having a branch clothing establishment for the supply of the rebels.

Cavalry reconnoissances were sent out under Colonel Lee, and discovered the enemy in force on the Tallahatchie. A skirmish took place on November 30th, near Abbeville, resulting in the retreat of the rebels to the defenses at that place. On the 2d of December, Abbeville was evacuated, and occupied by the Union forces. A series of skirmishes occurred on December 3d, near Oxford, Mississippi, between the Union cavalry advance and the rebels, and resulted in the retreat of the latter. The cavalry then pushed on after Van Dorn's retreating column, and, on December 4th, drove the rebels out of Water Valley, engaging them sharply near Coffeeville, on December 5th.

As the cavalry thus pushed on, they were followed by the main army, under General Grant, whose generalship was apparent in every movement. By sending General Hovey's forces, via Delta, toward the railroad lines, he created a panic in the very vicinity through which he was marching, making his advance almost a bloodless one. The gunboat fleet were also operating along the rivers, especially the Yazoo, in which torpedoes had been sunk by the rebels, to repel the advance. On December 11th, the gunboat *Cairo* was sunk by the explosion of one of these hidden weapons.

Skirmishes would occasionally take place at the posts left behind General Grant in his advance, but he took care to have them well guarded, and the brief contests did not, at first, interfere with his movements. On December 12th, a skirmish took place at Corinth, but was handsomely repulsed by Colonel (since General) Sweeny.

General Grant's head-quarters had, by this time, been removed to Oxford, Mississippi. On the 20th, occurred a sad and memorable affair to delay his onward march. While he had taken every precaution against surprise, in the management of the columns covering many miles of the enemy's country, the rebels resolved to make a dash at Holly Springs in his rear. He feared it, and telegraphed Colonel Murphy, in command, who was strong

enough to defend the place, that they were after him, and that re-enforcements were on the way. The troops from Grant were delayed, and on came the rebel cavalry, just as the morning beams fell on the quiet town. Two railroad trains, one loaded with cotton, were soon in a blaze. Then the work of pillage and burning was the order of the day.

Colonel Murphy was a coward, and made almost no resistance. The troops fought without a leader awhile, but in vain. Up and down the streets the raiders went. People in their night-clothes rushed out of the houses. One man, whose boots had been carried off, in his fright put on only his coat containing his money, drawers, stockings, and spurs, went to the stable, took his horse, and rode away.

December 20th, with all the stores so necessary to the advance, General Grant's main forces had to fall back to that place, where he located his head-quarters, to recruit his supplies. Upon the investigation of the matter concerning this surrender, General Grant expressed his displeasure in the following condemnatory order:—

HEAD-QUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
HOLLY SPRINGS, MISSISSIPPI, *December* 24, 1862.

It is with pain and mortification that the general commanding reflects upon the disgraceful surrender of the place, with all the valuable stores it contained, on the 20th instant, and that without any resistance except by a few men, who form an honorable exception; and this, too, after warning had been given of the enemy northward, the evening previous. With all the cotton, public stores, and substantial buildings about the dépôt, it would have been perfectly practicable to have made, in a few hours, a defense sufficient to resist, with a small garrison, all the cavalry force brought against them until the re-enforcements, which the commanding officer was notified were marching to his relief, could have reached him.

The conduct of officers and men in accepting paroles, under the circumstances, is highly reprehensible, and, to say the least, thoughtless. By the terms of the Dix-Hill cartel, each party is bound to take care of their prisoners and to send them to Vicksburg, or a point on the James River, for exchange, or parole, unless some other point is mutually agreed upon by the generals commanding the opposing armies.

By a refusal to be paroled, the enemy, from his inability to take care of the prisoners, would have been compelled either to have released them unconditionally, or to have abandoned further aggressive movements for

the time being, which would have made their recapture and the discomfiture of the enemy almost certain.

The prisoners paroled at this place will be collected in camp at once by the post commander, and held under close guard until their case can be reported to Washington for further instructions.

Commanders throughout the department are directed to arrest and hold as above all men of their commands and all stragglers who may have accepted their paroles upon like terms.

The general commanding is satisfied that the majority of the troops who accepted a parole did so thoughtlessly and from want of knowledge of the cartel referred to, and that in future they will not be caught in the same way.

By order of Major-General U. S. Grant.

As we shall see, the affair of Holly Springs entirely and fatally deranged General Grant's plan of the expedition against Vicksburg.

General W. T. Sherman, a gifted and gallant officer at Memphis, was entrusted with a grand expedition down the Mississippi River to Vicksburg. He had previously made reconnoissances in the vicinity of the Tallahatchie River. The fleet consisted of one hundred and twenty-seven steamers, in addition to the gunboats. The troops were Western men, hardy, daring, and fighting volunteers, accustomed to a rough and adventurous life.

To exclude all refuse material from his magnificent army, General Sherman threw over it the protection of an edict, severe and characteristic :—

Head-Quarters Right Wing Thirteenth Army Corps,
Memphis, Tennessee, *December* 18, 1862.

I. The expedition now fitting out is purely of a military character, and the interests involved are of too important a nature to be mixed up with personal and private business. No citizen, male or female, will be allowed to accompany it, unless employed as part of a crew or as servants to the transports. Female chambermaids to the boats and nurses to the sick alone will be allowed, unless the wives of captains and pilots actually belonging to the boats. No laundress, officer's, or soldier's wife must pass below Helena.

II. No person whatever, citizen, officer, or sutler, will, on any consideration, buy or deal in cotton or other produce of the country. Should any cotton be brought on board of any transport going or returning, the brigade quartermaster, of which the boat forms a part, will take posses-

sion of it, and invoice it to Captain A. R. Eddy, chief quartermaster at Memphis.

III. Should any cotton or other produce be brought back to Memphis by any chartered boat, Captain Eddy will take possession of the same, and sell it for the benefit of the United States. If accompanied by its actual producer, the planter, or factor, the quartermaster will furnish him with a receipt for the same, to be settled for, on proof of his loyalty at the close of the war.

IV. Boats ascending the river may take cotton from the shore for bulkheads to protect their engines or crew, but on arrival at Memphis it will be turned over to the quartermaster with a statement of the time, place, and name of its owner. The trade in cotton must await a more peaceful state of affairs.

V. Should any citizen accompany the expedition below Helena, in violation of these orders, any colonel of a regiment or captain of a battery will conscript him into the service of the United States for the unexpired term of his command. If he shows a refractory spirit, unfitting him for a soldier, the commanding officer present will turn him over to the captain of the boat as a deck-hand, and compel him to work in that capacity, without wages, until the boat returns to Memphis.

VI. Any person whatever, whether in the service of the United States or transports, found making reports for publication, which might reach the enemy, giving them information, aid, and comfort, will be arrested, and treated as spies.

By order of Major-General Sherman.

Army speculators certainly could not mistake the feelings and purpose of the commander toward them.

December 20th his imposing armada moved down the Mississippi, with streamers flying and bands of music playing; presenting one of war's most rare and stirring scenes.

Two days later, December 22d, General Grant made the following new arrangement of his forces into corps and divisions:—

Head-Quarters Department of the Tennessee,
Holly Springs, Miss., *December* 22, 1862.

By directions of the general-in-chief of the army, the troops in this department, including those of the Department of the Missouri operating on the Mississippi River, are hereby divided into four Army Corps, as follows:—

I. The troops composing the Ninth Division, Brigadier-General G. W. Morgan commanding; the Tenth Division, Brigadier-General A. J. Smith

commanding; and all other troops operating on the Mississippi River below Memphis, not included in the Fifteenth Army Corps, will constitute the Thirteenth Army Corps, under the command of Major-General John A. McClernand.

II. The Fifth Division, Brigadier-General Morgan L. Smith commanding; the Division from Helena, Arkansas, commanded by Brigadier-General F. Steele; and the forces in the District of Memphis, will constitute the Fifteenth Army Corps, and be commanded by Major-General W. T. Sherman.

III. The Sixth Division, Brigadier-General J. McArthur commanding; the Seventh Division, Brigadier-General I. F. Quinby commanding; the Eighth Division, Brigadier-General L. F. Ross commanding; the Second Brigade of Cavalry, Colonel A. L. Lee commanding; and the troops in the District of Columbus, commanded by Brigadier-General Davies, and those in the District of Jackson, commanded by Brigadier-General Sullivan, will constitute the Sixteenth Army Corps, and be commanded by Major-General S. A. Hurlbut.

IV. The First Division, Brigadier-General J. W. Denver commanding; the Third Division, Brigadier-General John A. Logan commanding; the Fourth Division, Brigadier-General J. G. Lauman commanding; the First Brigade of Cavalry, Colonel B. H. Grierson commanding; and the forces in the District of Corinth, commanded by Brigadier-General G. M. Dodge, will constitute the Seventeenth Army Corps, and be commanded by Major-General J. B. McPherson.

District commanders will send consolidated returns of their forces to these head-quarters as well as to army corps head-quarters, and will, for the present, receive orders from department head-quarters.

By order of Major-General U. S. Grant.

The divisions of Generals McArthur and Quinby, of the Sixteenth Army Corps, were transposed, with those of Generals Lauman and Denver, of the Seventeenth.

General Sherman, when he left Memphis, with his staff, had his head-quarters on board the *Forest Queen*, which arrived at Friar's Point on December 21st. He was, therefore, entirely unaware of the backward steps of General Grant, from Oxford to Holly Springs.

CHAPTER XI.

DEFENSE OF MILITARY POSTS.—GEN. GRANT'S CONGRATULATIONS.

Heroic Defense of Military Posts.—The Commanding General's Congratulations.—General Sherman Reaches and Attacks Vicksburg.—The Expedition Fails.—The Reason.—President's Proclamation.—McClernand at Vicksburg.—Suspected Disloyalty of Illinois Troops.—The Regiment Relieved of the Charge.—Army Movements.—Attempts to find a Passage through Bayous and Canals to Vicksburg.—The Water-courses Abandoned.

SEVERAL posts in General Grant's rear were attacked about the same time as Holly Springs, but were bravely defended by their garrisons, and the rebel onslaughts repulsed. The heroic conduct of our soldiery at these various points of combat, often unequal, drew from the sleeplessly watchful chief a paper quite in contrast with the former one—whose burden of sadness and indignation again appears, with a brand of cowardice upon the timid colonel. Two weeks had elapsed since the shameful occurrence, giving ample time for investigation, and a calm, righteous judgment:—

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
HOLLY SPRINGS, MISS., *January* 8, 1863.

I. The major-general commanding the department takes just pride and satisfaction in congratulating the small garrisons of the posts of Coldwater, Davis's Mills, and Middleburg, for the heroic defense of their positions on the 20th, 21st, and 24th ultimo, and their successful repulse of an enemy many times their number.

The Ninetieth Illinois, at Coldwater (its first engagement); the detachment of the veteran Twenty-fifth Indiana, and two companies of the Fifth Ohio Cavalry, at Davis's Mills; and the detachment of the gallant Twelfth Michigan at Middleburg, are deserving of the thanks of the army, which was in a measure dependent upon the road they so nobly defended for supplies, and they will receive the meed of praise ever awarded by a grateful public to those who bravely and successfully do their duty.

These regiments are entitled to inscribe upon their banners, respectively, Coldwater, Davis's Mills, and Middleburg, with the names of other battle-fields made victorious by their valor and discipline.

It is gratifying to know that, at every point where our troops made a stand during the late raid of the enemy's cavalry, success followed, and the enemy was made to suffer a loss in killed and wounded greater than the entire garrisons of the places attacked. Especially was this the case of Davis's Mills and Middleburg. The only success gained by Van Dorn was at Holly Springs, where the whole garrison was left by their commander in ignorance of the approach of danger.

II. Colonel R. C. Murphy, of the Eighth Regiment Wisconsin Infantry Volunteers, having, while in command of the post of Holly Springs, Mississippi, neglected and failed to exercise the usual and ordinary precautions to guard and protect the same; having, after repeated and timely warning of the approach of the enemy, failed to make any preparations for resistance or defense, or shown any disposition to do so; and having, with a force amply sufficient to have repulsed the enemy and protect the public stores intrusted to his care, disgracefully permitted him to capture the post and destroy the stores—and the movement of troops in the face of an enemy rendering it impracticable to convene a court-martial for his trial—is, therefore, dismissed the service of the United States—to take effect from the 20th day of December, 1862, the date of his cowardly and disgraceful conduct.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

It has been already intimated, that it was impossible for General Grant to inform General Sherman of his humiliating delay; and it was only to be hoped that, having the moral support of supposing his chief successful, he would himself succeed.

The troops that had retreated before General Grant's advance, finding that they were released from the necessity of further resisting him—as it would have been a fatal madness to have pushed on to Jackson without supplies—were immediately transported to Vicksburg to oppose General Sherman, of whose expedition the rebels had been apprised by their sympathizers in Memphis.

General Sherman proceeded with his part of the expedition, and landed a small force, under General Morgan L. Smith, at Milliken's Bend. These troops proceeded to Delhi and Dallas, on the Vicksburg and Texas Railroad, and destroyed the dépôts and a section of the track, to cut off the retreat of the rebels from Vicksburg.

It is apparent that General Grant's plan was a splendid one; and, but for the surrender of Holly Springs, must have been successful.

The forces under General Sherman consisted of four divisions, and were known as the "Right Wing of the Army of the Tennessee."

At about noon of December 26, 1862, the fleet of transports arrived off Johnston's Landing, and under cover of the gunboats the men were disembarked; the armed vessels having first silenced the battery which the rebels had planted. By early morning the whole force, infantry and artillery, were landed—the advance having already moved some distance inland.

Vicksburg, from this point of landing, was peculiarly situated; it was on a hill, with a line of hills surrounding it at a distance of several miles, and extending from Haines's Bluff, on the Yazoo River, to Warrenton, ten miles below the city, on the Mississippi River. The low country in the vicinity is swampy, and filled with sloughs, bayous, and lagoons. To approach the city with a large force by this route, even in times of peace, would be a matter of great difficulty, and with an enemy in front it was well nigh impossible.

On Saturday morning, December 27, 1862, the army was drawn up in line of battle, prepared to make the assault on the enemy's works. The general advance was then commenced from different points, and by dusk the enemy was driven at least a quarter of a mile from his former position.

On the 28th, the men fought with great bravery and determination; but the non-arrival of the left wing had completely disarranged the plan of battle. The enemy had been re-enforced by the troops that had fled from before General Grant's advance; and the missiles from this concentrated body were thrown with great rapidity upon General Sherman's lines. The rebels, however, refused to come from behind their defenses, which, on the morning of the 29th, extended not less than two miles up the bluffs—the newly-arrived troops having been at work during the previous night, throwing up earthwork batteries in all directions, and at every assailable point. The position was naturally strong, but, by the addition of art, it was made completely impregnable

against a force so small as that commanded by General Sherman. In addition, the woods were filled with sharp-shooters, who picked off the officers with great rapidity.

There stood Sherman's "Right Wing of the Army of the Tennessee," in the swampy ground between the hills and the city; while the re-enforced enemy rained death on their "rank and file," and the minié balls from the forest picked off the officers.

Over ditches, in which the horses mired and were left, across bloody rifle-pits, through dense woods, and over heaps of fallen timber, the columns struggled, to the sound ringing above all the tumult, "Forward!"

During Monday, the 29th, several brilliant charges were made on the works; but all was in vain; the men were outnumbered by the enemy, and could not hold the positions, even after they were taken General Blair's brigade, led by himself, on foot, particularly distinguished itself, and suffered the greatest loss. As the men, swept down by the iron and leaden hail, fell back, the last of the brigade lingering behind in the storm was its commander.

After hostilities had ceased, and the slain and wounded were borne away under a flag of truce, the pickets had their talk:—

"How far is it to Vicksburg?"

Rebel picket. "So far you'll never git thar."

Federal picket. "How many men have you got?"

Rebel picket. "Enough to clean you out."

Then another rebel, who seemed to be the stump speaker of the squad, with a flourish, added:—

"Banks has been whipped out at Port Hudson, Memphis has been retaken, and you Yankees will not take Vicksburg till hell freezes over."

And so the conversation went on during the four hours of truce. The profane assertion of the rebel was destined to be refuted in the heat of the next midsummer.

Under a flag of truce, the dead were buried and the wounded removed; after which, General Sherman gave the order for his troops to re-embark.

January 1, 1863! It was the most memorable New Year's Day in the history of the Republic.

The President's Proclamation of Emancipation, during all its winter hours, was flying along telegraphic wires to every part of the land. Strong men wept, while others could only pray, or sing, or shout.

Adjutant-General Thomas, clothed with authority to carry out that proclamation, soon after started for the Southwest, in doubt how he should be received by the officers, many of whom were Southern men by birth, or life-long sympathy. What General Grant did with the words of freedom to millions of slaves will appear in a subsequent order.

Meanwhile, January 3d, General McClernand arrived at the head-quarters of General Sherman, causing a change in the command, as he ranked General Sherman by over one month in the date of his commission; and an order was at once given by the former to withdraw from the Yazoo River, where the vessels were stationed, and return to the Mississippi River. On thus assuming the command, he ordered the title of the army to be changed, and General Sherman thus announced the fact:—

HEAD-QUARTERS RIGHT WING ARMY OF TENNESSEE,
STEAMER FOREST QUEEN, MILLIKEN'S BEND, *January* 4, 1863.

Pursuant to the terms of general orders, made this day by General McClernand, the title of our army ceases to exist, and constitutes in the future the Army of the Mississippi, composed of two army corps, one to be commanded by General G. W. Morgan, and the other by myself. In relinquishing the command of the Army of the Tennessee, and restricting my authority to my own corps, I desire to express to all commanders, to soldiers and officers recently operating before Vicksburg, my hearty thanks for their zeal, alacrity, and courage manifested by them on all occasions. We failed in accomplishing one purpose of our movement, the capture of Vicksburg; but we were part of a whole. Ours was but part of a combined movement, in which others were to assist. We were on time; unforeseen contingencies must have delayed the others. We have destroyed the Shreveport Road, we have attacked the defenses of Vicksburg, and pushed the attack as far as prudence would justify; and, having found it too strong for our single column, we have drawn off in good order and good spirits, ready for any new move. A new commander is now to lead you. He is chosen by the President of the United States, who is charged by the Constitution to maintain and defend it, and he has the undoubted right to

select his own agents. I know that all good officers and soldiers will give him the same hearty support and cheerful obedience they have hitherto given me. There are honors enough in reserve for all, and work enough too. Let each do his appropriate part, and our nation must in the end emerge from this dire conflict purified and ennobled by the fires which now test its strength and purity. All officers of the general staff now attached to my person will hereafter report in person and by letter to Major-General McClernand, commanding the Army of the Mississippi, on board the steamer *Tigress*, at our rendezvous at Gaines's Landing and at Montgomery Point.

By order of Major-General W. T. Sherman.

For a brief period this portion of the army was not under the command of General Grant, and, consequently, withdrawn from the grand object of the campaign—the reduction of Vicksburg. The weakening of the force, intended for the enterprise which had for months occupied his thoughts, imperiled it, and called forth an application to the President to restore the columns to their former place, which was successful; and the two army corps, the Thirteenth and Fifteenth, were ordered to report to him.

They formed the Army of the Mississippi, and were taken up the Arkansas and White Rivers, to move against Fort Hindeman, a rebel defense commanding the former stream.

The attack upon the batteries at Arkansas Post was gallant and victorious. The incessant cannonading was a remarkably fine display of skill in heavy gunnery, and the storming of the works by the troops a daring and admirable affair. General McClernand announced the success to General Grant, January 11th, in these words:—

"I have the honor to report that the forces under my command attacked the Post of Arkansas to-day, at one o'clock, having stormed the enemy's work. We took a large number of prisoners, variously estimated at from seven thousand to ten thousand, together with all his stores, animals, and munitions of war.

"Rear-Admiral David D. Porter, commanding the Mississippi Squadron, effectively and brilliantly co-operated, accomplishing this complete success."

The heroic Porter said of the fleet:—

"The gunboats *Louisville*, *De Kalb*, *Cincinnati*, and

Lexington, attacked the heavy fort at the post, on the Arkansas, last night, and silenced the batteries, killing twenty of the enemy.

"The gunboats attacked again this morning, and dismounted every gun, eleven in all.

"Colonel Dunnington, late of the United States Navy, commandant of the fort, requested to surrender to the Navy. I received his sword.

"The army co-operated on the land side. The forts were completely silenced, and the guns, eleven in number, were all dismounted in three hours.

"The action was at close quarters on the part of the three iron-clads, and the firing splendid.

"The list of killed and wounded is small. The *Louisville* lost twelve, *De Kalb* seventeen, *Cincinnati* none, *Lexington* none, and *Rattler* two.

"The vessels, although much cut up, were ready for action in half an hour after the battle."

There were at this time suspicions of disloyalty in one of the Illinois regiments, awakened by facts which came to light in the investigation of the surrender of Holly Springs; and General Grant met the dangerous spirit promptly, ordering a temporary disarming of the troops, who, it was believed, had yielded to the influence thrown over them by the designing politicians.

Subsequent and more careful sifting of the statements and rumors, by a special court of inquiry convened by General Grant early in January, exonerated the regiment.

With the high sense of justice and magnanimity which have always distinguished the Lieutenant-General, he immediately had the result read at the head of the regiment, designating the few members of it who were guilty of dishonorable conduct. In the paper referred to, he assures the troops, that "as a regiment they are relieved from all suspicion of disloyalty, and placed where the commanding general hoped to find it—among the pure and patriotic in their country's defense."

The cavalry, an arm of the service the South knew how to wield at the opening of the rebellion much better than

the North, had begun to do a good work in the army of General Grant. During the pause in the movements of the grand army which followed the failure of the Vicksburg campaigns, there were occasional skirmishes with the horsemen. January 8th, a descent was made on a camp near Ripley, Tennessee, killing and wounding several rebel soldiers, and capturing forty-six, besides horses, arms, and camp equipage. The remainder of the force was dispersed. The commander at Memphis gave notice that, for all guerrilla raids upon Union citizens and communications with the city, the resident secessionists should be punished in the forfeiture of their property and expulsion beyond the extreme limits of the Union army lines.

General Grant's immediate army, except the special posts held at Corinth and elsewhere, was also withdrawn from Northern Mississippi, after the diversion of the forces acting along the Mississippi River, and the head-quarters of the department were located at Memphis. After the withdrawal of the army, the rebel guerrilla forces began to make raids upon all towns recently held by the Union troops, and any one who had shown to Grant's army evidences of returning loyalty was summarily punished, either in person or property.

On the 23d of January, the Army of the Mississippi, having destroyed all offensive and defensive works at Arkansas Post, returned to Memphis, and reported to General Grant.

His hearty support of the President's proclamation was expressed in the following words:—

"Corps, division, and post commanders will afford all facilities for the completion of the negro regiments now organizing in this department. Commissaries will issue supplies, and quartermasters will furnish stores on the same requisitions and returns as are required from other troops.

"It is expected that all commanders will especially exert themselves in carrying out the policy of the Administration, not only in organizing colored regiments, and rendering them efficient, but also in removing prejudice against them."

On the 29th of January, 1863, General Grant landed a portion of his army at Young's Point, Louisiana, and another portion at Milliken's Bend. He shortly followed these forces, and established his head-quarters at the former place—a favorable point at which to control the necessary operations in the reduction of the rebel stronghold. He next thoroughly inspected the works, and was convinced that it was impossible to take them from the water front. A consultation was held with his generals, who agreed that the only method that promised success was to flank the works on the south side.

The most serious question was, the means to be adopted to transport his forces to the south side of the fortified city. The river was completely blockaded above by the works on the Walnut Hills and other elevations, and no advance could be made from New Orleans in consequence of the fortification of Port Hudson. General Grant turned his attention to the reopening of the canal first cut by General Williams, opposite Vicksburg, across the Peninsula on the Louisiana side of the river. If this canal had been made successful, transports and gunboats could have been taken through it to the south side of the city, and the troops and supplies moved to a new base of operations.

The work, however, was of such a herculean nature, and was being continually interrupted by the heavy rains and the rapid rise of the river, that the number of men required to keep the water out of the camps and cuttings was much larger than those engaged on the canal, and more than could be conveniently detailed for the purpose.

It now became necessary that the utmost secrecy should be used concerning every thing that was done in General Grant's army, and an order was issued to prevent any one from being admitted within the lines who did not properly belong to the army, and to prohibit those who were inside from going beyond the limits:—

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
YOUNG'S POINT, LOUISIANA, *February* 12, 1863.

I. The nature of the service the army is now called upon to perform making it impracticable to transport or provide for persons unemployed by

government, the enticing of negroes to leave their homes to come within the lines of the army is positively forbidden. They should be permitted to remain at their homes, in pursuance of the recommendation of the President, "in all cases where allowed to labor faithfully for reasonable wages." Those at present within the lines will not be turned out; but in future, in the field, no persons, white or black, who are not duly authorized to pass the lines of sentinels, will be permitted to enter or leave camp.

II. Whenever the services of negroes are required, details will be made by army corps commanders for the purpose of collecting them, and they will be registered, provided for, and employed in accordance with law and existing orders.

III. The habit too prevalent of arresting citizens beyond the lines of the army, and bringing them into camp without charges, is prejudicial to the service, and must not be continued. When citizens are arrested hereafter without charges being preferred warranting the arrest, the citizen will be turned outside the lines, and the officer or soldier causing the arrest will be confined, and otherwise punished at the discretion of a court-martial.

IV. No flag of truce will hereafter be allowed to pass our outposts. Any message sent under it will be received by an officer and receipted for, and the flag directed to return immediately. All answers to such messages will be sent under our own flag of truce.

V. Attention of army corps commanders is particularly called to the 41st, 42d, 46th, and 50th Articles of War, which will be rigidly enforced.

Major-General U. S. Grant.

The Articles of War referred to are as follows :—

"All non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who shall be found one mile from the camp, without leave, in writing, from their commanding officer, shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted upon them by the sentence of a court-martial.

"No officer or soldier shall be out of his quarters, garrison, or camp, without leave from his superior officer, upon penalty of being punished according to the nature of his offense, by the sentence of a court-martial.

"Any sentinel who shall be found sleeping upon his post, or shall leave it before he shall be regularly relieved, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be inflicted by the sentence of a court-martial.

"Any officer or soldier who shall, without urgent necessity, or without the leave of his superior officer, quit his guard, platoon, or division, shall be punished accord-

ing to the nature of his offense, by the sentence of a court-martial."

The banks of the Mississippi River at this time were lined with guerrilla parties, firing upon the supply-boats and transports with light field-pieces, and when attacked retreating into the jungles and cane-brakes.

This bandit warfare, the fitting exponent of treason, annoyed seriously, but did not interrupt, General Grant in his ripening plans for seizing Vicksburg.

During the early part of February, a reconnoissance was made in the neighborhood of Lake Providence, and a skirmish took place about five miles from the lake, resulting in the defeat of the rebels. Another occurred at Old River, Louisiana, on the 10th of February, with like success. By the reconnoitering, Captain Prime, chief of engineers on General Grant's staff, ascertained facts that led him to believe a water route could be made through the bayous which run from near Milliken's Bend, north of Vicksburg, and from New Carthage, south of that city, into the Tensas River.

Meanwhile, the work on the Williams Canal was prosecuted with great vigor. On the 8th of March, the overflow of the river broke in the dam at the end of the canal, and flooded the whole of the low lands, before the cutting could be completed. The season was too far advanced to renew the enterprise, and it was abandoned.

Acting Rear-Admiral Porter's gunboat fleet ably cooperated with General Grant in his operations before Vicksburg, and, early in February, the ram *Queen of the West*, under command of Colonel Ellet, on a reconnoissance, ran by the batteries at Vicksburg, and pushed down the Mississippi and up the Red River, which had been used by the rebels as a highway for the transportation of stores and supplies for the rebel garrisons at Vicksburg, Grand Gulf, Natchez, and Port Hudson; a source of supply which must be cut off before the place could be reduced by siege.

During the first trip Colonel Ellet captured three of the enemy's transports, and then returned to the lower end of the Williams Canal. On the 10th of February, Colonel

Ellet started on a second expedition in the same direction, and on the 12th arrived at the junction of the Red and Atchafalaya Rivers. The latter stream runs from the Red River to the Gulf, through a singular, swampy tract of country in Louisiana. The *Queen of the West*, having left her tenders behind in a secure position, started down the Atchafalaya, and, after passing about six miles, succeeded in destroying an army wagon train, and a quantity of stores, ammunition, &c., belonging to the enemy.

On February 14th, Colonel Ellet captured a rebel steam transport on the Red River, at a point about fifteen miles above the mouth of the Black River. At the time of her capture this rebel vessel had on board two lieutenants and fourteen privates of the rebel army, and was laden with four thousand five hundred bushels of corn. The prisoners were put on shore, and the vessels sent, under guard, to a place of safe keeping.

He then went about thirty miles further up the Red River, with the intention of destroying three other steamers which were lying under the protection of a rebel battery. The rebels opened upon the *Queen* with four pieces of artillery, and the pilot having purposely run the vessel aground, she was brought within easy range, and so crippled that she was abandoned, Colonel Ellet and others escaping on bales of cotton, while the remainder of those on board were capured.

On the night of the 13th, the United States gunboat *Indianola* successfully ran by the batteries of Vicksburg, to support the *Queen of the West;* but, after she had passed Natchez, the captain was informed of the capture of the latter vessel by those who had escaped. The *Indianola*, under the guidance of Colonel Ellet, who had located his head-quarters on the captured vessel *Era*, then returned toward the Red River, with the intention of destroying the battery and retaking the *Queen of the West.*

On arriving at the mouth of the Red River, it was found that the enemy had armed vessels up that stream, and it was deemed advisable to return immediately to Vicksburg. Colonel Ellet's vessel was fired upon several times while ascending the river.

The *Indianola* was then detailed to blockade the mouth of the Red River. Barges of coal were floated by the batteries, to supply her with fuel.

At about half-past nine P. M. on February 24th, four armed rebel vessels approached the *Indianola* under cover of darkness. The captured *Queen of the West*, which the rebels had armed and manned, and another ram, made the first attack upon the *Indianola*, and in a short time the engagement became general at close quarter. The other two vessels were merely cotton-clad, and not being heavily armed, could do but little damage to the Union gunboat. The rebel rams plunged their prows into the *Indianola*, with great violence; but not until the sixth blow was any serious damage inflicted.

The engagement lasted one hour and twenty-seven minutes, after which the *Indianola* became so injured that the captain ran her ashore, and surrendered, first destroying all documents of value on board. But, before the rebels could take possession of their prize, her stern had sunk under water, and the guns which had not been thrown overboard rendered useless.

The *Indianola* was finally destroyed by the rebels about the beginning of March, 1863. The following extract from the Vicksburg *Whig*, of March 5, 1863, explains the reason of her destruction:—

"We stated a day or two since that we would not enlighten our readers in regard to a matter which was puzzling them very much. We alluded to the loss of the gunboat *Indianola*, recently captured from the enemy. We were loath to acknowledge she had been destroyed, but such is the case. The Yankee barge sent down the river last week was reported to be an iron-clad gunboat. The authorities, thinking that this monster would retake the *Indianola*, immediately issued an order to blow her up. The order was sent down by a courier to the officer in charge of the vessel. A few hours afterward another order was sent down countermanding the first, it being ascertained that the monstrous craft was only a coal-boat; but before it reached the *Indianola* she had been blown

to atoms—not even a gun was saved. Who is to blame for this folly—this precipitancy?"

About this time the commander at Memphis thought it necessary to suppress the circulation of an opposition newspaper within the limits of the army lines; but General Grant, jealous of the liberty of the press, rescinded the order, as soon as he was apprised of it.

The success of a bayou canal in Missouri, near the vicinity of Island No. 10, induced the engineers on General Grant's staff to examine the probable chances of success for a similar one, from the bayous above Vicksburg to those below the city. Captain F. E. Prime and Colonel G. G. Pride made a reconnoissance along a portion of the route, and reported the practicability of the plan. General Grant resolved to try the project, if for no other purpose than to engage the enemy's attention while he matured his own plans. Having more troops at Young's Point than could, at that moment, be there employed, and aware that Lake Providence was connected by Bayou Baxter with Bayou Macon, a navigable stream, he set the men to work upon the canal between the Mississippi and the lake, to keep them from demoralizing idleness, and to divert the attention of the enemy.

To a person studying the map it would seem a very feasible project to connect the Mississippi River with the lake, especially when the level of the former lay somewhat higher than that of the latter. The lake is situated in Carroll County, Louisiana, about one mile west of the Mississippi River, which, without doubt, originally flowed through its bed, but had changed its course during one of the many freaks of Nature by which the channel of that great stream had been turned aside from its primary path. The length of the lake is about six miles, and it is fed by the Bayou Macon and the Bayou Tensas. One point of the lake, which is half-moon shaped, approaches nearer to the Mississippi River than the other, and at this point the canal was cut. It was supposed by the engineers that a highway could be made from the Mississippi, seventy-five miles above Vicksburg, through Lake Providence, thence

by the bayous into the Tensas River, which fall into the Black River at Trinity, Louisiana. The Black River falls into Red River, by three channels, at a point about thirty miles above the mouth of the latter, which opens into the Mississippi River at the northern limit of Point Coupee Parish, and at about fifty miles above the fortified position of Port Hudson. If this route had been practicable, it would have opened a water communication between the positions above and below Vicksburg, and enabled General Grant to co-operate with General Banks, who was preparing to invest Port Hudson. Under cover of this engineering movement, General Grant began moving his forces below the line of the city, and occupied points a short distance inland from the Louisiana shore of the Mississippi River.

The work of opening the Lake Providence route progressed rapidly, and one steamer and a number of barges were taken through the canal; but, about the middle of April, the Mississippi River began to fall with unusual rapidity, and, the roads becoming passable between Milliken's Bend and New Carthage, the proposed water route was abandoned.

It is evident from General Grant's report of the capitulation of Vicksburg, that he had little faith in the success of the Lake Providence scheme, but was willing to try it, as, on the whole, a valuable experiment.

During February, 1863, another and wilder expedition was proposed. It was to open a route of water travel between the Mississippi River and the Coldwater and Tallahatchie Rivers, through the Yazoo Pass. This pass had for many years been unnavigable, stagnant, dreary, and wild, and had been almost forgotten. The primary object of this expedition was to take a few troops, with some light-draft gunboats, to the upper Yazoo River, and destroy the enemy's transports; but it was discovered, when the snags and low timber were cut away, that the navigation was better than was suspected. The fact suggested a flank movement by water upon Haines's Bluff, which commanded the Yazoo River a short distance above the mouth.

On the 24th of February, 1863, the fleet entered the Pass, after tearing down that part of the levee of the Mississippi that closed up the entrance; and, by the 28th, after a series of dangers, slow traveling, &c., the vessels arrived in the Coldwater River.

An extract from an officer of the gunboat *Marmora* will afford a vivid view of the adventure:—

"The Rubicon is passed. Three and a half days of most tedious, vexatious, bothersome, troublesome, and damaging steamboating has brought this expedition twenty miles on its way, and disclosed to its view the end of the now famous Yazoo Pass. A more execrable place was never known. Should one propose to run a steamboat to the moon, he would be considered equally sane, by those who had seen the Yazoo Pass before this expedition forced its way through it, as the person who proposed this movement.

"I would like to describe the Yazoo Pass. I would like to compare it to something that would be intelligible. But I know of nothing in heaven or on earth, or in the waters under the earth, that will compare with it. Had the immortal bard desired a subject from which to draw a picture of the way that leads to the realms of darkness and despair, he had only to picture the Yazoo Pass. Let me try, in the feeble language I can command, to describe it. Perhaps the reader has passed through the Dismal Swamp of Virginia; or, if not, he has read accounts of travelers who have enjoyed that privilege. Then he has read of the famous jungles of India. He has seen or read of the unbroken silence of the boundless tall forests of the John Brown tract in Western New York. Conceive the ugliest feature of these three varieties of territory, and he will be able, by combining them, to form a tolerably correct idea of the region through which the Yazoo Pass runs. Those who have watched the course of a snake as he trails his way along the ground, winding this way and that, hither and yonder, going in all directions at the same time, and yet maintaining something of a regular course in the average, will, by exaggerating the picture in their own minds, understand something of the tortuous course

W. T. Sherman

MAJ. GEN. W. T. SHERMAN

of the Yazoo Pass. I have passed through it from one end to the other, and I assert candidly, that there is not, throughout its entire length, a piece two hundred feet long of perfectly straight river.

"The orders under which this expedition moved required that boats should keep three hundred yards apart; but there was no place to be found in the whole stream where they could see one-third of this distance ahead or behind them. Once, indeed, we did catch a glimpse of the *Rattler*, flag-ship. She was just abreast of us, and about one hundred yards away, going in an opposite direction to us. We fancied we were close on to her, and, as it was near night, concluded to tie up, so as to let her get away from us. The next morning we got under way at daylight, and just as the sun was at the meridian we passed the spot where we had seen our file leader eighteen hours before.

"Much has been said and written of the efforts put forth by the rebels to obstruct this pass. Their labor was all thrown away. Nature had placed greater obstructions in the way than any enemy could place there, no matter how powerful he might have been, or how long he had been employed. Cypress and sycamore trees lined the banks in great profusion, intermixed with gigantic cottonwoods, bearing the wildest entanglement of wild grapevines. The stream itself is never to exceed a hundred feet in breadth, and frequently not more than fifty or seventy-five. Over this the timber forms a most perfect arch, frequently, as good fortune would have it, so high as to admit the easy passage of the tall smokestacks beneath it, but sometimes grazing their tops, and again angrily toppling over these intruders. But Providence evidently did not intend this pass for a military highway. Providence opposed the movement, not so much by this high arch enclosing the river and shutting it out from view, as by the long, jagged limbs it thrust out from the trees directly across the channel, and the numerous crooked and leaning trees that formed a most effective blockade.

"It may be possible, from what I have written, to get an idea of the Yazoo Pass. A short account of the trip

through it will be more profitable for this purpose. The total length of the pass from the Mississippi to the Coldwater River is twenty miles. From the Mississippi to the east side of Moon Lake, where the pass proper commences, is called eight miles, leaving the distance from Moon Lake to the Coldwater twelve miles. We left the lake on Wednesday morning, the 25th instant, and reached the Coldwater this afternoon, just after dinner, making the trip in exactly three days and a half! To be sure, we did not travel nights, but we made, usually, about twelve hours time each day. This gives the rapid progress of one mile in three and a half hours. Does the progress made express any thing of the character of the route? If it does not, I hardly know what will. In the upper end of the pass the stream is confined, and runs along with great rapidity through its narrow channel, the rate being not less than five or six miles per hour. Lower down there are strips of bottom-land along the sides which are now overflowed, giving greater width, and consequently less rapidity to the current. But in no place were we able even to drift with the current. That would inevitably have dashed us into the timber and have torn our boat to atoms. From the time we entered the pass until we emerged from it, we could only keep our wheels backing, and even this was not enough. A small boat was requisite on either side, by which lines were passed out and made fast to the trees, to check our headway or ease us around the sharp bends. The expedition has been facetiously called "the stern-wheel expedition," from the circumstance of there being none but stern-wheel boats (which are narrower than side-wheel steamers) engaged in it; but it might with equal propriety be called "the backwater expedition," or "the hold-back expedition," because of our advancing only by holding back.

"But, with all our care and labor, it has been impossible to save our boats from much damage. Frequently it was impossible to check the headway of a vessel in time to save its smokestacks, and away would go these tall iron cylinders, crashing through the hurricane-deck, and making a complete wreck of the cabin and light upper

works. Again, a huge limb would come crashing and smashing along the side, tearing away stanchions and braces, and sometimes even the light bulkheads around the upper works. The flag-ship was thus visited, and Acting Commander Smith's cabin turned into a complete wreck. In fact, all the vessels looked as if they had been in a hard-fought battle and had been badly worsted, only that none of them were damaged in machinery or hull. It has been a most exciting trip; but I believe, or hear, all have survived it save one poor old nigger—a contraband—belonging to this vessel. He was lying in his hammock, in the sick bay, being on the sick list, when a huge limb, broken off by the persistence of our smokestacks, came down endwise upon the deck, and, passing through, administered the death blow to poor Cuffee."

The rebels had watchful friends, who informed them of the bold attempts to thread the Yazoo Pass, but they at first scouted the idea of success, prophesying the destruction of every vessel connected with the expedition. When they learned that the fleet had safely arrived in the Coldwater River, with the other part of the stream navigable, they began to close up the lower end of the Tallahatchie River, into which the former empties. They erected a fort across the neck of land formed by a change in the course of the stream after the Yalabusha had formed a junction with the Tallahatchie. These united waters were named the Yazoo River, which, after flowing through several hundred miles of country, pours its current into the Mississippi River a little above Vicksburg.

The advance of the expedition under General Ross proceeded, without serious interruption, through the Coldwater and Tallahatchie Rivers until it reached the newly erected fort named Fort Pemberton. The distance from the Tallahatchie shores above the defenses, to the Yazoo shores below that work, was but a few hundred yards by land, but was several miles by water. The fort, having been built across the neck, commanded both streams for a long distance. The rebels had well chosen their position, as the land about the fort was low, and at the time of the

expedition was entirely overflowed. General Ross, consequently, in attacking this work, could not make use of his land forces to reduce it, and had to depend on the armed vessels under his command. After an engagement of several hours, the vessels withdrew without silencing the battery.

General Grant, on March 23d, sent orders for the withdrawal of the forces.

Admiral Porter, having made a reconnoissance up Steele's Bayou, and through Black Bayou to Duck Creek, reported to General Grant that those water-courses were navigable for small gunboats and light transports. It was believed that, by following this route, Deer Creek could be navigated to Rolling Fork, and thence by the Sunflower River into the Yazoo.

General Grant accompanied Admiral Porter on the morning of March 15th, to farther explore the channels. The vessel with the two commanding officers proceeded along Steele's Bayou—several iron-clads taking the lead to prevent a surprise—until it reached the Black Bayou. General Grant then returned to Young's Point, to send up a pioneer corps to clear away the overhanging trees, which seemed to be the only important obstruction.

Soon after he had reached Young's Point, a message was received from Admiral Porter, requesting the co-operation of a good military force. General Grant promptly sent to him a division of the Fifteenth Army Corps, with General Sherman at its head. The number of steam transports suitable for such an expedition were limited; and the largest part of the military force was sent up the Mississippi River to Eagle Bend, where the river runs within a mile of Steele's Bayou.

The country was unexplored, delays were inevitable, and the enemy had time to obstruct the way; and, when near the completion of the difficult, romantic passage, it was reluctantly given up.

One of the party graphically describes the Bayou:—

"Large bodies were kept a good distance from the fleet, but sharp-shooters would come up behind trees and fire, taking deliberate aim at our men. The admiral sent a

dispatch back to General Sherman, stating the condition of affairs, and a force was at once sent to the relief of the gunboats, and to assist in getting them through. They made a forced march, skirmishing a part of the way, and reaching the gunboats before night of the 22d, a distance of twenty-one miles, over a terrible road. During the day the enemy had been largely re-enforced from the Yazoo, and now unmasked some five thousand men—infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The boats were surrounded with rebels, who had cut down trees before and behind them, were moving up artillery, and making every exertion to cut off retreat and capture our boats. A patrol was at once established for a distance of seven miles along Deer Creek, behind the boats, with a chain of sentinels outside of them, to prevent the felling of trees. For a mile and a half to Rolling Fork, the creek was full of obstructions. Heavy batteries were on its bank, supported by a large force. To advance was impossible; to retreat seemed almost hopeless. The gunboats had their ports all closed, and preparations made to resist boarders. The mortar-boats were all ready for fire and explosion. The army lines were so close to each other that rebel officers wandered into our lines in the dark, and were captured. It was the second night without sleep aboard ship, and the infantry had marched twenty-one miles without rest. But the faithful force, with their energetic leader, kept successful watch and ward over the boats and their valuable artillery. At seven o'clock that morning (the 22d), General Sherman received a dispatch from the admiral, by the hands of a faithful contraband, who came along through the rebel lines in the night, stating his perilous condition. Leaving a dispatch for General Stuart, who was bringing up Ewing's Brigade, and orders for Stuart to follow him with the remainder of the division, General Sherman at once marched with the Second Brigade and a part of the First Brigade. Our gunboats at that time were in a bend of the creek, the three regiments of the First Brigade had been brought in and placed in position near the boats. A rebel battery of fifteen guns was in front, at Rolling Fork. The creek was barely the width

of a gunboat; the boats were so close up that only one bow-gun apiece, of four, could be used, and then at an inconvenient angle—in fact, in only one position—and the broadsides of several were useless on account of the bank. Our immense superiority of metal was thus rendered almost useless for the purpose of engaging an enemy that was endeavoring to encircle the admiral's boats. If his rear was gained, their superior numbers could board the first or the last boat, and, having captured her, use her guns with fearful effect on the others.

"About mid-day the enemy commenced moving upon us, with the purpose of reaching the bank of the creek below the gunboats and below the infantry. General Sherman was some six miles distant. The rebels are believed to have advanced with about four thousand men. It must be borne in mind that our troops were on a belt of land which forms the bank of the creek, of not great width, back of which the bottom-land was under water and impassable. The rebels came down with the intention of turning his right and reaching the creek below. The gunboats and four mortars opened upon them, as soon as they discovered themselves in bodies. This firing embarrassed their movements, and considerably retarded them. They debouched through the wood, and became engaged with the skirmishers. The fight was beginning to be in earnest, but the rebels were gaining ground. The object was not a battle, but to pass by our forces. The first firing of the gunboats was heard by General Sherman near the Shelby plantation. He urged his troops forward, and, after an hour's hard marching, the advance, deployed as skirmishers, came upon a body of the enemy who had passed by the force which had been engaged. Immediately engaging them, the enemy stood a while disconcerted by the unexpected attack, fought a short time, and gave way. Our forces pressed them, driving them back some two miles. The gunboats opened upon them thus hemmed in, and the day was ours. The rebels retreated, and the gunboats were saved for that day. Our loss was but one killed, and none wounded. The loss of the rebels was heavy. One shell from a mortar killed twenty-six, as

they were rallying as skirmishers. Another is stated to have killed and wounded forty persons. They suffered very much; but, as we did not attempt to occupy the field, it cannot be ascertained. It being obvious that further advance was impracticable, the boats at once commenced moving backward, and made several miles that evening.

"The next effort of the rebels was, to pass around our lines in the afternoon and night, and throw their whole force still further below us. General Stuart, with four regiments, marched on Hill's plantation the same morning, having run his transports in the night, and immediately advanced one regiment up Deer Creek, and another still further to the right. The rebels, who were making a circuit about General Sherman, thus found the whole line occupied, and abandoned the attempt to cut off the gunboats for that day. During the afternoon the troops and gunboats all arrived at Hill's plantation. Rebel scouts followed them within two miles of the division head-quarters. During the night the picket, about one-half mile out, was attacked by a squadron of cavalry. It immediately, upon the return of their fire, fell back. In the afternoon of the next day, another regiment was attacked by three regiments of infantry and a squadron of cavalry. Acting under instructions to draw them on, and to develop their whole force, a skirmish ensued, but they refused to follow. The enemy, the night before, landed a steamer and two flatboats, loaded with troops and artillery, about six miles above. We remained two days at Hill's plantation, waiting for the rebels to prepare; but they would not give or receive battle. We embarked on the transports and gunboats, and returned.

"There were destroyed, by our troops and by the rebels, at least two thousand bales of cotton, fifty thousand bushels of corn, and the gins and houses of the plantations whose owners had obstructed our progress, and joined in the warfare. The resources of the country we found ample to subsist the army at Vicksburg for some length of time, and by the destruction of them we crippled the enemy so far.

"There were features about this expedition novel and exciting.

"Black Bayou, a narrow stream, heretofore only navigated by dug-outs, was made of the width of our steamers, with great labor of felling trees and sawing stumps below the surface. Every foot of our way was cut and torn through a dense forest, never before traversed by steamers. I never witnessed a more exciting and picturesque scene than the transportation, on the last day, of the Third Brigade, by General Stuart. Crowded with men, the steamer, at the highest possible speed, pushed through overhanging trees and around short curves. Sometimes wedged fast between trees, then sailing along smoothly, a huge cypress would reach out an arm and sweep the whole length of the boats, tearing guards and chimneys from the decks. The last trip through the Black Bayou was in a night pitchy dark and rainy.

"While the adventure was of uncertain success—when the result seemed almost accomplished, and when our gunboats were surrounded with an enemy confident of victory, and their extrication seemed almost an impossibility—officers and men worked with equal alacrity, whether in building bridges or making forced marches, both by day and in the night. The whole time was used in labor—constant and severe. It seems almost a miracle that the boats were saved. If Generals Sherman and Stuart, by their utmost exertions and labor, had forwarded their troops a single half day later, if the second forced march under General Sherman had been retarded a single hour, in all human probability the whole force would have been lost."

All these expeditions proved to be excellent feints to distract the enemy's attention; and if any one of them had succeeded it would have been adopted, and might not have produced so glorious a result as the final campaign and plans of General Grant. In fact, he states in his report, that the failure of these expeditions "may have been providential in driving him ultimately to a line of operations which has proved eminently successful."

The losses inflicted on the enemy in the destruction of

supplies, and the withdrawal of certain portions of his garrison to meet the expeditionary movements, were of immense value in his subsequent operations.

It has often been stated by generals in the field, that they had far less dread of the enemy in their front than they had of their friends at home. While these preparations for the decisive advance of the army were going forward, letters to friends were for a time prohibited, to prevent information reaching the enemy through a mail captured by guerrillas; and this absence of regular communication between those in the army and their friends at home led the latter to believe that the former were sick. An interchange of such news between the friends of various absentees, and the return of a few invalids, settled it as a matter of fact that the whole army was dying of disease.

An official inquiry was at once made by the surgeon-in-chief, and General Grant, under date of March 6, 1863, wrote to Surgeon-General Hammond as follows:—

"No army ever went into the field better provided with medical stores and attendance than is furnished to the army before Vicksburg. There was a deficiency in volunteer surgeons, but that is now supplied. The hospital boats are supplied with their own surgeons, nurses, and every thing for the comfort of the sick. The purveyor's department not only has every thing furnished the sick, but more than it ever dreamed of was furnished to the army, and more than the great majority of men could have at home. Then, too, there is not that amount of sickness that persons would be led to believe, from the statements in the public prints. I question whether the health of the St. Louis force is better than that of this command. On my arrival here, among the men who had to put up with straw for so long a time, and then with camping on low ground and in the most terrible weather ever experienced, there was for a time, of necessity, a great number of sick."

In addition to this informal note, General Grant forwarded an official answer to the inquiries regarding the

rumors of sickness among his troops, which is a dispassionate, decided refutation of the slanderous reports.

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
BEFORE VICKSBURG, *March* 12, 1863.

Brigadier-General W. A. HAMMOND, Surgeon-General, United States Army:

SIR:—Surgeon J. R. Smith's letter of the 20th of February is just received, inquiring into the sanitary condition of this command, and asking for suggestions for its improvement. I know a great deal has been said to impress the public generally, and officials particularly, with the idea that this army was in a suffering condition, and mostly from neglect. This is most erroneous. The health of this command will, I venture to say, compare favorably with that of any army in the field, and every preparation is made for the sick that could be desired.

I will refer Surgeon Smith's letter to my medical director for a fuller report of the condition of the medical department here.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

The directions given to his quartermasters by the humane and vigilant chief, who, with Sherman, won the confidence and love of his troops by caring for their wants, are a farther vindication of his military rule against the cowardly attacks then made upon his rising fame.

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
YOUNG'S POINT, LA., *March* 27, 1863.

I. The Quartermaster's Department will provide and furnish a suitable steamboat, to be called the "United States Sanitary Store-Boat," and put the same in charge of the United States Sanitary Commission, to be used by it exclusively for the conveyance of goods calculated to prevent disease, and supplement the Government supply of stores for the relief of the sick and wounded.

II. No person will be permitted to travel on said boat, except sick officers of the army and navy (and they only on permits from their proper commanding officers), discharged soldiers, and employes of said Sanitary Commission; and no goods whatever, for trading or commercial purposes, will be carried on said boat; and no goods will be taken for individuals, or with any conditions which will prevent their being delivered to those most needing them in the army or navy.

III. The contents of all packages to be shipped on said United States Sanitary Store-Boat will be inspected before shipment by an agent of said Sanitary Commission, at the point of shipment, unless an invoice of their contents has been received, the correctness of which is assured by the signature of some persons of known loyalty and integrity. A statement, showing what goods have been placed on board at each trip, will be sent to the Medical Director of the Department at these head-quarters.

IV. A weekly statement will also be made by said Sanitary Commission to the Department Medical Director, showing what sanitary supplies have been issued by said commission, and to whom issued.

V. All orders authorizing the free transportation of sanitary stores from Cairo south, on boats other than the one herein provided for, are hereby rescinded.

Major-General U. S. GRANT.

It became evident to the unwearied and undaunted commander, that his favorite *flanking* movement must be abandoned. His battalions could not get through the passes, bayous, and canals into the rear of Vicksburg, and seize the railways to Jackson, the capital of the State.

CHAPTER XII.

NAVAL MOVEMENTS TOWARD VICKSBURG.

A new Plan for Seizing the Prize.—Admiral Farragut passes Port Hudson.—Description of the Terrific Scene.—The Rams *Lancaster* and *Switzerland* make a fruitless Attempt to run the Batteries.—The Army Advance.—The Exhausting Marches.—Admiral Porter's Ships confront Vicksburg in a night-passage of the Works.—The Peril.—The Success and Exultation.

General Grant now determined to move his forces below Vicksburg, on the Louisiana shore, and take the rebel works in the rear. March 20, 1863, the great movement began: the Thirteenth Corps taking the lead, followed by the Seventeenth and Fifteenth, while to the Sixteenth Corps was left the charge of the communications and supplies.

General Grant wanted Admiral Farragut to sail above Port Hudson, while Admiral Foote went below Vicksburg, uniting in the reduction of batteries there, to clear the way for Grant, whose troops were to advance down the west side of the river; and otherwise to aid the bold enterprise as he might have opportunity. Admiral Farragut at once led with his flag-ship, the *Hartford*, followed by the *Richmond*, the *Mississippi*, the *Monongahela*, with the gun-boats *Kineo*, *Albatross*, and *Genesee*, and six mortar-boats; the latter were to assist in the bombardment, but remain below the batteries.

The fleet moved toward Port Hudson near the middle of March. On the 14th, just after noon, the mortars opened their fire on the fortifications, second to none in strength but those at Vicksburg, on the Mississippi. A detachment of troops was also sent in the rear, to confuse the garrison, while the admiral got ready for his night-work. Then occurred one of those grand and unusual exhibitions of naval warfare, of which the passage of

Forts Jackson and St. Philip was unrivaled in terrible sublimity. The evening was dark, but Confederate scouts had watched the Union fleet, and given notice of preparation for some movement to the garrison.

Immediately a tremendous bonfire was kindled on the heights, and poured its flood of lurid light down the cannon-bordered bluffs upon the waters just where the ships would pass the most formidable works. In the reflected flames, each vessel and its motions would be distinctly visible as in the light of day. It was a crisis to try not only the metal of ordnance, but that of the admiral's character. He had never quailed in the moment of peril, and now was calmer than ever. Right onward toward the flashing surface, over which frowned the heaviest rebel cannon, his squadron advanced.

A description of what followed is finely given in a letter penned on board the *Richmond*—a most graphic, vivid picture of the naval action.

"We had left the mortar-boats well astern, when a sulphurous light was seen gleaming on the shore, on our port side. Flashing up for a moment, a dull explosion followed. It was evidently an imperfect rocket. Another was essayed; but, instead of ascending, it ran along the surface of the river close to the bank. A little further up a third was tried, and with complete success. It ascended high in the air, where it burst in the usual manner. Instantaneously it was answered by a field-piece from the opposite shore, aimed at the *Hartford*. The admiral was not slow in returning the compliment. Three or four guns fired from the flag-ship in rapid succession testified to the alacrity with which the wager of battle was accepted.

"The return of the rebel fire by the *Hartford* was promptly followed up by a hot fire from the artillery pieces of the rebels, and quite a brisk action ensued between them. The scene, as viewed from the *Richmond*, was both brilliant and spirited. The flashes of the guns, both on shore and afloat, were incessant, while the roar of cannon kept up a deafening and almost incessant sound. Great judgment was here necessary to prevent the *Rich-*

mond from running into the *Hartford*, and, in fact, to keep the war-vessels generally from running into each other.

"And now was heard a thundering roar, equal in volume to a whole park of artillery. This was followed by a rushing sound, accompanied by a howling noise that beggars description. Again and again was the sound repeated, till the vast expanse of heaven rang with the awful minstrelsy. It was apparent that the mortar-boats had opened fire. Of this I was soon convinced on casting my eyes aloft. Never shall I forget the sight that then met my astonished vision. Shooting upward at an angle of forty-five degrees, with the rapidity of lightning, small globes of golden flame were seen sailing through the pure ether—not a steady, unfading flame, but corruscating like the fitful gleam of a fire-fly—now visible and anon invisible. Like a flying star of the sixth magnitude, the terrible missile—a thirteen-inch shell—near its zenith, up and still up—higher and higher. Its flight now becomes much slower, till, on reaching its utmost altitude, its centrifugal force becomes counteracted by the earth's attraction, it describes a parabolic curve, and down, down it comes, bursting, it may be, ere it reaches *terra firma*, but probably alighting in the rebel works ere it explodes, where it scatters death and destruction around. But while the mortar-boats were at work, the *Essex* was not idle. Unmanageable as she is, especially in so strong a current, she did not follow the rest of the fleet, but remained at the head of the 'bummers,' doing admirable service with her heavy guns.

"All this time the *Richmond* had to hang back, as Admiral Farragut seemed to be so enamored with the sport in which he was engaged as to be in no hurry to pass by. Once or twice, in consequence of the dense column of smoke that now rolled over the river, our bowsprit was almost over the taffrail of the *Hartford*, and there was an incessant call on the part of Second-Lieutenant Terry, who commanded the forward part of the ship, to stop the engines. And here I may as well say that this gallant young officer behaved in the most chivalrous man-

ner throughout the entire engagement, cheering on the men, and encouraging them, by his example, to stand to their guns like men, though little of this they required to induce them to perform their whole duty.

"The *Richmond* had by this time got within range of the rebel field-batteries, which opened fire on her. I had all along thought that we would open fire from our bow-guns, on the top-gallant forecastle, and that, after discharging a few broadsides from the starboard side, the action would be wound up by a parting compliment from our stern-chasers. To my surprise, however, we opened at once from our broadside guns. The effect was startling, as the sound was unexpected; but beyond this I really experienced no inconvenience from the concussion. There was nothing unpleasant to the ear, and the jar to the ship was really quite unappreciable. It may interest the uninitiated to be informed how a broadside is fired from a vessel of war. I was told on board the *Richmond* that all the guns were sometimes fired off simultaneously, though it is not a very usual course, as it strains the ship. Last night the broadsides were fired by commencing at the forward gun, and firing all the rest off in rapid succession, as fast almost as the ticking of a watch. The effect was grand and terrific; and, if the guns were rightly pointed —a difficult thing in the dark, by-the-way—they could not fail in carrying death and destruction among the enemy.

"Of course we did not have every thing our own way, for the enemy poured in his shot and shell as thick as hail. Over, ahead, astern, all around us flew the death-dealing missiles, the hissing, screaming, whistling, shrieking, and howling of which rivaled Pandemonium. It must not be supposed, however, because our broadside-guns were the tools we principally worked, that our bow and stern-chasers were idle. We soon opened with our bow eighty-pounder Dahlgren, which was followed up not long after by the guns astern, giving evidence to the fact that we had passed some of the batteries.

"While seated on the 'fish-davit,' on the top-gallant forecastle—the *Hartford* and the *Richmond* blazing away

at the time—a most fearful wail arose from the river; first on our port-bow, then on the beam. A man was evidently overboard, probably from the *Hartford* or the *Genesee*, then just ahead. The cry was: 'Help, oh! help!' 'Help, oh! help!' 'Man overboard,' called out Lieutenant Terry; 'throw him a rope.' But, poor fellow, who could assist him in such a strait? We were in action; every man was at his gun; to lower a boat would be folly; in fact, it could not be done with any hope of success. Consequently, although the man was evidently a good swimmer, to judge by his unfailing cries for help for a long time, nothing could be done to rescue him, and he floated astern of us, still sending up that wailing cry for help, but without effect. The terrible current of the Mississippi was too much for him, and he, without doubt, sank beneath the waves of the mighty river.

"Just after this fearful incident firing was heard astern of us, and it was soon ascertained that the *Monongahela*, with her consort, the *Kineo*, and the *Mississippi* were in action. The *Monongahela* carries a couple of two hundred-pounder rifled Parrott guns, besides other ticklers. At first I credited the roar of her amiable two-hundred pounders to the 'bummers,' till I was undeceived, when I recalled my experience in front of Yorktown last spring, and the opening of fire from similar guns from Wormley's Creek. All I can say is, the noise was splendid. The action now became general. The roar of cannon was incessant, and the flashes from the guns, together with the flight of the shells from the mortar-boats, made up a combination of sound and sight impossible to describe. To add to the horrors of the night, while it contributed toward the enhancement of a certain terrible beauty, dense clouds of smoke began to envelope the river, shutting out from view the several vessels, and confounding them with the batteries. It was very difficult to know how to steer to prevent running ashore, perhaps right under a rebel battery, or into a consort. Upward and upward rolled the smoke, shutting out of view the beautiful stars, and obscuring the vision on every side. Then it was that the order was passed: 'Boys, don't fire till you see the flash

from the enemy's guns.' That was our only guide through the 'palpable obscurity.'

"But this sole dependence on the flashes was likely to be attended with serious consequences, as the following incident will show:

"We had got nearly into the middle of the hornet's nest, when an officer on the top-gallant forecastle called out: 'Ready with the port-gun.' The gun was got ready and pointed, and was about to be discharged, when Lieutenant Terry called out: 'Hold on; you are about to fire into the *Hartford*.' And such was the fact; for the flash of the *Hartford's* guns at that moment revealed the spars and rigging of that vessel. Consequently the gun was not fired, nor was it discharged during the engagement, the fighting being confined entirely to the starboard side.

"Still the fight went on, and still the roar of cannon, and the screaming, howling, whistling of shot and shell continued to make 'night hideous.' Still, too, the pure atmosphere was befouled with the smell of 'villainous saltpetre' and obscured with smoke, through the opaque mass of which the stars refused to twinkle. Intermingled with the boom of the cannonade arose the cries of the wounded and the shouts of their friends, suggesting that they should be taken below for treatment. So thick was the smoke that we had to cease firing several times; and to add to the horrors of the night it was next to impossible to tell whether we were running into the *Hartford* or going ashore, and, if the latter, on which bank, or whether some of the other vessels were about to run into us or into each other. All this time the fire was kept up on both sides incessantly. It seems, however, that we succeeded in silencing the lower batteries of field-pieces. The men must have been driven from their guns; and no wonder if they were, in that terrific storm of iron.

"While a brisk fire was kept up from the decks of the several vessels, the howitzers in the tops were not permitted to remain idle. Intermingled with the more sullen roar of the larger guns, the sharp, short crack of the brass pieces was heard from their elevated positions, adding harmony to the melody of the terrific concert.

"The phrase is familiar to most persons who have read accounts of sea-fights that took place about fifty years ago; but it is difficult for the uninitiated to realize all the horrors conveyed in 'muzzle to muzzle.' For the first time I had, last night, an opportunity of knowing what the phrase really meant. Let the reader consult the map, and it will be seen that the central battery is situated about the middle of the segment of a circle I have already compared to a horseshoe in shape, though it may be better understood by the term 'crescent.' This battery stands on a bluff so high that a vessel in passing immediately underneath cannot elevate her guns sufficiently to reach those on the battery; neither can the guns on the battery be sufficiently depressed to bear on the passing ship. In this position the rebel batteries on the two horns of the crescent can enfilade the passing vessel, pouring in a terrible cross-fire, which the vessel can return, though at a great disadvantage, from her bow and stern chasers.

"We fully realized this last night; for, as we got within short-range, the enemy poured into us a terrible fire of grape and canister, which we were not slow to return—our guns being double-shotted, each with a stand of both grape and canister. Every vessel in its turn was exposed to the same fiery ordeal on nearing the centre battery, and right promptly did their gallant tars return the compliment. This was the hottest part of the engagement. We were literally muzzle to muzzle, the distance between us and the enemy's guns being not more than twenty yards, though to me it seemed to be only as many feet. In fact, the battle of Port Hudson has been pronounced by officers and seamen who were engaged in it, and who were present at the passage of Fort St. Philip and Fort Jackson, below New Orleans, and had participated in the fights of Fort Donelson, Fort Henry, Island No. 10, Vicksburg, &c., as the severest in the naval history of the present war.

"Shortly after this close engagement we seemed to have passed the worst. The enemy's shot and shell no longer swept our decks like a hail-storm; but the fire

from the batteries was kept up in a desultory manner. The starboard bow-gun could no longer be brought to bear. Consequently Lieutenant Terry ordered the men on the top-gallant forecastle to leave the guns in that part of the ship, and to descend to the main deck to help work the broadside guns. Our stern-chasers, of course, were still available, for the purpose of giving the enemy a parting blessing. I left my station on the top-gallant forecastle shortly after the men who had been working the bow-guns, and passed under where I had been sitting, taking up my station on the port side, just opposite the forward gun on the starboard side, where but a few minutes before a shell had exploded.

"I was not long in this position when there came a blinding flash through the very port I was opposite to, revealing a high bank right opposite, so close that a biscuit might have been tossed from the summit on board the *Richmond*. Simultaneously there came a loud roar, and I thought the shot had passed through the port I was opposite to. Indeed, so close were we to the battery that the flash, the report, and the arrival of the shot, crashing and tearing through our bulwarks, were instantaneous, there being not the intermission of a second between.

"It must have been about this time that Lieutenant-Commander Cummings, the executive officer of the *Richmond*, was standing on the bridge that connects the starboard with the port gangway, with his speaking-trumpet in his hand, cheering the men. Near him stood Captain Alden, when a conical shot of large calibre passed through the hammocks, over the starboard gangway, taking off the left leg of the lieutenant just above the ankle, battering his speaking-trumpet (a prize) flat, and knocking Captain Alden down with the windage, and went through the smoke-stack. Mr. Cummings was immediately taken below, where his wound was promptly attended to by Dr. Henderson, the ship's surgeon, but not before the brave young man had lost a large quantlty of blood on his way down. On being carried below he used the following patriotic words, which are worthy of becoming historical:

'I would willingly give my other leg so that we could but pass the batteries.'

"The Rev. Dr. Bacon, the loyal rector of Christ Church, New Orleans, who was acting as chaplain on board the *Richmond*, was on the bridge when Mr. Cummings received his terrible wound. He fortunately escaped unhurt, though he had been all over the ship, in the thickest of the fight, carrying messages, and exhorting and encouraging the men.

"It was no easy matter, in the midst of such a dense cloud of smoke, to know where to point our guns. Even the flashes of the enemy's guns shone dimly through the thick gloom. Several times the order was given to cease fire, so as to allow the smoke to clear away; but, as there was scarcely a breath of wind stirring, this was a very slow process; still the order was necessary, to prevent the several vessels from running into each other. In this respect the rebels had a decided advantage over us; for while they did not stand in danger of collision, neither was there any apprehension of firing into their friends. The wide river was before them, and if they did not hit our vessels at each discharge, they could but miss at the worst.

"Matters had gone on this way for nearly an hour and a half—the first gun having been fired at about half-past eleven o'clock—when, to my astonishment, I heard some shells whistling over our port side. Did the rebels have batteries on the right bank of the river? was the query that naturally suggested itself to me. To this the response was given that we had turned back. I soon discovered that it was too true. Our return was, of course, more rapid than our passage up. The rebels did not molest us much, and I do not believe one of their shots took effect while we were running down rapidly with the current.

"We were soon quietly at anchor, and were busy discussing the events of the fight, exchanging congratulations and comparing notes, when the lookout-man in the main-top hailed the deck as follows:—

"'On deck, there!'

"'Hallo!'

"'A large fire ahead.'

"'Where away?'

"'Just above the bend.'

"'What is it like?'

"'Like a fire-raft.'

"On this, Captain Alden, to whom the circumstance was duly reported by the officers of the deck, sings out:—

"'Keep a good lookout. Man the bow-guns, and stand by to slip the cable.'

"Shortly after this, a small steamer came down, the master of which informed Captain Alden that the *Mississippi* was on fire.

"In the dense smoke that prevailed, excluding every object from view, the glorious old *Mississippi* went ashore right opposite the centre and worst battery. She was soon discovered by the enemy. Up to this time she had not sustained any serious injury. She now became a standing target for the whole range of rebel batteries. The rebels began to pour into her a perfect shower of shot and shell, which was promptly returned by the *Mississippi*. This murderous work continued for half an hour. Finding it impossible to escape, Captain Smith judiciously, but reluctantly, gave orders to set the ship on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the rebels. Accordingly her after-part was fired, the rebels all the time continuing to pour in their shot and shell as fast as they could bring their guns to bear. During this part of the contest no fewer than two hundred and fifty rounds were fired from the *Mississippi*. The artillery practice of the rebels would have been worthy of a better cause. The *Mississippi* was riddled through and through. Four men were known to have been killed ere the ship was abandoned. Among them was Acting Master Kelly, the whole of whose abdomen was shot away. Three were ascertained to have been wounded. There may have been some more casualties, but it is impossible to tell to what extent at present, though a great many exaggerated stories are afloat on the subject. Several were known to have jumped overboard soon after the ship was set on fire,

and there can be no doubt that some of them were drowned.

"Soon after the vessel had been fired two shells came crashing through her, exploding and setting fire to some turpentine and oil which they upset. This caused the flames to spread, whereupon a master's mate hurried on to the gun-deck and reported that the flames had reached the entrance to the magazine. The ship was then at once abandoned, and all hands on board, including the wounded men, were put on shore on the bank of the river opposite Port Hudson. This was accompanied by a deafening yell of exultation from the rebels, on perceiving the blazing up of the fire. The *Mississippi* burned till she became lightened, to which the removal of nearly three hundred men contributed, when she swung off into deep water. She had grounded with her head up stream; but on swinging off she turned completely round, presenting her head down the river, which position she retained till she blew up.

"At length it was reported on board the *Richmond* that the *Mississippi* was coming down, and we all turned out on the poop-deck to see the sight. It was a most magnificent spectacle. From the midships to the stern the noble vessel was enveloped in a sheet of flame, while fire-wreaths ran up the shrouds, played around the mainmast, twisted and writhed like fiery serpents. Onward she came, keeping near to the right bank, still bow foremost, as regularly as if she was steered by a pilot. It was, indeed, a wonderful sight. Captain Smith, her recent commander, and several of her officers, who had by this time arrived on board the *Richmond*, assembled on the poop-deck, their emotion almost too great for words. Next to his wife, children, or sweetheart, there is nothing that a sailor loves more than his ship—nothing that he regrets the loss of so much; and, in the absence of the above-mentioned domestic ties, his ship is to him wife, child, and sweetheart. The feeling of regret at the loss of his ship is enhanced when, as in the case of the *Mississippi*, the gallant craft has achieved historical renown. No wonder, then, that the officers of the *Mississippi* should feel

a sinking at the heart on witnessing the destruction of their floating home, while they were powerless to save her.

"As she arrived opposite the port-side of the *Richmond*, some apprehension was entertained that her port broadsides might give us a parting salute of not a very agreeable nature. Captain Smith assured Captain Alden, however, that her port-guns had all been discharged. Just as she had cleared us, her starboard guns began to go off. This was accompanied by the explosion of the shells she had on deck, ready for use. These exploded at short intervals. The flames now began to increase in volume from amidships to the stern, and the howitzer on the maintop was discharged with the heat. Majestically the gallant craft—gallant even in its last moments—moved down the stream, till, turning the bend at the lower part of Prophet Island, she was hidden from our view, and nothing more was seen but a white glare, shooting up skyward. Shell after shell still exploded at intervals, and thus a couple of hours passed away till the *Mississippi* was some eight or ten miles below the *Richmond*. The shells now begin to explode more rapidly, indicating that the fire has reached the shell-room, and cannot be far from the powder-magazine. This proves to be the fact; for presently a sudden glare of bright flame shoots upward toward the zenith, spreading skyward, in the form of an inverted cone; an interval of a few seconds elapses; then comes a stunning roar, causing the *Richmond* to tremble from truck to keelson, and the gallant *Mississippi*, that so long 'has braved the battle and the breeze,' is no more; all that remains of her is sunk in the bosom of the mighty river from which she derived her name.

"Passing through the starboard side of the *Richmond*, amidships, a conical eighty-pounder passed through a pile of cordage on the berth-deck, narrowly missing some powder-boys who were handing up ammunition. Thence it entered the machinery-room, passing through and smashing the steam-drum, and damaging both safety-valves, so as to prevent them from closing. Taking its course under the steam-chest, the shot came out on the

other side, when it broke in two, and both pieces dropped below. Here I may take this opportunity of mentioning that Confederate iron, in these regions, is a very inferior metal. It is not half smelted, but right in the center are large stones.

"Early this morning the decks of the *Richmond* presented a melancholy spectacle. Where the two men fell there was a great pool of clotted gore, which I saw a seaman tossing overboard with a shovel. The whitewashed decks, too, were any thing but tidy; but, hey! presto! as if by magic, the stalwart arms of some two or three hundred men, with the aid of a plentiful supply of Mississippi water, have made every thing as clean and neat as a lady's boudoir. The bodies of the two men who were killed have been removed forward, and to them has been added the body of the boatswain's mate, who lost both legs and an arm, and who has since died. The three bodies have been neatly sewed up in their hammocks, and they are to be put into coffins for interment on shore. Headboards, with their names inscribed on them, will be placed at the heads of their graves, so that the bodies may be reclaimed at any time by their friends or relatives."

On the 25th of March, the rams *Lancaster* and *Switzerland* attempted to run the batteries at Vicksburg, but were so crippled in the attempt that the former was sunk, and the latter disabled. The rams had been made by altering river steamers, and were too light to withstand the shock of a heavy fire from such batteries as those at Vicksburg.

Two days later, Admiral Farragut engaged the batteries at Warrenton, and succeeded in passing below them, *en route* for Red River. April 1st he had a similar encounter at Grand Gulf, and went down the current accompanied by the *Albatross* and *Switzerland*, arriving at its mouth on the evening of the 2d.

In the mean time the army kept on the move, and on the 30th of March, Richmond, a village of Madison County, Louisiana, and on a direct line with Vicksburg, a few miles inland from the Mississippi River, was taken pos-

session of by a portion of the Thirteenth Army Corps, who drove out the rebel cavalry after two hours' sharp fighting. The corps then pushed on toward New Carthage. The roads, although level, were in a very bad condition, and the march was necessarily slow and tedious. It was important that supplies and ammunition should travel with this corps, and consequently the movements were considerably delayed, as it became at times necessary to drag the wagons by hand.

When the corps was within two miles of New Carthage, it was found that, in consequence of the recent floods and the breaking of the levee of Bayou Vidal, that place was isolated, and located on an island. Boats were collected from the neighboring bayous, and barges were built; but by this method the progress of the army was too slow for the purpose intended. The corps was therefore marched to Perkins's plantation, twelve miles below New Carthage, and thirty-five miles from the point of starting. Over these thirty-five miles, supplies and ordnance stores had to be transported; and as the roads were soft and spongy, owing to the floods, the labor of this movement is almost inconceivable. Provisions and ammunition had to be hauled in wagons, and until a sufficient quantity had reached the camp near the Mississippi River, below Vicksburg, it would have been impossible to have commenced a campaign, if a successful issue was to be desired.

The terrible gauntlet now to be run was the passage by Admiral Porter of the batteries at Vicksburg. The serious question was, "How can the gunboats, and the transports to convey the soldiers over the river, under the command of Admiral Porter, get by the terraces of dark-mouthed cannon overlooking the water at Vicksburg?"

April 16th shone serene and cloudless upon the flashing tide of the majestic river of the West. At eleven o'clock that night, eight gunboats and six transports were to try the mettle of the Confederate Gibraltar.

Men were called for, willing to go into the jaws of destruction. The brave fellows rushed, with a hurrah, to the decks. All was ready. The signal-bell struck eleven.

Oh, that kindly clouds would eclipse even the stars, and fling their shadows on the devoted ships! But not a speck obscured the vernal sky. The steamers in sight were thronged to watch the scene; and the suspense was painful among the crowds. "A boat is coming!" are words which sent a shudder of apprehension through every heart. Slowly, darkly, steadily, it stole along the Louisiana shore, lost in foliage shadow. Then it steered across to the Mississippi side; and another spectral form floated into view; another, and yet another, emerged from the gloom of night and distance.

Midnight came, and the procession of fourteen vessels moved, in darkness and silence, straight toward Vicksburg, whose battlements loomed red through the gloom, relieved only by an occasional light. The boats were fireless and lampless. Hopes and fears agitated the hearts and came to the lips of the spectators. Would those strong ships and brave men go down under the fiery storm of a hundred echoing guns, or ride safely through?

Up shot a flame, and the thunder of ordnance succeeded it. The enemy had discovered the bold navigators. The rows of fire, followed with the roar, down from the crest of the fortress to the water's edge, flashed on the path of the undismayed warriors of the waters. Just at this moment, a rising, steady flame above the city lit up the theater of conflict. High and broad it waved like a luminous banner against the sky. "Vicksburg is on fire!" was the shout. No; on the heights the foe had kindled a beacon, to show them where to strike the advancing line of boats. The intense glare made a rope's shadow on the bright deck visible. But too late was the blaze thrown on the track of the leviathans.

The rebels were in a fever of excitement. Porter's fleet must not join Farragut, if shot and shell could prevent it. Hiss! whirr! crash! was the music of the death carnival.

The beacon went out, and another flame brightened on the gloom, through volumes of uprolling smoke. The transport *Henry Clay* had caught from a burning shell.

Soon the long line of blazing battlements from Vicks-

burg to Warrenton grew dark and still, and the beholders retired to wait for the morning news. The tidings that the fleet was safe—the damage small, and only one hero killed, with two others wounded—filled many eyes with tears of joy. The ships, excepting the *Henry Clay*, were floating securely on the quiet waters between the scarred fortress and New Carthage. General Grant's heart beat lighter, with hope in the success of this last and boldest design upon Vicksburg.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAVALRY MOVEMENTS.—THE ADVANCE.

The Cavalry Enter the Lists in Daring Adventures.—Colonel Grierson's Great Raid.—Strange and Amusing Scenes.—The Cavalry Generals.—The Army advance.—Porter's Fleet Co-operates.—The March.—A Battle.—Occupation of Port Gibson.—Telegrams of General Grant and Governor Yates.—Feints to deceive the Enemy.—General Sherman's Movements.—General Grant's care of his Army.

Before leaving the north side of Vicksburg, to take command of his army in person, General Grant determined to cut all the enemy's communications with that city, to secure his columns from an attack in the rear, should it become necessary to invest the place. He therefore detailed the First Cavalry Brigade, under Colonel B. H. Grierson, for this enterprise.

April 17, 1863, the enthusiastic horsemen galloped away in the starlight from La Grange, Tennessee. Two o'clock in the morning found them on the road to Ripley, Mississippi, thirty miles distant, which they reached at nightfall. Dismounting, the heroes bivouacked for brief repose. At eight o'clock the next morning, they were beyond Ripley, hastening toward New Albany. A single battalion occupied this place, while the main body passed eastwardly, but all encamped within four miles of the town.

The next day they rode off to their work on the railways, crossing forests, open fields, and frightful swamps; now flying yonder, to deceive the rebels in regard to the real design, and then in the opposite direction, tearing up a track, capturing a train, or burning a mill. Amusing scenes enlivened the raiders' wild career. Some of them, stopping at a wealthy planter's house, who was also a guerrilla, passed themselves off as Van Dorn's men; for many of our soldiers, in these adventures, wore "secesh"

uniforms. Finding splendid horses in his barn, they began to change the saddles from their tired steeds to the backs of his.

"Can't spare 'em, gentlemen! can't let these horses go!" protested the planter.

"We must have them. You want us to catch the Yankees, and we shall have to hurry to do it," replied the raiders.

"All right, gentlemen; I'll keep your animals till you return. I suppose you'll be back in two or three days, at the furthest. When you return, you'll find they have been well cared for."

The guerrilla is probably still waiting for his friends and horses.

A young lady thus complains: "The first thing they did was to carry off Lizzie's buggy. They broke into the storeroom, and took sister Emily's wine, which they carried away, and drank the next morning. As we sat quietly awaiting our fate, still hoping that God—in whose care 'Ma had at the beginning placed us, kneeling with us in earnest prayer—would yet save us, we heard them dancing, whooping, breaking, and plundering away over the house. They stole all my jewelry; they broke all sister Emily's pictures. Nan [a servant] was very much distressed at their taking the blankets."

Poor girl! we smile at and pity her. But War is no respecter of persons, nor very particular about the amount of damage done along his path.

It was impossible for a large force to move through the enemy's country without meeting some of the foe; and as a natural result, skirmishing took place all along the route, and several prisoners were taken. At one time the advance was engaged with the pickets of Chalmers's rebel brigade, but the latter was soon overpowered, and the main body of his troops retreated.

The rebels attempted to fire the bridge at New Albany; but so rapid was Colonel Grierson's advance, that his forces were across the river before they could accomplish their purpose.

It now became necessary to mislead the enemy as to

the actual destination of the main body; therefore, on April 19th, Colonel Grierson ordered a portion of his force to march back to New Albany, thence by Kingsbridge, where a rebel camp was said to be in existence. A second force he ordered east, and a third northwest, while the main body marched due south. It had been raining all the previous night; consequently this day's march was performed under great difficulties. The center column then proceeded to Pontotoc, where a small rebel force was dispersed, and their camp equipage and a quantity of salt seized and destroyed. At eight o'clock that evening, the command encamped six miles south of Pontotoc on the road to Houston.

On the 20th, a portion of the force was detached and sent back to La Grange with the prisoners and captured baggage. They were ordered to make as much noise in returning as possible, so as to give the rebels the idea that the expedition was over, while in fact the main body would still proceed south. This feint succeeded admirably.

The next day another force was detached, under Colonel Hatch, and ordered to destroy as much as possible of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad; to attack Columbus near the State line, between Mississippi and Alabama, and then to march back to La Grange. In this Colonel Hatch was successful, and the movement drew off General Chalmers's rebel forces from following Colonel Grierson, thus giving him three days' fresh start.

The main body next moved to Starkville, where they captured and destroyed a rebel mail. After traveling four miles further, the command divided—one-half swimming the Dismal Swamp, to destroy a tannery, which at the time contained a very large stock of boots and shoes, saddles, bridles, and several thousand dollars' worth of leather; the other half proceeding on its course.

The command being again united, it pushed on toward Louisville, Mississippi. This part of the march was of the most dangerous character, as streams and blind marshes had to be crossed without any guide. Sometimes the horses would sink in the mud and be left to perish, and it

is wonderful that some of the men did not share the same fate. Notwithstanding the horrible nature of this route, the men preserved their fortitude, and pushed on vigorously for Philadelphia, Mississippi, where another mail was destroyed. Private property, however, was in all cases respected.

Thus hurried along the troopers till the 22d, when the march was indeed "terrible, because the swamps of the Okanoxubee River were overflowed. After moving four miles south of Louisville, they marched a distance of eight miles through a swamp. On each side of the road were enormous trees, and the water was, everywhere, from three to four feet deep; with every few hundred yards a mire-hole in which frequently, for a few moments, man and horse were lost to view. The Seventh Illinois being in the rear, found those holes almost impassable, from the action of the large body of cavalry which had preceded them, and they were compelled to leave drowned some twenty noble animals, whose strength was not equal to such an emergency. The men so dismounted removed their saddles, placed them on some other led beasts, and pushed onward cheerfully."

On April 23d, the force pushed on to the Southern Railroad at Newton, moving by way of Decatur, and arrived at the former place about daylight on the 24th. Here two trains, bound to Vicksburg *vid* Jackson, were captured, and the whole thirty-eight cars, with the loads of quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance stores, destroyed. The locomotives were also rendered useless. Several bridges and a quantity of trestlework were destroyed in this vicinity, after which, on the 25th, the raiding force moved toward Montrose, thence to Raleigh, Mississippi, where they encamped for the night.

At this time the rebels were close upon Colonel Grierson's heels, on ascertaining which, he moved over the Leaf River, destroying the bridge behind him, and then marched to Westville. Here two battalions were detached, and made a forced march to Hazlehurst Station, on the Jackson and New Orleans Railroad, where they destroyed forty cars, four of which were loaded with sh[illegible]

and ammunition, and the remainder with quartermaster and commissary stores.

"A glance at the map will show the importance of Pearl River. Knowing it to be quite high from heavy rains, and aware also that, as rebel scouts had preceded them, it was of the utmost consequence to secure Pearl River bridge, Colonel Prince, who was in advance with the Seventh Illinois, pushed forward with energy; and, by very fast riding, succeeded in getting to the bridge, and driving away a picket, before they had time to tear up more than a few planks, which were replaced in a few minutes. The gallant colonel devoutly speaks of this as one of the many instances in which a divine Providence seemed to be shielding them during their whole perilous journey; for the destruction of this bridge would have been, in all probability, fatal to the whole expedition.

"Although Colonel Prince, on the 27th, had marched his regiment forty-one miles, during a large portion of the time through drenching rain, he firmly believed that, as the citizens were arming themselves, and the news about them was flying in all directions, it was a matter of life and death that Pearl River should be crossed, and the New Orleans and Jackson Railroad reached, without any delay whatever. He therefore obtained permission from Colonel Grierson to move directly forward with two hundred picked men of his regiment, to secure the ferry across Pearl River before the enemy should be able to destroy it. The distance to the river was thirteen miles, and from there to Hazlehurst Station was twelve miles. The remainder of the two regiments were to come forward as soon as they were sufficiently rested.

"Colonel Prince started with the two hundred, at one A. M., and reached the bank of the river before daylight; when, contrary to his information, the flat-boat was upon the opposite side of the river. Not daring to call out, he spoke to a volunteer, who, with a powerful horse, undertook to swim the river; but the rapidity of the swollen stream carried him below the landing, where there was a quicksand, and he barely returned to shore with his life.

"A few moments later, a man came down from the

house toward the river, and, in true North Carolina accent, asked, in a careless way, if we wanted to cross; to which he got a reply—in a very capital imitation of his twang—that a few of them did want to go across, and that it seemed harder to wake up his nigger ferry-man than to catch the conscripts. The proprietor took the bait, apologized for the detention, and woke up his ferry-man, who immediately brought over the boat, which thenceforward became the property of Uncle Sam—the proprietor all the while believing he was lavishing his attentions on the First Regiment of Alabama Cavalry, fresh from Mobile! The breakfast given to the Alabama colonel that morning was highly relished and appreciated; but too much time was not spent over it, and the importance of speed was clearly proved, only half an hour afterward, when they caught a courier flying to the ferry with the news that the Yankees were coming, and that all the ferries were to be immediately destroyed.

"At Hazlehurst Station, Colonel Prince succeeded in capturing a large number of cars, four or five being loaded with shell and ammunition, and others with army stores. The whole of this property was utterly destroyed.

"And here comes one of the most amusing episodes of the whole affair. Captain Forbes, who had been sent to Macon from near Starkville, rejoined the command, just as they had all crossed Pearl River. Having been unable to take Macon, he followed their trail to Newton, where he was informed that they had gone to Enterprise, on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. He followed on to that place, and marched with his little squad into town, where he found about three thousand rebel troops just getting off the cars. He promptly raised a flag of truce, and boldly rode forward, demanding the surrender of the place, in the name of Colonel Grierson. The commanding rebel officer, Colonel Goodwin, asked one hour to consider the proposition, and wished to know where Captain Forbes would be at that time. The Captain answered that he would go back with the reply to the reserve; which he did pretty rapidly, after having shrewdly ascertained the strength of the enemy. It is not known whether Enterprise ever

surrendered or not, or whether the rebel colonel is still trying to find the 'reserve' to make his penitent bow; but one thing is certain, that Captain Forbes, with his little squad of thirty-five men, did not intend to take those three thousand rebels prisoners—that time at least—and was laughing in his sleeve many miles off while those Enterprise-ing people were trembling in their boots—that is, if, at the present fabulous price of leather, they had any boots to tremble in.

"The *Mobile Register*, of the 28th, in the depth of its consternation and chagrin, treats this ridiculous sell with the most absurd and amusing gravity. 'The only thing satisfactorily explained,' says the oracular *Register*, 'is that they ran away from Enterprise as soon as they heard that "Old Blizzard" was about.' The *Register* little thought that it was only thirty-five brave fellows whom its terrified imagination had converted into 'one thousand five hundred Yankees.'"

On that morning the advance arrived at Brookhaven, where it surprised a body of rebels, taking about two hundred prisoners. Here a camp of instruction, about five hundred tents, and a large supply of small arms were destroyed.

Colonel Grierson, after making feints of moving toward Port Gibson and Natchez, marched, on April 30th, along the New Orleans and Jackson Railroad, destroying all the bridges between Brookhaven and Bogue Chito Station. At the latter place, a number of loaded cars were found and destroyed. He next moved on to Summit, where he destroyed another train of cars.

The Union cavalry force then passed along the country road toward Clinton, and on their way met a body of rebel cavalry, which they engaged and routed. They again pushed on steadily toward the Mississippi River.

"On May 1st, they left camp at daylight, and proceeding in a southwesterly direction through the woods, without regard to roads, came into the Clinton and Osyka road, near a bridge four miles northeast of Wall's Post-office. About eighty of the enemy were lying in ambush near the bridge. Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburn, unfor-

tunately with more bravery than discretion, proceeded across the bridge at the head of the scouts and of company G, Seventh Illinois. He was seriously wounded in the thigh, and slightly in the head. Colonel Prince immediately caused his men to dismount, to skirmish the enemy out of the bushes, and, with the assistance of Captain Smith's battery, soon put them to flight.

"This affair at the bridge detained the column but a few minutes. They marched all night, and crossed the Amite River about ten P. M., without opposition, the picket being asleep. They had marched forty miles this day. They marched again early on the morning of May 2d, and the Sixth Illinois, being in advance, surprised and burned a rebel camp at Sandy Creek bridge. At this point the Seventh Illinois was ordered in advance, and, at about nine A. M., as a crowning glory to this most extraordinary series of adventures, captured forty-two of Stewart's Mississippi Cavalry, on Comite River, including their colonel."

On Friday, May 2d, at about noon, the inhabitants of Baton Rouge were startled by the arrival of a courier, who announced that a brigade of cavalry from General Grant's army had cut their way through the heart of the rebel country and were then only five miles outside of the city.

The information seemed too astounding for belief. At four o'clock, however, there was no longer doubt of the fact; for Colonel Grierson and his heroes were escorted into the city by a company of cavalry belonging to that post. At the picket lines they were welcomed by the commander and his staff, and the cheers of the garrison, as the adventurers entered Baton Rouge, could have been heard for miles.

Their triumphal entry created a furore of joyful excitement that thrilled every loyal heart upon this continent—aye, every heart that loves liberty and human bravery throughout the civilized world.

"Some idea of the pluck and endurance of these men can be gleaned from the fact that during the last thirty hours, in which they had ridden eighty miles, fought two

or three skirmishes, destroyed bridges, camps, equipages, &c., swam a river and captured forty-two prisoners and a large number of horses, they had scarcely halted at all, and went through these terrific exertions without food for man or beast! During the last night, it was observed that nearly the entire column, worn out almost beyond human endurance, were fast asleep upon horseback, except when the sharp report of a carbine told of the nearness of the enemy. And all this was rendered without one word of murmur or complaint from any lip, either of officers or privates."

In fifteen days, eight hundred miles had been traveled, four million dollars' worth of property destroyed, and the alarming, humbling fact forced home on the heart of the foe, that the moment of fancied security might be that of the greatest danger. The news cheered not only the advancing host of General Grant, but also the impatient legions of the Cumberland Army, getting ready to move, with the chivalrous Sheridan's horsemen, to emulate such daring and success.

During the very last days of Colonel Grierson's march, General George Stoneman, chief of cavalry in the Army of the Potomac, was dashing on to Richmond to do a similar work for Hooker, about to move on the enemy, which the former had accomplished for Grant—*i. e.*, cut the communications between the army at Chancellorsville and the capital. In this grand ride through Virginia, General John Buford was one of the most gallant leaders. He and Stoneman graduated at the Military Academy at West Point; the former two years before Sheridan entered that Institution, the latter in 1849, the very summer of his admission. These three, with Kilpatrick, who was also with Stoneman, and afterward with Sherman, form a splendid quartette of cavalry chiefs, whose names will ever shine on the record of national victories, while our flag floats in the breeze.

General Buford was a Kentuckian, born in 1827. He was a finished horseman and officer—a generous, high-minded, loyal man; and died in his prime at Washington, December 16, 1863, of pneumonia and typhoid fever,

contracted in his exhausting marches and exposure, universally lamented. He was a kind, humane commander. After a day's toilsome ride, he not unfrequently, in a wild thunder-storm, would rise from a brief repose to rub down and protect the noble animals which bore their weary riders safely over hostile soil.

General Stoneman was born at Burtis, Chautauque County, New York, August 8, 1822, and, like General Sheridan, went soon after his graduation to the Pacific coast. When the rebellion thundered forth its challenge to freedom in Charleston Harbor, he was in command of Fort Brown in Texas, whose surrender was demanded by General Twiggs of the rebel army. The heroic Stoneman promptly, indignantly, refused. Learning that it was determined to withdraw the Union forces from the State, he immediately chartered a steamer, taking with him whatever he could convey of the Government property, and reached New York the middle of March. The following June, he was major of the cavalry; and in August, 1861, brigadier and chief of cavalry. He is a noble officer and man.

In the raid to co-operate with General Hooker, while Sheridan was drilling his brigade for brilliant work at hand in his department, there was some of the most romantic, perilous, and successful riding in the annals of cavalry service. General Kilpatrick will be more fully noticed in the record of General Sherman's grand marches.

General Grant recorded his own estimate of the raid, officially, a few days after its successful termination:—

Grand Gulf, Mississippi, *May* 6.

Major-General Halleck, General-in-Chief:

I learn that Colonel Grierson, with his cavalry, has been heard of, first, about ten days ago, in Northern Mississippi.

He moved thence and struck the railroad thirty miles east of Jackson, at a point called Newton's Station.

He then moved southward, toward Enterprise, demanded the surrender of the place, and gave one hour's grace, during which General Lormniey arrived.

He left at once and moved toward Hazelhurst, on the New Orleans and Jackson Railroad. At this point he tore up the track. Thence he pushed to Bahala, ten miles further south, on the same road; and thence

eastward, on the Natchez road, where he had a fight with Wirt Adams's cavalry.

From this point he moved back to the New Orleans and Jackson Railroad, to Brookhaven, ten miles south of Bahala, and when last heard from he was three miles from Summit, ten miles south of Brookhaven, and was supposed to be making his way to Baton Rouge.

He had spread excitement throughout the State, destroying railroads, trestleworks, and bridges, burning locomotives and railway stock, taking prisoners, and destroying stores of all kinds.

U. S. Grant, Major-General.

The day after Colonel Grierson had started on his expedition, a party of Union troops, consisting of three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, left Memphis, Tennessee, on a reconnoissance into Mississippi. At Nanconnah, they met a body of rebel cavalry, which, after a brisk fight, was repulsed with some loss. On the 19th, another force of mounted rebels was met, and driven over the Coldwater in confusion. The Union troops having been re-enforced at Hernando, Mississippi, again crossed the Coldwater, and engaged the enemy at that point.

At about the same time General Banks's forces were making a demonstration in the neighborhood of Baton Rouge.

Owing to the limited number of transports below Vicksburg, it was deemed advisable by General Grant to extend his line of land-travel to a little place in Louisiana, on the Mississippi River shore, locally known by the designation of Hard Times. As this place could only be reached by a very circuitous route, the distance between the base of supplies at Milliken's Bend and the advance of the army was increased to seventy miles, with roads entirely unsuited for the operations of an army. But as the place was nearer to the point at which General Grant had intended to land his troops, on the Mississippi side of the river, he was determined that the roads should not prove an obstacle to thwart him in his plans. He therefore detailed a portion of his pioneer force to prepare the line of travel, and to keep it in order after it was constructed.

The Thirteenth Army Corps was embarked during the night of the 28th and early on the morning of the 29th of

April, 1863, and the Seventeenth Corps being well on its way to take their place, General Grant ordered the transports to move over to the front of Grand Gulf. The plan had been for the navy to attack the rebel works, and for the military forces to land under cover of the guns, for the purpose of taking the place by storm. At eight o'clock in the morning, Admiral Porter's fleet opened upon the works, which he engaged for five hours in the most brilliant manner. It, however, soon became evident that the enemy's batteries could not be silenced or taken from the water-front, as the whole range of hills was lined with rifle-pits, supported by field artillery, that could be moved from one position to another with the greatest ease. General Grant determined to change his plan, and effect a landing, if possible, at Rodney, some distance below Grand Gulf. But to do this, it became necessary again to run the rebel batteries. A consultation was held between him and Admiral Porter, and a plan soon formed.

At dark, Admiral Porter's fleet again engaged the batteries, and, under cover of this contest, the transports ran by the rebel works, receiving but two or three shots in the passage, and these not inflicting any material injury.

During the whole of the naval engagement at Grand Gulf, General Grant was on board a tug in the middle of the stream, a witness of the conflict, and ready to move his forces to the assault as soon as the time appeared propitious.

After the withdrawal of the fleet from before Grand Gulf, the troops were again landed at Hard Times, so that the transports might run by the rebel batteries without endangering more lives than was absolutely necessary. These disembarked troops were then marched overland, across the upper end of Coffee's Point and D'Schron's plantation, to the Louisiana shore of the Mississippi River below Grand Gulf.

A reconnoitering party was next sent out to discover the best point at which the troops could cross the river to the Mississippi shore. General McClernand says, in his report of June 17, 1863: "The reconnoissance made by the

cavalry, in pursuance of Major-General Grant's order, indicated Bruinsburg to be the point. Hence, embarking on the morning of the 30th, my corps immediately proceeded to that place, and disembarked before noon."

The advance was now on the Vicksburg side of the river, and every thing was to be subservient to activity and rapid motion. The orders were that there should be no delay under any circumstances. Promptitude was especially necessary, as by that only could success be guaranteed.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, after having halted just long enough to distribute three days' rations, the advance of the Thirteenth Army Corps took up its line of march for the bluffs, three miles from the river. In this movement the corps commander states in his report that he acted "agreeably with General Grant's instructions." The bluffs were, therefore, reached and taken possession of some time before sunset.

The army had started in very light marching order, without trains or baggage, that nothing might interfere with their rapid movements. Each man carried his allotted quantity of rations, and the bivouac, and not the camp, was to be the order of the night. One who participated in the campaign states :—

"Starting on the movement, the general disencumbered himself of every thing, setting an example to his officers and men. He took neither a horse nor a servant, overcoat nor blanket, nor tent nor camp-chest, nor even a clean shirt. His only baggage consisted of a tooth-brush. He always showed his teeth to the rebels. He shared all the hardships of the private soldier, sleeping in the front and in the open air, and eating hard-tack and salt pork. He wore no sword, had on a low-crowned citizen's hat, and the only thing about him to mark him as a military man was his two stars on his undress military coat."

The Thirteenth Army Corps, after reaching the bluffs, pushed on toward Port Gibson, to surprise any enemy that might be found in that neighborhood, and if possible to prevent him from destroying the bridges over Bayou Pierre, on the roads leading to Grand Gulf and to Jack-

son. To accomplish this, the corps made forced marches, and traveled as far as possible along the road during that night.

An exciting, romantic night-march was that of the pioneer volunteers toward Vicksburg. How grand the spectacle, as the ranks for miles sweep along the road under the levee between them and the river; then, turning from it, go winding over the crests of hills, stretching away like a sea of solid waves of orange and emerald hue! Up the precipitous sides of some bold bluff the rows of glittering steel creep, then pass in spectral indistinctness through a deep ravine; now they sweep between wide fields of waving corn, and again over plains of the most fragrant flowers, and through vernal forests, whose magnolias are in full blossom, flinging, from their cups of alabaster, delicious aroma on the midnight air.

The advance of the Thirteenth Army Corps approached the church at about one o'clock on the morning of the first of May, 1863. This church was distant from Bruinsburg about thirteen miles, and from Port Gibson about four miles. As the Fourteenth Division of Grant's army drew near the place, they were accosted by a light fire of rebel musketry, followed at a quick interval by a sharp attack with field artillery. The Union troops were at once formed into line of battle, and their batteries replied to the fire of the rebels. After a short but brisk engagement, the guns of the latter were silenced.

Our forces then withdrew out of range, and patiently waited until morning. At daybreak the fight was renewed by the ordering of the Ninth Division of Grant's army on the road to the left. The First Brigade, while hastening forward to execute this order, encountered the enemy in force, at about half-past five in the morning; and although the rebel position was strong, and the enemy apparently determined to keep it, he was forced to yield the possession, after a severe struggle of over an hour's duration.

The Ninth Division, consisting of two brigades, pressed forward; but the enemy had so obstructed the road that it was soon apparent a front attack would result only

in disaster. A flank movement was then resolved upon, and by a spirited assault upon the right carried the rebel works, captured three pieces of cannon, and routed the enemy.

It also appears from the official reports, that the second position taken by the enemy was much stronger than the first, being located in a creek bottom, covered with trees and underbrush, the approach to which was over open fields, and ragged and exposed hill-slopes.

At break of day, on the morning of Saturday, May 2d, the Thirteenth Army Corps triumphantly entered Port Gibson, through which place, and across the south branch of the Bayou Pierre, the enemy had hastily fled the night before, burning the bridge across that stream in his rear. This bridge was even burning when the advance entered Port Gibson, and it was necessary to remain a few hours in that village, until a floating bridge could be constructed.

While this was being built, the rebels appeared on the opposite side of the Bayou Pierre, both above and below the town, and a desultory fire ensued between the belligerents, without any material damage to either side. In the afternoon the bridge was completed, and the advance crossed over.

Three miles beyond Port Gibson, on the Raymond road, the Union army came across two large piles of bacon belonging to the rebel army, and of at least fifty thousand pounds weight. The army next came upon the upper causeway across the Bayou Pierre, which, being a substantial iron suspension bridge, the rebels had not time to completely destroy, although they left behind them evidences of their attempts at its destruction.

This bridge repaired, the Union army passed over it, and came to the cross-roads near the site of an old town which once rejoiced in the name of Willow Springs. As the army was proceeding leisurely along the road, a battery opened upon them with shell at short range, causing a few casualties. The advance was next drawn up in line of battle, and moved slowly forward until the rebel position was attained. The rebels then soon retired with unusual haste.

The advance of the Union army then pushed on to the bank of the Big Black River, where it arrived shortly before dark, and was received with a sharp fire of musketry. Lines of skirmishers were quickly formed, and the rebel troops driven across the river. Their rear-guard attempted to destroy the pontoon bridge; but in this design they were frustrated by the rapid movements of the sharpshooters of the Union army. After exchanging a few shell and shot, all was quiet for a time.

This part of the army was seven miles beyond Grand Gulf, and within eighteen miles of Vicksburg. While passing through a deep ravine to reach the above position, the troops met a strong line of rebel skirmishers, and, after an engagement of about two hours, the latter retired, closely followed. Several prisoners were taken, from whom it was ascertained that Grand Gulf had been evacuated and the rebel magazine blown up. This was owing to two causes; first, the flanking of the position by General Grant; and secondly, the severe bombardment it received at the hands of Admiral Porter.

Finding that Grand Gulf had been evacuated, and that the advance of the Union forces was already fifteen miles on the road they would have to take to reach either Vicksburg, Jackson, or any point of the railroad between those cities, General Grant determined not to stop the troops in their victorious course, for the purpose of furnishing himself with an escort due to his rank, but took with him some fifteen men, and proceeded in person to the position, where he made the necessary arrangements for changing his base of supplies from Bruinsburg to Grand Gulf.

From this point he telegraphed to the Government the complete success of the first part of his movement. The document, it will be noted, is remarkably modest, considering the value of the work accomplished, and was as follows:—

GRAND GULF, MISS., *May* 3, 1863.

Major General HALLECK, General-in-Chief:

We landed at Bruinsburg, April 30th; moved immediately on Port Gibson; met the enemy, eleven thousand strong, four miles south of Port Gibson, at two o'clock A. M., on the 1st inst., and engaged him all day, en-

tirely routing him with the loss of many killed, and about five hundred prisoners, besides the wounded. Our loss, about one hundred killed and five hundred wounded.

The enemy retreated toward Vicksburg, destroying the bridges over the two forks of the Bayou Pierre. These were rebuilt; and the pursuit has continued until the present time.

Besides the heavy artillery at the place, four field-pieces were captured, and some stores; and the enemy were driven to destroy many more.

The country is the most broken and difficult to operate in I ever saw.

Our victory has been most complete, and the enemy is thoroughly demoralized. Very respectfully,

U. S. Grant, Major-General Commanding.

Governor Yates, of Illinois, who was on a visit to the army at the time of the movement, and had necessarily to participate therein, telegraphed at the same time to the officials at his State capital, as follows:—

Grand Gulf, Miss., *May* 3, 1863.

We gained a glorious victory at Port Gibson, on the 1st instant.

The enemy are in full retreat. Our forces are in close pursuit. The Illinois troops, as usual, behaved with the greatest gallantry. The loss on our side is one hundred and fifty killed and five hundred wounded.

We have taken one thousand prisoners. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was much greater than ours.

Richard Yates.

On the same night that Grand Gulf had been taken possession of, several barges, loaded with stores, were sent down past the Vicksburg batteries. The firing was very heavy upon some of them, and a shell, bursting in the midst of a quantity of cotton and hay, destroyed the vessels, and compelled those on board to surrender.

General Grant, to deceive the rebel authorities at Richmond, Chattanooga, and elsewhere, as to the precise direction from which he intended to strike at Vicksburg, and also to prevent heavy re-enforcements from being sent to Grand Gulf from that place, ordered very excellent feints to be made in all directions.

Among others, he ordered Colonel Corwyn, with his cavalry brigade, to go down the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, on the east of his line of operations, and threaten an attack upon all the rebel posts along that road. On the

6th of May, a fight took place between the Union cavalry and the rebel forces under General Ruggles, at Tupello—a railroad station in Itawamba County, Mississippi—and, after a half-hour's conflict, the rebels retreated in disorder, leaving behind them their arms, equipments, and ninety of their men prisoners.

On the north, General Grant ordered a still more valuable feint. In moving from Milliken's Bend, the Fifteenth Army Corps had been set apart to bring up the rear, and consequently, under that order, it was to be the last to start upon the southern march. General Sherman, commanding the Fifteenth Corps, had made every preparation to move by April 26, 1863, on which day he received a letter from General Grant, who was near New Carthage, ordering him to delay his march, in consequence of the state of the roads, until the system of canals, then in process of construction, could be completed.

On the 28th of April, General Sherman received a letter in cipher, fixing the time when General Grant proposed to attack Grand Gulf, and stating that a simultaneous feint on the enemy's batteries near Haines's Bluff, on the Yazoo River, would be most desirable, provided it could be done without the ill effect on the army and the country of the appearance of a repulse. Knowing well that the army could distinguish a feint from a real attack, by succeeding events, General Sherman made the necessary orders, embarked the Second Division on ten steam transports, and sailed for the Yazoo River.

At ten o'clock on the morning of April 29th, General Sherman, with this force, proceeded to the mouth of the Yazoo River, where he found several vessels of the fleet, ready to co-operate with the feigned movement. This fact alone proves how well General Grant and Admiral Porter had agreed upon the plan of operations, and how they worked in harmony together; neither one being jealous of the other's fame, but both being ready to do battle in their country's service, and for the common cause.

The united forces then went up the Yazoo River, in proper order, and lay for the night of April 29th at the mouth of the Chickasaw Bayou. The next morning, at an

early hour, the fleet advanced within easy range of the enemy's batteries. The gunboats at once made an attack upon the works, and for four hours kept up the demonstration. The vessels were then called out of range; and toward evening, General Sherman disembarked his troops, in full view of the enemy, making preparations as if to assault the works. As soon as the landing was effected, the gunboats reopened their fire upon the rebel defenses.

The perceptible activity of the enemy, in moving the guns, artillery, and infantry, gave evidence that they expected a real attack; and, keeping up a show of this intent until dark, General Sherman succeeded in accomplishing the full object of his ruse. At night the troops re-embarked; but during the whole of the next day similar movements were made, accompanied by reconnoissances of all the country on both sides of the Yazoo River. While thus engaged, he received instructions from General Grant to hasten and rejoin him at Grand Gulf.

The two divisions of General Sherman's corps that had remained at Milliken's Bend were at once ordered to march, and to join General Grant by way of Richmond, Louisiana, while he, at the head of the Second Division, kept up his feint on the Yazoo River until night. General Sherman then quietly dropped back to his camp at Young's Point, when the whole corps, with the exception of one division left behind as a garrison, marched to Hard Times, four miles above Grand Gulf, on the Louisiana shore, where it arrived on the morning of May 6th, after traveling sixty-three miles on foot. During the night of the 6th, and the morning of the 7th, the forces were ferried over the river, and on the 8th commenced their march into the interior.

A junction was to have been formed between the forces under General Grant and those under General Banks; but, in consequence of the position of the troops under the latter general, this movement was found to require a much greater delay and loss of time than could be afforded, as will be seen from the following extract from the official report:—

Wrote General Grant: "About this time (May 4th), I

received a letter from General Banks, giving his position west of the Mississippi River, and stating that he could return to Baton Rouge by the 10th of May; that, by the reduction of Port Hudson, he could join me with twelve thousand men.

"I learned about the same time, that troops were expected at Jackson from the Southern cities, with General Beauregard in command. To delay until the 10th of May, and for the reduction of Port Hudson after that, the accession of twelve thousand men would not leave me relatively so strong as to move promptly with what I had. Information received from day to day, of the movements of the enemy, also impelled me to the course I pursued."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ARMY APPROACH VICKSBURG.

General Grant's Head-Quarters moved forward to Hawkinson's Ferry.—The Rebel Governor Alarmed.—General Grant's Congratulatory Order.—He Telegraphs to Washington.—Fall of Jackson.—The Army at Bolton.—Clinton.—Champion's Hill.—Crossing the River.—The Investment of the City.

General Grant secured a sufficient amount of supplies for his columns, and arranged the order of march while at Grand Gulf.

May 7th he removed his head-quarters to Hawkinson's Ferry, on the Black River, leaving Sherman to guard the captured post, during the few hours it would be of service for the landing of the remainder of the supplies.

While lying at Hawkinson's Ferry, waiting for the wagons, supplies, and Sherman's corps to come up, demonstrations were made to make the enemy believe that the routes to Vicksburg by that ferry, and the one by Hall's Ferry, which was a short distance higher up the river, were very desirable to General Grant. To impress this idea still further upon the minds of the rebel generals, reconnoitering parties were sent out along the roads, on the west side of the Big Black River, to within six miles of Warrenton. The artifice was completely successful.

In the mean time, Mississippi was called to arms to resist the advance of General Grant.

General Grant's plans had been too carefully studied to be thwarted by any suddenly improvised forces that the Governor could then raise.

On the morning of the 7th of May, a general advance was ordered. The Thirteenth Army Corps was directed to move along the ridge road from Wilton Springs; the Seventeenth was to keep the road nearest the Black River to Rocky Springs; and the Fifteenth was to divide in two parts, and follow. All the ferries were closely guarded

until the troops were well advanced, to prevent surprise on the flanks, and also to mislead the enemy as to the intention of the movement.

Before the troops were started on this march, the following congratulatory order was read at the head of every regiment:—

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE, IN THE FIELD,
HAWKINSON'S FERRY, *May* 7.

Soldiers of the Army of Tennessee:

Once more I thank you for adding another victory to the long list of those previously won by your valor and endurance. The triumph gained over the enemy near Port Gibson, on the 1st, was one of the most important of the war. The capture of five cannon and more than one thousand prisoners, the possession of Grand Gulf, and a firm foothold on the highlands between the Big Black and Bayou Pierre, from whence we threaten the whole line of the enemy, are among the fruits of this brilliant achievement.

The march from Milliken's Bend to the point opposite Grand Gulf was made in stormy weather, over the worst of roads. Bridges and ferries had to be constructed. Moving by night, as well as by day, with labor incessant, and extraordinary privations endured by men and officers, such as have been rarely paralleled in any campaign, not a murmur of complaint has been uttered. A few days' continuance of the same zeal and constancy will secure to this army crowning victories over the rebellion.

More difficulties and privations are before us; let us endure them manfully. Other battles are to be fought; let us fight them bravely. A grateful country will rejoice at our success, and history will record it with immortal honor.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General Commanding.

It seems that General Grant had intended, while at Hawkinson's Ferry, to have moved the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Army Corps in such a manner as to hug the Black River as closely as possible, that they might be able to strike the Jackson and Vicksburg Railroad at some point between Edwards's Station and Bolton. The Seventeenth Army Corps was to move by way of Utica to Raymond, thence to Jackson, at which place, and in its vicinity, the railroad, telegraph, and public stores were to be destroyed, after which, the corps was to move west, and rejoin the main army.

The commander-in-chief was not behind his troops; but, as they advanced, he continually changed his head-

quarters and his line of communications, keeping with the center of the army, that he might the better direct the movements of his three columns.

When he had advanced far enough to be sure of his position, he sent the following telegraphic message to the Government at Washington:—

In the Field, *May* 11, 1863.

To Major-General Halleck, General-in-Chief:

My force will be this evening as far advanced along Fourteen Mile Creek, the left near Black River, and extending in a line nearly east and west, as they can get, without bringing on a general engagement.

I shall communicate with Grand Gulf no more, except it becomes necessary to send a train with a heavy escort.

You may not hear from me again for several days.

U. S. Grant, Major-General.

The dispatch clearly intimates that General Grant had intended to cut an opening through the enemy's lines, and communicate with the general-in-chief by a more northern route. When the dispatch was sent, he foresaw the success of this plan, and as he personally superintended all the movements of his army, and had not to depend upon any other outside co-operation than that of the fleet, he doubtless felt sure he could not fail through lack of proper combination at the right time. He also, in breaking up this line of communication, by way of Grand Gulf, prevented the enemy from cutting off his supplies; and he had taken the precaution to have with him all that was needed, until he was ready to open up the new line by the Yazoo.

The Fifteenth Army Corps moved forward on the Edwards's Station road, and crossed the Fourteen Mile Creek at Dillon's plantation. The Thirteenth Army Corps crossed the same creek a short distance further west, making a demonstration along the road toward Baldwin's Ferry, as if to advance upon Vicksburg or Warrenton by that route.

While crossing the creek, both corps had to skirmish considerably with the enemy to gain possession of the right of way; but, under the persistent attacks of the Union

troops, the rebels gave way, and the army moved toward the railroad in splendid order.

In the mean time, the Seventeenth Army Corps was steadily advancing upon Raymond, but met with resolute opposition from the rebels, who were stationed in two brigades, under Generals Gregg and Walker, at a point in the road about two miles southwest of that village. General Logan's division came upon the troops, estimated at about ten thousand, posted on Fondren's Creek, at ten o'clock on Tuesday morning, May 12th, and brisk skirmishing began at once, followed by a general engagement. The enemy (as in front of General Sherman) was almost wholly concealed at first by the woods bordering the stream, behind which their forces were posted. Their artillery was on an eminence that commanded the approach, and the Union troops had to cross an open field, exposed to a terrible fire. The First and Second Brigades were in the thickest of the contest, and suffered most. After three hours' hard fighting, the enemy withdrew sullenly in two columns—the principal one taking the road to Jackson.

General Grant, in his report of this action, states that the fighting was very hard; that the enemy were driven, with heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and that many of the rebels threw down their arms and deserted their cause.

When he discovered that the enemy had retreated from Raymond to Jackson, he, on the night of May 12th, diverted the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Army Corps from their intended route, and ordered them both to move toward Raymond, at which place he established his head-quarters on the evening of May 13th.

The next day, General Grant sent the following dispatch by way of Memphis:—

RAYMOND, MISS., *May* 14, 1863.

Major-General HALLECK, General-in-Chief:

McPherson took this place on the 12th inst., after a brisk fight of more than two hours.

Our loss was fifty-one killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded. The enemy's loss was seventy-five killed (buried by us), and one hundred and eighty-six prisoners captured, besides the wounded.

McPherson is now at Clinton. General Sherman is on the direct Jackson road, and General McClernand is bringing up the rear.

I will attack the State capital to-day.

U. S. Grant, Major-General.

The commander at Memphis, before receiving the above dispatch from General Grant, sent the following to Washington :—

Memphis, Tenn., *May* 17, 1863.

Major-General Halleck, General-in-Chief:

Papers of the 14th from Vicksburg and Jackson report that Grant defeated Gregg's brigade at Raymond, on Tuesday, the 12th. The rebel loss is admitted in the papers at seven hundred.

The next day Gregg was re-enforced by General W. H. T. Walker, of Georgia, when he was attacked at Mississippi Springs, and driven toward Jackson on Thursday.

General Joseph Johnston arrived at Jackson on the 13th, and went out toward Vicksburg with three brigades.

The force which General Grant fought, viz., Gregg's brigade, was from Port Hudson, while Walker's was from Jordan.

Every horse fit for service in Mississippi is claimed by the rebel government, to mount their troops.

Grant has struck the railroad.

S. A. Hurlbut, Major-General.

The Seventeenth Army Corps had moved up to Clinton, on the Jackson and Vicksburg Railroad, during the previous day, May 13th, to be able to make the movement along that railroad to Jackson, simultaneously with that of the Fifteenth Army Corps, by way of the Raymond and Jackson turnpike road.

Clinton was no sooner taken possession of, than parties were sent out to destroy the track and telegraph; and while engaged on this duty, several important dispatches from General Pemberton to General Gregg, both of the rebel forces, were captured, and taken to General Grant's head-quarters.

As the Seventeenth Army Corps advanced along the railroad, a parallel line of march was kept up by the Fifteenth Army Corps, along the turnpike road, by way of Mississippi Springs, while the Thirteenth Army Corps occupied Raymond.

On May 14th, the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps moved, with their whole force, then present on the field, upon Jackson—the march being made amidst a heavy storm of rain, which fell in torrents, from midnight of the 13th until noon of the 14th. The roads were therefore in the most horrible condition—at first slippery, next ankle-deep in mud. "Notwithstanding this," says General Grant, "the troops marched in excellent order, without straggling, and in the best of spirits, nearly fourteen miles, and engaged the enemy, at about twelve o'clock noon, near Jackson."

As the two corps marched toward Jackson, the Thirteenth garrisoned the places they had vacated, one division occupying Clinton, another holding Mississippi Springs, while a third took possession of Raymond. General Blair's division of the Fifteenth Corps guarded the wagon-train at New Auburn, and the road to Utica was held by an advancing brigade of the Seventeenth Corps that had not, since the movement commenced, been joined to the main column. These forces were kept back as a corps of reserve, if necessary, and ready to move in either direction, toward Jackson or Vicksburg.

When General Joseph E. Johnston, who commanded the rebel forces at Jackson, saw that Grant's troops were marching upon him, he determined to meet them on the outside of the city, and delay their advance as long as possible, to give him an opportunity to remove a portion, if not the whole, of the property of the rebel government then at Jackson. As his forces were small in numbers, he ordered a feigned resistance to be made with artillery, supported by a small body of infantry, against the advance of the Fifteenth Army Corps by the turnpike road, while, with the bulk of his army, he marched out on the Clinton road, and engaged the Seventeenth Corps about two and a half miles from the city.

The advance of the skirmishers of the Fifteenth soon drove in the rebels; they took refuge in their rifle-pits, which had been thrown up just outside the city of Jackson. General Sherman, the commander, soon learned the weakness of the enemy by a reconnoissance to his right;

and his flank movement caused an evacuation of the rebel position on this part of their line.

Meanwhile, General McPherson, at the head of two divisions of the Seventeenth Corps, engaged the main forces from Jackson, without any support, or requiring any further aid. After a very spirited contest of over two hours' duration, he defeated the rebel forces, and the disheartened and beaten troops retreated northward, along the Canton road, leaving the city in the hands of the conquerors. A pursuit was immediately ordered; but the rebels had escaped—their retreat having been made in the greatest haste.

The following is General Grant's modest dispatch concerning this brilliant operation :—

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, *May* 15, 1863.

Major-General H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief, Washington:

This place fell into our hands yesterday, after a fight of about three hours.

Joe Johnston was in command.

The enemy retreated north, evidently with the design of joining the Vicksburg forces.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

General Grant entered the town of Jackson on the afternoon of the 14th, and held a consultation with the commanders of the two corps which had taken possession of the city. To prevent any unjustifiable plunder or marauding, the troops were encamped on the outskirts of the city during the night. General Grant ordered the rifle-pits to be occupied at once, and on the following day to destroy effectually the railroad tracks in and about Jackson, and all the property belonging to the enemy.

Accordingly, on the morning of May 15th, one division was set to work to destroy the railroad and property to the south and east of the city, including the Pearl River bridge, while another division was engaged on the road to the north and west. This work of destruction was so well performed that Jackson, as a railroad or military center, or as a dépôt of stores or military supplies, was completely ruined for the time being. The roads were laid

waste for at least four miles to the east of Jackson, three miles south, three miles north, and nearly ten miles west. Cavalry raids were also sent along the road running toward Meridian, and cut the railroad at Brandon and elsewhere.

In the city itself, the arsenal building, government foundery, a gun-carriage establishment, including the carriages for two complete batteries of artillery, military carpenter's shop, stables, and paint-shops were at once destroyed. Some convicts who had broken loose succeeded in setting fire to the penitentiary during the time the military were thus engaged. A valuable cotton factory was also demolished. General Sherman, in speaking of the destruction of this establishment, says: "This factory was the property of the Messrs. Greene, who made strong appeals, based on the fact that it gave employment to very many females and poor families; and that, although it had woven cloth for the enemy, its principal use was in weaving cloth for the people. But I decided that machinery of that kind could so easily be converted into hostile uses, that the United States could better afford to compensate the Messrs. Greene for their property, and for the poor families thus thrown out of employment, than to spare the property. I therefore assured all such families that, if want should force them, they might come to the river, where we would feed them until they could find employment or seek refuge in some more peaceful land."

General Grant, after he had taken possession of the State capital of Mississippi, on May 14th, obtained some very important information relative to the plans of the rebel army; and, among other things, ascertained that General Johnston had ordered General Pemberton peremptorily to move out of Vicksburg and attack the United States forces in the rear. He at once ordered the Thirteenth Army Corps and General Blair's division of the Fifteenth Army Corps to face their troops toward Bolton, with a view of marching upon Edwards's Station. These troops, being admirably located for such a move, marched along different roads converging near Bolton, and it resulted in a complete success. The Seventeenth Army

Corps was ordered to retrace its steps to Clinton, and commenced its march early on the morning of the 15th of May. The remainder of the Fifteenth Army Corps was left at Jackson to destroy every thing that might have been or was capable of being used in a hostile manner by the enemy.

At half-past nine o'clock on the morning of the 15th, a division of the Thirteenth Army Corps occupied Bolton, capturing a number of prisoners, and driving away the rebel pickets from the post.

On the afternoon of the same day, General Grant removed his head-quarters to Clinton, where he arrived at about a quarter to five o'clock P. M. It will be seen that, during the successive changes in the position of the army, General Grant was always in the immediate vicinity of his fighting troops, directing their movements.

The Seventeenth Army Corps having passed through Clinton to the support of the right of the Thirteenth, General Grant ordered General McClernand to move his command, early the next morning, upon Edwards's Station, marching so as to feel the enemy; but not to bring on a general engagement unless he felt sure of defeating the force before him. In accordance with this order, cavalry reconnoissances were sent out toward the picket lines of the enemy; three good roads were discovered leading from the Bolton and Raymond road to Edwards's Station; and, on the night of the 15th of May, the necessary orders were given for the advance of the corps on the morrow.

An account of the battle of Champion's Hill is given by a participant:—

"The programme of the advance was arranged by General Grant and General McClernand, as follows:—Extreme left, General Smith, supported by General Blair; on the right of General Smith, General Osterhaus, supported by General Carr; General Hovey in the center, with General McPherson's corps on the extreme right, with General Crocker as reserve. In this order the advance was made, General McClernand's corps, with the exception of General Hovey's division, reaching the position by way of the several roads leading from Raymond to Edwards's Station.

"The enemy's first demonstration was upon our extreme left, which they attempted to turn. This attempt was most gallantly repulsed by General Smith, commanding the left wing. At seven o'clock the skirmishers were actively engaged; and, as the enemy sought the cover of the forest, our artillery fire was opened, which continued without intermission for two hours. At this time General Ransom's brigade marched on the field, and took up a position, as reserve, behind General Carr.

"Now the battle raged fearfully along the entire line, the evident intention of the enemy being to mass his forces upon Hovey on the center. There the fight was most earnest; but General McPherson brought his forces into the field, and, after four hours' hard fighting, the tide of battle was turned, and the enemy forced to retire.

"Disappointed in his movements upon our right, the rebels turned their attention to the left of Hovey's division, where Colonel Slack commanded a brigade of Indianians. Massing his forces here, the enemy hurled them against the opposing columns with irresistible impetuosity, and forced them to fall back; not, however, until at least one quarter of the troops comprising the brigade were either killed or wounded. Taking a new position, and receiving fresh re-enforcements, our soldiers again attempted to stem the tide, this time with eminent success. The enemy was beaten back, and compelled to seek the cover of the forest in his rear. Following up their advantage, without waiting to re-form, the soldiers of the Western army fixed their bayonets and charged into the woods after them. The rebels were seized with an uncontrollable panic, and thought only of escape. In this terrible charge, men were slaughtered without mercy. The ground was literally covered with the dead and dying. The enemy scattered in every direction, and rushed through the fields to reach the column now moving to the west, along the Vicksburg road. At three o'clock in the afternoon the battle was over and the victory won."

General Johnston's dispatch thus announced the defeat of the rebel forces:—

CAMP BETWEEN LIVINGSTON AND BROWNSVILLE, MISSISSIPPI, *May* 18, 1863.

To General S. COOPER:

Lieutenant-General Pemberton was attacked by the enemy on the morning of the 16th inst., near Edwards's Dépôt, and, after nine hours' fighting, was compelled to fall back behind the Big Black.

J. E. JOHNSTON, General Commanding.

The dispatch also shows the position of the forces that retreated from Jackson, and how, by General Grant's rapid movements, they had been cut off from forming a junction with Pemberton.

Before leaving Clifton, General Grant apprised General Sherman of the approaching engagement at Edwards's Station, and ordered him to advance upon Bolton as rapidly as possible. The dispatch was received on the morning of May 16th, and, with his usual promptitude, one of his divisions marched at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and he followed with the other at noon.

The whole corps advanced during that day from Jackson to Bolton, nearly twenty miles, and the next morning, by order of General Grant, resumed the march, by a road lying north of Baker's Creek, to Bridgeport, on the Big Black River, where it arrived at noon. At this point General Blair's division, by order of General Grant, rejoined the command.

The success at Champion's Hill was the cause of this change of route, and, as the enemy had fallen back over the Big Black River, toward Vicksburg, it was necessary that means of crossing should be supplied to the pursuing troops. When General Sherman arrived at Bridgeport, he found that General Grant had looked after this vital point, for in his official report he says: "There I found General Blair's division and the pontoon train." The pontoon bridge was laid, and two divisions crossed the river that night, the third following the next morning.

The defeated rebels fell back from Edwards's Station to the Black River, which they crossed by means of the railroad bridge. At daylight, on May 17th, the pursuit was renewed, with General McClernand's Thirteenth

Army Corps in the advance. The enemy was found strongly posted on both sides of the Black River. At this point of the stream the bluffs extend to the water's edge on the west or Vicksburg bank, while on the east side is an open, cultivated bottom of nearly one mile in width, surrounded by a bayou of stagnant water, from two to three feet in depth, and from ten to twenty feet in width, running from the river above the railroad to the river below. The enemy, by constructing a line of rifle-pits along the outside edge of this bayou, had formed it into a natural ditch before a fortified work. The spot was well chosen for defense, and gave to the enemy every advantage.

The position had, however, to be carried before Vicksburg could be reached; and notwithstanding the level ground over which a portion of the troops had to pass without cover, and the great obstacle of the bayou in front of the enemy's works, the charge was gallantly and successfully made, and in a few minutes the entire garrison with seventeen pieces of artillery were the trophies of this brilliant and daring movement.

When the rebels on the west bank of the river discovered that the position on the level below was sure to be taken, they destroyed the railroad bridge by fire, with the intent of preventing General Grant's army from crossing the Big Black River: but in this operation they merely cut off every chance of escape for the garrison on the eastern bank, and the men were therefore all taken prisoners with their arms and equipments.

The enemy had, earlier in the day, out of the hulls of three steamboats, constructed a bridge, over which he had passed the main body of his army. As the charge was made, and it became evident that we should capture the position, they burned this bridge, and also the railroad bridge across the river just above.

In the afternoon several attempts were made to cross the river, but the sharpshooters lined the bluffs beyond and entirely prevented it. Later, the main body of the sharpshooters were dispersed by our artillery. It was not, however, safe to stand upon the bank, or cross the open field

east of the bridge, until after dark, when the enemy withdrew altogether.

General Sherman, who, with the Fifteenth Corps, during the time the battle of Black River was fought, had reached Bridgeport by the morning of May 18th, had crossed to the west side of the stream, and was ready for the onward march. It appears by General Grant's report, that "the only pontoon train with the expedition was with him;" and as the rebels had destroyed the railroad bridge, it became necessary, in order to get the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Corps across the river, to build floating bridges, which were constructed during the night of May 18th, and early morning of the next day.

At eight o'clock, the two army corps were ready to make the crossing. The Fifteenth Corps were now ordered in the advance, and commenced moving along the Bridgeport and Vicksburg road at a very early hour.

As the corps arrived within three and a half miles of Vicksburg, the men turned to the right, to get possession of the Walnut Hills, and to open a communication with the fleet in the Yazoo River. This manœuver was successfully accomplished by the evening of May 18th.

The Seventeenth Corps followed the Jackson road until it connected with the same road previously taken by the Fifteenth. The former then took up the line of march to the rear of the latter, and about nightfall arrived at the point of the road where General Sherman had turned off toward the Yazoo River.

The Thirteenth Corps had moved by the Jackson and Vicksburg road to Mount Albans, whence it turned to the left, for the purpose of striking the Baldwin's Ferry road.

"By this disposition," says General Grant, "the three army corps covered all the ground their strength would admit of, and by the morning of the 19th of May the investment of Vicksburg was made as complete as could be by the forces under my command."

As the army advanced, it was continually met by the rebel skirmishers, who fell back steadily to their works before the city. "Relying," adds Grant, "upon the demoralization of the enemy, in consequence of repeated

defeats outside of Vicksburg, I ordered a general assault at two P. M., on this day."

At the appointed signal, the line of the Fifteenth Army Corps advanced, and made a vigorous assault; but the other two corps succeeded only in securing advanced positions, where they were covered from the enemy's fire.

The ground to the right and left of the road by which the Fifteenth Corps advanced was cut up in deep chasms, filled with standing and falling timber, and was so impracticable that the line was slow and irregular in reaching the trenches. The object was finally attained, and the colors of the Thirteenth United States Infantry planted on the exterior slope of the works. But this was not accomplished without serious loss. General Sherman reports that the "commander of the regiment was mortally wounded, and five other officers were wounded more or less severely. Seventy-seven, out of two hundred and fifty men, are reported killed or wounded." Two other regiments reached the position about the same time, held their ground, and fired upon any head that presented itself above the parapet; but it was found impossible to enter the works. The fight was continued till night; the men were still outside the defenses, and the assaulting column was then withdrawn to a more sheltered position, for the purpose of bivouac.

The army crossed the river early on Monday morning, over the bridge constructed during the night.

The action began by a slow fire from our artillery along the whole line, our guns having a pretty long range, and eliciting but feeble response from the enemy.

About noon, Osterhaus's division advanced on the left to within about six hundred yards of the enemy's works, to find themselves confronted by fifteen redoubts, with their rifle-pits, which opened fire upon us whenever we appeared on a crest or through a hollow.

The guns of the rebels appeared to be of small caliber, throwing principally grape and canister. Our skirmishers were thrown further up; but little firing was done on either side.

At two o'clock the order came for a general advance

upon the rebel works, over ground which, on the left, at least, was almost impassable under the most peaceful circumstances. The order seemed a hard one; yet nothing is too hard for true soldiers to try.

General A. L. Lee, who commanded the First Brigade of Osterhaus's division, and was in the advance, determined to carry out his orders if their execution was possible. Addressing a few words of cheer to his men, he placed himself in front of the center of his brigade, led them forward in line of battle, and was the first man to gain the crest of the hill which he was attempting. He then found that it was only the first of several ridges which were to be crossed, the ravines between which were swept by the guns of the enemy's redoubts. Still he tried to press on, and his brigade of young fellows to follow him, the air, in the mean time, thick with bullets and shells; but a ball from the rifle of a sharpshooter struck him on the face, and he fell. His brigade withdrew a few feet only, behind the crest of the hill on which they had just raised, and held their position; one of the regiments getting so favorable a point, that they were able to remain within about two hundred yards of one of the redoubts, and to prevent the gunners from firing a single shot.

General Lee, though severely, was by no means dangerously wounded. His brigade sustained a much smaller loss than a distant observer could have believed possible.

The same degree of success, or want of success, attended the movement along the whole line. Our forces moved very close to the works, and then remained waiting and watching for the near approach of our artillery. At nightfall our troops retired a short distance and went into camp. During the night, heavy siege-guns were planted by us for future use, our light artillery moved nearer, and a slight earthwork was thrown up to protect them.

The official dispatches from General Pemberton, the commander at Vicksburg, were sent to Jackson, Miss., and from thence telegraphed to the rebel President Davis:—

VICKSBURG, *May* 20, 1863.

The enemy assaulted our intrenchments yesterday on our center and left. They were repulsed with heavy loss. Our loss is small. The enemy's force is at least sixty thousand.

VICKSBURG, *May* 21, 1863.

The enemy kept up a heavy artillery fire yesterday. Two of our guns were dismounted in the center. Our works, however, were uninjured. Their sharpshooters picked off officers and men all day. Our works were repaired, and our guns replaced last night. Our men are encouraged by a report that General Johnston is near with a large army, and are in good spirits.

We have had a brisk artillery and musketry firing to-day, also heavy mortar firing from gun-boats.

During the past two days transports with troops have gone up the river. Their destination is unknown.

After the withdrawal of the forces from before Vicksburg, the army, for two days, was kept in a state of comparative inactivity, although lively skirmishing occurred all along the line. General Grant was engaged in perfecting communications with the dépôts of supplies north of the invested city. The greater part of the troops had been marching, and fighting battles for twenty days, on an average of about five days' rations, drawn from the commissary department. Although the men had not suffered up to this time, they began to feel the want of bread with the other food they had, and to remedy this deficiency was the commander's first object.

By the 21st of May, he had completed arrangements for the drawing of every description of supply, and was determined to make another effort to take the city of Vicksburg by storm.

He was induced to again make the assault upon the rebel defenses of Vicksburg from considerations which will be at once appreciated by reading a quotation from his report: "There were many reasons to determine me to adopt this course. I believed an assault, from the position gained by this time, could be made successfully. It was known that Johnston was at Canton with the force taken by him from Jackson, re-enforced by other troops from the East, and that more were daily reaching him. With the force I had, a short time must have enabled him to attack me in the rear, and, possibly, succeed in raising the siege. Possession of Vicksburg at that time would have enabled me to have turned upon Johnston and

driven him from the State, and possess myself of all the railroads and practical military highways, thus effectually securing to ourselves all territory west of the Tombigbee, and this before the season was too far advanced for campaigning in this latitude. I would have saved the Government sending large re-enforcements, much needed elsewhere; and, finally, the troops themselves were impatient to possess Vicksburg, and would not have worked in the trenches with the same zeal, believing it unnecessary, that they did after their failure to carry the enemy's works."

General Grant prepared for a general assault at ten o'clock the next morning, by the whole line; and, that there should be no mistake in the time, when so much often depends upon minutes, all the corps commanders set their chronometers by the one in the possession of General Grant.

The order was issued to the corps commanders:—

HEAD-QUARTERS IN THE FIELD, *May* 21, 1863.

GENERAL:—A simultaneous attack will be made to-morrow at ten o'clock A. M., by all the army corps of this army.

During this day, army corps commanders will have examined all practical routes over which troops can possibly pass. They will get in position all the artillery possible, and gain all the ground they can with their infantry and skirmishers.

At an early hour in the morning a vigorous attack will be commenced by artillery and skirmishers. The infantry, with the exception of reserves and skirmishers, will be placed in column of platoons, or by a flank, if the ground over which they may have to pass will not admit of a greater front, ready to move forward at the hour designated. Promptly at the hour designated all will start, at quick time, with bayonet fixed, and march immediately upon the enemy, without firing a gun until the outer works are carried. Skirmishers will advance as soon as possible after heads of columns pass them, and scale the walls of such works as may confront them.

By order of U. S. GRANT, Major-General Commanding.

Five minutes before ten o'clock, on the morning of May 22d, the bugles rang along the line to prepare for the charge, and, at ten o'clock precisely, the three army corps commenced their movement in the following order: General McClernand, with the Thirteenth Army Corps on the

left, General McPherson, with the Seventeenth in the center, and General Sherman, with the Fifteenth on the right. General Grant himself took up a commanding position near the front of the Seventeenth Corps, by which he was enabled to see all the advancing columns from that corps, and part of each of those on the right and left.

The preliminary work had been performed by the artillery, and the outer works were breached in several places. Under cover of this fire, the infantry advanced to the charge. Brigade after brigade rushed forward, and slope and ditch were carried at the point of the bayonet. The Stars and Stripes were planted on several portions of the outer slopes of the enemy's bastions, and they were maintained in that position until night. The assault was a splendid one, and was gallantly performed by all the troops on every part of the line; but the position of the enemy could not be thus taken. Vicksburg had always been naturally strong, and art had greatly improved it by the cutting of ditches, felling of trees, construction of works, and, what is of far more importance, the proper location of batteries to guard every avenue of approach. General Sherman reported that the artillery fire from the rebel works, on one part of his line, was so steady and severe, that it was impossible for the infantry to pass that point; and, even when an attempt was made to take the death-dealing works, it was found to be so well covered by others, that the assaulting party recoiled under the effects of a staggering fire.

Notwithstanding this fearful artillery reply to the onset, there were instances of individual bravery never surpassed. The walls were scaled, but with no successful result. Although assaulted in every part and at the same time, the enemy was able to show as much force as his works could cover. "The assault failed," says General Grant, "but without weakening the confidence of the troops in their ability to ultimately succeed." They knew well that the failure did not arise from lack of courage in themselves, or skill in their commander; but they also discovered that works of the character which defended Vicksburg could not be carried by storm.

The position taken up by General Grant gave him a view of the whole field of action, and he states emphatically that "the assault of this day proved the quality of the soldiers of the Army of the Tennessee. Without success, and with a heavy loss, there was no murmuring nor complaining, no falling back, nor other evidence of demoralization." This fact alone proves the value of the discipline by which he had reared his army, and the love the men bore their commanders.

Shortly after this assault, dissensions arose in the army in regard to the merits of the troops, and in consequence of a congratulatory order, issued by General McClernand, on May 30th, the quarrel would have probably ended in a complete disruption of the whole force, had it not been for the prompt action of General Grant. It will be remembered that General McClernand had served with him from the time he first took command at Cairo to the assault of Vicksburg; and that naturally there existed a friendship between them, which would have been provocative of great jealousy among the other commanders if General Grant had overlooked the matter in question, especially under the circumstances. This was the objectionable passage in the order:—

"How and why the general assault failed, it would be needless now to explain. The Thirteenth Army Corps, acknowledging the good intentions of all, would scorn indulgence in weak regrets and idle criminations. According justice to all, it would only defend itself. If, while the enemy was massing to crush it, assistance was asked for by a division at other points, or by re-enforcements, it only asked what, in one case, Major-General Grant had specifically and peremptorily ordered, namely, simultaneous and persistent attack all along our line, until the enemy's outer works should be carried; and what, in the other, by massing a strong force in time upon a weakened point, would have probably insured success."

A correspondence between the commander of the Thirteenth Army Corps and the general commanding the army followed, and the following letter was sent from the former to the latter:—

HEAD-QUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS,
BATTLE-FIELD NEAR VICKSBURG, *June* 4, 1863.

GENERAL:—What appears to be a systematic effort to destroy my usefulness and reputation as a commander, makes it proper that I should address you this note.

It is reported, among other things, as I understand, that I attacked the enemy's works, on the 22d ult., without authority; again, that I attacked too late; again, that I am responsible for your failure and losses; again, that I am arrested and being sent North; again, that my command is turned over to another officer; and again, that you have personally assumed command of it. These reports are finding their way from the landings up the river.

I hardly need say to you that all these reports are false; that I obeyed orders in attacking; that my attack was more prompt, and in a large measure more successful, than any other; that the ultimate failure of the general attack, and losses attending the failure, were, under the circumstances, unavoidable consequences of obstacles found to be insurmountable, and in spite of a determined effort on my part to carry and hold the works in obedience to your express and peremptory order. I may add that I am not yet under arrest, or being sent away, or superseded in my command.

All these things being known to you, and these false reports being brought to your notice, it remains for you to determine whether truth, justice, and generosity do not call on you for such a declaration as will be conclusive in the matter. Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. McCLERNAND, Major-General Commanding.

Major-General U. S. GRANT, Commanding Department Tennessee.

To this General Grant replied as follows:—

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
NEAR VICKSBURG, *June* 7, 1863.

Major-General J. A. McCLERNAND, Commanding Thirteenth Army Corps:

GENERAL:—Inclosed I send you what purports to be your congratulatory address to the Thirteenth Army Corps.

I would respectfully ask if it is a true copy. If it is not a correct copy, furnish me one by bearer, as required both by regulations and existing orders of the Department.

Very respectfully,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

General McClernand was absent at the time General Grant's dispatch reached his head-quarters, and did not return until the 15th of June. As soon as he came back,

and had read General Grant's communication, he at once telegraphed the following reply thereto:—

HEAD-QUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS,
NEAR VICKSBURG, *June* 15, 1863.

Major-General GRANT:

I have just returned. The newspaper slip is a correct copy of my congratulatory order, No. 72. I am prepared to maintain its statements.

I regret that my adjutant did not send you a copy promptly, as he ought, and I thought he had.

JOHN A. MCCLERNAND, Major-General Commanding.

This, of course, settled the matter as to the authenticity of the document in question; and as the order implied a direct censure of the commanding general, and an indirect breach of the sixth Article of War, General Grant, rightly appreciating the urgent necessity of the case, with the desire to save his army even at the cost of his friend, immediately issued a special order, of which the following is an extract:—

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
NEAR VICKSBURG, MISS., *June* 15, 1863.

[Special Orders, No. 164.]—Extract.

Major-General John A. McClernand is hereby relieved from the command of the Thirteenth Army Corps. He will proceed to any point he may select in the State of Illinois, and report by letter to head-quarters of the army for orders.

Major-General E. O. C. Ord is hereby appointed to the command of the Thirteenth Army Corps, subject to the approval of the President, and will immediately assume charge of the same.

Major-General U. S. GRANT.

On receipt of this order, General McClernand turned over his command to General Ord.

That no ill feeling existed between the commanders is evident from the concluding paragraph of General McClernand's report of the part taken by himself and his corps in the Vicksburg campaign. The report is dated two days after he was removed from command, and closes with these words:—

"Sympathizing with the general commanding the noble Army of the Tennessee, in the loss of so many brave men, killed and wounded, I cannot but congratulate him in my

thankfulness to Providence upon the many and signal successes which have crowned his arms in a just cause."

It had been reported in the rebel army that General Pemberton had "sold" the battle-fields of Champion's Hill and Big Black River Bridge. After the repulse of the Union assault upon the works at Vicksburg, he made a brief but pithy speech to his command:—

"You have heard that I was incompetent and a traitor, and that it was my intention to sell Vicksburg. Follow me, and you will see the cost at which I will sell Vicksburg. When the last pound of beef, bacon, and flour; the last grain of corn; the last cow, and hog, and horse, and dog shall have been consumed, and the last man shall have perished in the trenches, then, and only then, will I sell Vicksburg."

The bold words indicate the determination with which the rebels intended to resist the advance of General Grant, and the reduction of their fortified city.

In the mean time Colonel Corwyn's brigade of Union cavalry was making very successful raids into Alabama, etc., destroying lines of communication, factories, mills, workshops, ammunition, ordnance stores, dépôts of supplies, and other valuable property belonging to the rebel government, or its military authorities. Private property, however, was almost universally respected, with the exception of such supplies as were needful for his command, and for which proper receipts were given.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF VICKSBURG.

General Grant falls Back.—The slower work of a Siege.—The Troops Ready for it.—Anecdotes of General Grant.—Amusing Scenes.—Various Movements.—The Sapping and Mining.—Mine Exploded.—An Exciting Struggle.—The Siege goes on.—The Rebels begin to feel the Death-grasp of General Grant.—General Pemberton opens Correspondence.—The Surrender of the City.

After the failure of the assault, General Grant determined to resort to the slow, but certain method of a regular siege. The troops, having seen the necessity of it, performed their part with cheerfulness.

The advance of each corps was pushed up as close as possible to the rebel works, which were nearly invested by the troops already under General Grant's command. But still there were points at which portions of the rebel garrison would slip out, and supplies be taken into their fortress. The communication between General Johnston, who was at Canton, Miss., and General Pemberton, at Vicksburg, was but partially interrupted; and, while this leak existed, it was impossible to reduce the place by siege. General Herron's command was, therefore, withdrawn from northwestern Arkansas, and added to the force at the extreme left of the Union lines. This secured the complete investment of the fortified city.

The position of the army at the end of May was as follows:—

General Grant was well up to the rebel fortifications, and was daily enlarging and strengthening his own. The extreme left, occupied by General Herron, was so situated topographically as to require less formidable opposing works than at any other point; but even there they were on a scale sufficiently important to meet successfully any demonstration the rebels might make in that direction.

The Thirteenth Army Corps had the perfect range of the

forts opposite their position, and kept down the rebel sharpshooters, and prevented the successful working of their artillery.

The Seventeenth Corps planted a heavy battery of siege-guns within a hundred yards of the fort, and expected to do excellent service in battering down the earthworks. Advantage had been taken of the topographical peculiarities of the ground, and a covered pathway constructed, through which the cannoneers could pass to and fro without danger from the sharpshooters.

The Fifteenth Corps, on the extreme right, was equally busy. General Tuttle had built a fort, the guns of which enfiladed one of the enemy's most important, and, to us, destructive positions. This, of course, rendered it practically useless, and, had it not been for the line of rifle-pits on the Vicksburg side, which commanded the interior, it might have been stormed and carried any time.

General Blair held Haines's Bluff, and the country between the Yazoo and the Big Black River.

There the fated city stands, in the ring of Union cannon and bayonets, while the unyielding, taciturn, patient commander settles down, the last of May, for a summer residence there. If he can continue his visit to Pemberton longer than the latter wishes him to, or can *stay at home* himself, then he will have to leave his castle, and let his outdoor and unwelcome visitor go in and help himself to what may remain. Subterranean pathways are dug for the gunners, and other troops, who thus escape the bullets of the sharpshooters.

Around Vicksburg, our men took what rations they could, and then tried to live on the country, which had little to offer. At one time, their movements were so rapid that there was no time to cook, if they had food. A hardbread or a corn pone would command a dollar at any moment. Some one found a negro with a half peck of meal, and six men, with bayonets, mounted guard over the fire while the bread was baking for General Grant's luxurious repast. After these privations, one of the officers, who was coming down, brought a basket of ale to the general and his staff. General Grant expressed his thanks

appreciated the kindness, and would just taste it, in acknowledgment; but he drank none—not even ale.

In repeating some anecdote of General Grant which he had heard, a gentleman said:—

"Grant's answer was, with an oath, 'I don't believe it. It is one of the rebel lies.' An officer replied: 'No, I do not think he said that. I never heard him utter one profane word.'"

The same officer was speaking of the difference between Rosecrans and Grant, in the matter of generalship. On one occasion, during a fight, Rosecrans was standing in a commanding position, and giving his orders. Suddenly he started, and made toward a regiment, to chase back one man who was running, and spent some little time, in the height of the battle, sending him back to his place. Grant, in the midst of fighting, was watching intently, and working earnestly, when he was accosted by a surgeon. He had taken a fine house for a hospital, and had his wounded gathered in and about it, when, in the turn of the fight, shot and shell began to fall among the poor fellows. "General," said he, "what shall I do? Some of my poor men are getting wounded a second time." "Don't come to me," said General Grant, mildly, but earnestly; "I have this battle to fight; that is your business. I can't attend to your wounded, nor think of them now. Don't interrupt me!" waving his hand; "I have this fighting to attend to."

A cloud passed over the "Confederacy," with the incredible, astounding fact, that General Grant had completely outwitted the traitors—gone across their soil, and set himself down coolly to watch the boasted Sebastopol, making a fearful prison of his enemy's fortress. How fearful it soon became, you can guess from the thousands of horses and mules turned out of it because they could not be fed. General Grant secured and used many of them.

Singular scenes occur across the lines of the hostile armies. Just after Vicksburg was invested, a sharpshooter, from the works, politely asked of one in ours:

"Can you give a fellow a drink of coffee, if he goes there?"

"Plenty of it."

"Well, comrades," says reb., "shall I go?"

"Yes; go ahead."

The rifleman did go, and, for the first time in a year, drank a cup of coffee.

He lingered, and was evidently in no haste to return.

"Come back!" shouted his friends.

"Think not; this coffee won't let me. Good-by."

And the soldier of Vicksburg remained where he found "enough and to spare," while his disloyal brethren, of a common heritage, were "in want."

It became apparent to the commanding general that it was Johnston's purpose to advance and fall upon his rear. The mode of getting the intelligence was novel, and is related by an officer of the army:—

"General Pemberton was anxious to indicate to General Johnston his exact situation, and sent a trusty fellow named Douglas—son of a prominent citizen of Illinois, who, several years before, migrated to Texas, and there joined the rebel service—through his lines, with instructions to make his way by night past the Union pickets, and, seizing the first horse he met, to ride to General Johnston, at Jackson. On the night of May 27th, at dark, he started, and, holding a pass from Pemberton, was allowed to leave the inclosure in the rear of Vicksburg. Young Douglas had, unknown to his superiors, for a long time meditated escape, and he could not neglect this golden opportunity. Instead of trying to avoid our pickets, therefore, he marched boldly up to them, and surrendered himself a prisoner. General Lauman conversed with him long enough to discover that there was meat in that shell, and sent him to General Grant. To him he delivered the message he was instructed to deliver to Johnston. It was, in effect, as follows:

"'I have 15,000 men in Vicksburg, and rations for thirty days—one meal a day. Come to my aid with an army of 30,000 men. Attack Grant in his rear. If you cannot do this within ten days, you had better retreat. Ammunition is almost exhausted, particularly percussion caps.' This is the substance of the message, although not

its exact terms. Douglas volunteered, also, other valuable information, which leaves no doubt of the ultimate capture of the rebel army."

General Pemberton saw that the siege might be a long one, and as his supplies had been cut off, he, for the sake of economizing rations, ordered every horse and mule, except those used by field and staff officers, to be turned outside his lines. Of these the Union troops secured several thousand. When General Grant first opened a concentrated fire upon Vicksburg from his lines of circumvallation, the herd of beef cattle was exposed, and a large number killed. The rebels soon removed these animals to a place of greater safety.

To prevent Johnston's forces from getting to the rear, General Osterhaus, with his division, was sent to the Big Black River to guard the crossings, and to resist any attempt of the enemy to force a passage. A reconnoissance was also sent out, under General Blair, to ascertain the position of Johnston's army, and reported no enemy within striking distance.

The facts collected concerning the enemy were, that Johnston had at his call twenty thousand men at Canton, and a similar number at Jackson. This force was composed of very old and young men, all conscripted for the occasion, and were without arms. His serviceable force did not number more than fifteen thousand, though by the inhabitants it is estimated much higher.

The expedition returned, confident that no fears should be entertained of serious difficulty from the Big Black, at any rate for some time. His last experience had so intimidated the rebel general that there was little danger of great boldness on his part, and, so long as he remained on the other side of the river, General Grant was informed that he need have no concern about him. Our cavalry was always in movement in that direction, and kept close watch on all his plans.

The captures made during the expedition amounted to five hundred head of cattle, five hundred horses and mules, one hundred bales of cotton, and ten thousand pounds of bacon. All bridges were either burned or demolished, and

all forage destroyed. In a word, the country was divested of every thing useful to the enemy.

Meanwhile General Grant set the sappers and miners at work upon the most eligible sites. Mines were dug, powder planted, and every thing made ready to blow up the advanced works, at the shortest notice. The rebel works, in the front and rear, were also bombarded, at intervals, night and day, first by the fleet, then from the approaching parallels, and so alternately, during the whole month of the siege. And as the shells burst in the works, it inspired the men with greater vigor.

About the middle of June, the Ninth Army Corps, under General Parke, and a part of the Sixteenth Army Corps, under General Washburne, were added to General Grant's command, and by him stationed in the vicinity of the Big Black River, to resist any movement of Johnston, and, if necessary, to attack and drive him back.

It had also been reported that General Johnston was again approaching the Big Black River, with a very large improvised force. About this time a courier was captured, who had managed to get out of Vicksburg during the night, and had passed the picket lines under cover of the darkness. He had upon him a number of letters from the rebel soldiers, to their wives. The men wrote in a sad tone; but stated that they were resigned, and put their trust in the Lord. They, however, still lived in hopes of Joe Johnston coming to their relief. An expedition was then formed to resist the advance of General Johnston's forces, and General Sherman was placed in command. General Grant, in his notes to General Sherman, accompanying the order for the movement, spoke of these letters.

"They seem," said he, "to put a great deal of faith in the Lord and Joe Johnston, but *you* must whip Johnston at least fifteen miles from here."

The following order to General Parke shows the same decided determination with regard to Johnston's forces:—

June 22, 1863.

General PARKE:—Sherman goes out from here with five brigades, and Osterhaus's division subject to his orders besides. In addition to this, another division, 5,000 strong, is notified to be in readiness to move on no-

tice. In addition to this, I can spare still another division, 6,000 strong, if they should be required. We want to whip Johnston at least fifteen miles off, if possible.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

The result of the movement was, that General Johnston, finding General Grant's position to be as strong in the rear as it was in the front, and that Vicksburg was certainly doomed, gave up all hope of diverting the attacking general from his settled purpose, and retreated toward Jackson.

The sappers and miners pushed on their work with a steady perseverance, until, on June 25th, 1863, the mines were ready to be sprung. All the time the excavation had been in progress a most rigid guard had been kept upon the entrances, and even the field and line officers of General Grant's army were not allowed to inspect the mines. The utmost secrecy was observed, and though some knew the intention to blow up the enemy's works, yet how or where it was to be done was a matter known to but few. The guards at the head of the saps were instructed to allow no one to pass under the rank of a general, with an exception in the case of engineers and workmen immediately in charge.

Every thing was finished. The vitalizing spark had quickened the hitherto passive agent, and the now harmless flashes went hurrying to the center. The troops had been withdrawn. The forlorn hope stood out in plain view, boldly awaiting the uncertainties of the precarious office. A chilling sensation ran through the frame as an observer looked down upon this devoted band about to hurl itself into the breach—perchance into the jaws of death. Thousands of men in arms flashed on every hill. Every one was speechless. Even men of tried valor—veterans insensible to the shouts of contending battalions, or nerved to the shrieks of comrades suffering under the torture of painful agonies—stood motionless as they directed their eyes upon the spot where soon the terror of a buried agency would discover itself in wild concussions and contortions, carrying annihilation to all within the scope of its tremendous power. It was the seeming torpor

Gen. Parke

Sherman goes out from here with five Brigades and Cleburne's Division subject to his order basins. In addition to this another Division 5000 strong is notified to be in readiness to move on notice. In addition to this I can throw still another Division 6000 strong if they should be required. We want to whip Johnston at least fifteen miles off - if possible.

U. S. Grant
Maj. Gen.

which precedes the antagonism of powerful bodies. Five minutes had elapsed. It seemed like an existence. Five minutes more, and yet no signs of the expected exhibition. An indescribable sensation of impatience, blended with a still active anticipation, ran through the assembled spectators. A small column of smoke now appeared; every one thought the crisis had come, and almost saw the terrific scene which the mind had depicted. But not yet. Every eye now centered upon the smoke, momentarily growing greater and greater. Thus another five minutes wore away, and curiosity was not satisfied. Another few minutes, then the explosion; and upon the horizon could be seen an enormous column of earth, dust, timbers, and projectiles lifted into the air at an altitude of at least eighty feet. One entire face of the fort was disembodied and scattered in particles all over the surrounding surface. The right and left faces were also much damaged; but fortunately enough of them remained to afford an excellent protection on our flanks.

As soon as the explosion had taken place, the greatest activity was manifested along the whole line, under the soul-inspiring orders of General Grant. Here is a specimen of the style in which that general called for vigilance on the part of his troops:—

June 25, 1863.

General Ord:

McPherson occupies the crater made by the explosion. He will have guns in battery there by morning. He has been hard at work running rifle-pits right, and thinks he will hold all gained. Keep Smith's division sleeping under arms to-night, ready for an emergency. Their services may be required, particularly about daylight. There should be the greatest vigilance along the whole line.

U. S. Grant, Major-General.

In the mean time, the gunboat fleet off Warrenton commenced a bombardment of the enemy's forts. This was kept up without intermission until midnight, when it was slackened to desultory shots. The fuses of the shells as they ascended in the air were easily distinguishable, and looked in their course like shooting meteors. When they struck, the shells exploded with terrific report. Others

burst in the air, with fiery flashes and streams, forming, with the illumined arena of the conflict below, a rare and awfully grand pyrotechnic display.

General Grant resumed the operation of constructing parallels, to approach sufficiently near the rebel fortifications to take them by a sudden dash. As the United States troops advanced, the rebels retired, constructing inner lines of defenses as the outer ones were taken. On the 28th of June ours were thirteen hundred yards nearer the city than the original works. As these lines were advanced on all sides at the same time, the rebel area of operations became more and more circumscribed.

During this bombardment every effort was made to reduce the works without unnecessarily damaging the city.

Affirmed a close observer of the siege—"At no time has General Grant sought the destruction of the city. He wishes to spare it for the city itself, and because it contains women and children. As long as the rebel army confines its operations outside its limits, the city will remain intact. If it had been necessary to destroy the city, our guns now in range could have accomplished the work.

The capture of Vicksburg is a foregone conclusion. We get the evidence of the fact from the rebels themselves. A few days ago, a rebel mail was captured coming out from Vicksburg, in which were letters from prominent men in the rebel army, who state that they cannot hold out much longer, and informing their friends that they expect to spend their summer in Northern prisons. Better evidence of the condition of things in the rebel army cannot be desired.

So far as the siege of this place goes, I presume the people at home, in their easy chairs, think it ought to have been finished long since. To such let me say, could they be present here, and make a tour of the country in this vicinity, and see the configuration of the country, its broken topography, its high and abrupt hills, deep gullies, gorges, and dilapidated roads, they would then realize the difficulties of the work. Then there is a large army to feed, great *materiel* to be brought into position,

all of which demands large transportation, and the united efforts of thousands of men.

General Grant acts independently of opinions of the public. He fully realizes the responsibility of his position, and, in the duty before him, he is determined to accomplish his work with as great an economy of human life as possible. He feels now that the prize is within his grasp, and a little patience will achieve all, which, if rashly sought, might cost the lives of the brave army with whom he has gained so many victories.

General Sherman's expedition returned without meeting near the doomed city the army under General Joseph E. Johnston. The commander obtained sufficient intelligence of his movements to decide General Grant's plan of operations after the reduction of Vicksburg.

The bombardment and approaches steadily progressed, and it was whispered about among the troops that on the following anniversary of the day of Independence a grand assault was to be made, to take the place by storm. The rebels at least suspected it; for, on the morning of the previous day, July 3, 1863, a flag of truce left the rebel lines, with a sealed communication for General Grant, borne by General Bowen and Colonel Montgomery. The bearers of the document having been taken to the nearest general head-quarters, a courier was at once dispatched, with all possible haste, to the chief commanding officer.

On opening the document, General Grant found the following communication, addressed to himself:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, VICKSBURG, *July* 3, 1863.

Major-General GRANT, commanding United States forces:

GENERAL:—I have the honor to propose to you an armistice for — hours, with a view to arranging terms for the capitulation of Vicksburg. To this end, if agreeable to you, I will appoint three commissioners, to meet a like number to be named by yourself, at such place and hour as you may find convenient. I make this proposition to save the further effusion of blood, which must otherwise be shed to a frightful extent, feeling myself fully able to maintain my position for a yet indefinite period. This communication will be handed you, under a flag of truce, by Major-General James Bowen. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. C. PEMBERTON.

To this General Grant replied as follows :—

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF TENNESSEE,
IN THE FIELD, NEAR VICKSBURG, *July* 3, 1863.

Lieutenant-General J. C. PEMBERTON, commanding Confederate forces, &c. :

GENERAL :—Your note of this date, just received, proposes an armistice of several hours for the purpose of arranging terms of capitulation through commissioners to be appointed, &c. The effusion of blood you propose stopping by this course can be ended at any time you may choose, by an unconditional surrender of the city and garrison. Men who have shown so much endurance and courage as those now in Vicksburg will always challenge the respect of an adversary, and I can assure you will be treated with all the respect due them as prisoners of war. I do not favor the proposition of appointing commissioners to arrange terms of capitulation, because I have no other terms than those indicated above.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

General Bowen expressed a wish to converse with the general on this important matter ; but the latter at once declined. General Bowen then requested that General Grant would meet General Pemberton on neutral ground, as more could be arranged at one personal interview than by an exchange of numerous dispatches. General Grant very readily replied he would willingly do so in person, offering to meet General Pemberton the same afternoon at three o'clock, and consult with him on the terms he would grant the garrison. This reply was placed in the hands of the rebel messengers, who, blindfolded, were conducted back to the place of entrance to the Union lines, and were there set at liberty, to return with the answer.

Nothing more was now done until afternoon. The artillery reopened, and the siege went on as before. By noon, however, the general promulgated his orders, requiring a temporary cessation of hostilities.

At three o'clock precisely, one gun, the prearranged signal, was fired, and immediately replied to by the enemy. General Pemberton then made his appearance on the works in McPherson's front, under a white flag, considerably on the left of what is known as Fort Hill. General Grant rode through our trenches until he came to an outlet, leading to a small green space, which had not been trod by either army. Here he dismounted, and advanced to meet Gen-

SURRENDER OF VICKSBURG.

eral Pemberton, with whom he shook hands, and greeted familiarly.

It was beneath the outspreading branches of a gigantic oak that the conference of the generals took place. Here presented the only space which had not been used for some purpose or other by the contending armies. The ground was covered with a fresh, luxuriant verdure; here and there a shrub or clump of bushes could be seen standing out from the green growth on the surface, while several oaks filled up the scene, and gave it character. Some of the trees, in their tops, exhibited the effects of flying projectiles, by the loss of limbs or torn foliage, and in their trunks the indentations of smaller missiles plainly marked the occurrences to which they had been silent witnesses.

The party made up to take part in the conference was composed as follows:—

UNITED STATES OFFICERS.

Major-General U. S. Grant.
Major-General James B. McPherson.
Brigadier-General A. J. Smith.

REBEL OFFICERS.

Lieutenant-General John C. Pemberton.
Major-General Bowen.
Colonel Montgomery, A. A. G. to Gen. Pemberton.

When Generals Grant and Pemberton met, they shook hands, Colonel Montgomery introducing the party. A short silence ensued, at the expiration of which, General Pemberton remarked:—

"General Grant, I meet you in order to arrange terms for the capitulation of Vicksburg and its garrison. What terms do you demand?"

"*Unconditional surrender*," replied General Grant.

"Unconditional surrender!" said Pemberton. "Never, so long as I have a man left me! I will fight rather."

"Then, sir, you can continue the defense," coolly said General Grant. "My army has never been in a better condition for the prosecution of the siege."

During the passing of these few preliminaries, General Pemberton was greatly agitated, quaking from head to foot; while General Grant experienced all his natural self-possession, and evinced not the least sign of embarrassment.

After a short conversation standing, by a kind of mutual tendency, the two generals wandered off from the rest of the party and seated themselves on the grass, in a cluster of bushes, where alone they talked over the important events then pending. General Grant could be seen, even at that distance, talking coolly, occasionally giving a few puffs at his favorite companion—his black cigar. General McPherson, General A. J. Smith, General Bowen and Colonel Montgomery, imitating the example of the commanding generals, seated themselves at some distance off, while the respective staffs of the generals formed another and larger group in the rear.

After a lengthy conversation, the generals separated. General Pemberton did not come to any conclusion on the matter, but stated his intention to submit the matter to a council of general officers of his command; and, in the event of their assent, the surrender of the city should be made in the morning. Until morning was given him to consider, to determine upon the matter, and send in his final reply. The generals now rode to their respective quarters.

General Grant conferred with his corps and division commanders, and sent a letter to General Pemberton, by the hands of General Logan and Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson :—

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF TENNESSEE,
NEAR VICKSBURG, *July* 3, 1863.

Lieutenant-General J. C. PEMBERTON, commanding Confederate forces, Vicksburg, Miss.:

GENERAL:—In conformity with the agreement of this afternoon, I will submit the following proposition for the surrender of the city of Vicksburg, public stores, &c. On your accepting the terms proposed, I will march in one division, as a guard, and take possession at eight o'clock to-morrow morning. As soon as paroles can be made out and signed by the officers and men, you will be allowed to march out of our lines, the officers taking with them their regimental clothing, and staff, field, and cavalry officers one horse each. The rank and file will be allowed all their clothing, but no other property.

If these conditions are accepted, any amount of rations you may deem necessary can be taken from the stores you now have, and also the necessary cooking utensils for preparing them; thirty wagons also, counting two two-horse or mule teams as one.' You will be allowed to transport such articles as cannot be carried along. The same conditions will be allowed to all sick and wounded officers and privates, as fast as they become able to travel. The paroles for these latter must be signed, however, while officers are present, authorized to sign the roll of prisoners.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

From the time of the breaking up of the conference of generals, till this morning, when the surrender became an irrevocable fact, the impatience and restlessness of the entire army were greater than can possibly be imagined. The troops ceased their customary vigilance and wandered from camp to camp in a state of listless inaction. There was no firing from the trenches or batteries, for orders had been promulgated that all operations of a hostile character should cease until resumed by authority from head-quarters. This was the first instance of a cessation of firing since our arrival. The existence of the two armies was not perceptible except in the presence of the troops. Everywhere silence and relaxation reigned. It was a change from the most exacting duty on the one hand, to the most extreme idleness on the other. The only appearance of duty by either army was on the part of a few sentinels, national and rebel, posted at various points along our lines and the rebel works, to keep back the curious of our own men, as well as to stay the desire of the enemy to penetrate within our lines and see the perfect network of approaches by means of which we have advanced unharmed up to the very ditches of their forts.

The remainder of yesterday was passed by many of the soldiers of both armies in chats upon various matters connected with the campaign. Knots of a half dozen of our men, and a like number of rebels, could be seen here and there reclining upon the exterior slope of the enemy's works, engaged in enthusiastic conversation, not unfrequently relieving its monotony by physical application upon each other, to enforce the veracity of their assertions;

when doubted by the party opposite. Thus did they while away the hours of the evening until tattoo, when the soldiers of each side, excepting those on sentinel duty, disappeared.

During the night no startling occurrence happened, all being quiet.

The morning of this thrice glorious Fourth dawned with a cloudless sky, and, even ere the sun had risen, the camps were alive with an anticipating and impatient set, whose loquacity poured itself forth, in a confusion of languages which might be heard ringing in the clear air at a distance several times the usual compass of the human voice. Nor were the speculations of the men less various than their language. One had his reasons for knowing that the rebels were using the present moments of respite to strengthen themselves, or to consolidate their force on some unexpected point of attack, or perhaps to effect some other designs equally as nefarious, of which we were not aware. Some said the enemy had no intention of surrendering, but, fearing a first-class Fourth-of-July bombardment, they hit upon the present plan of eluding such a direful visitation and its necessary results. In this way reasoned many. Another set thought, if it really were the intention of the enemy to surrender, it was time they were coming to a conclusion. They "could not see why they did not do so at once;" "they thought the rebels were playing a sharp game," and so forth—every man giving himself a vast amount of unnecessary trouble and concern.

Thus time moved along heavily, each moment passing like a duration of almost weeks, until the eventful time had arrived, and it was known to a certainty that Vicksburg had indeed surrendered.

Having a few hours leisure this morning, prior to the arrival of the dispatch from General Pemberton, stating he was ready to surrender, I took occasion to visit General Grant, and found everybody about his head-quarters in a state of the liveliest satisfaction. It was evident the glorious events of the day were duly appreciated.

"The general I found in conversation more animated than I have ever known him. He is evidently contented

with the manner in which he has acquitted himself of the responsible task which has for more than five months engrossed his mind and his army. The consummation is one of which he may well be proud. From Bruinsburg to Vicksburg, nineteen days, presents one of the most active records of marches, actions, and victories of the war. All the combined operations of our armies, for a similar length of time, cannot equal it. It is unparalleled, the only campaign of the war which has involved celerity of movement, attack, victory, pursuit, and the annihilation of the enemy. But of this I have occasion to speak in another place, and will therefore drop it for the present.

Among other things, the general signified his intention to enter into an immediate pursuit of the rebel Johnston. He was ready, as soon as he received Pemberton's final reply, to order the troops under Sherman (then resting this side of the Big Black) across the river, while the contingent forces held at Haines's and Snyder's Bluffs were to follow, overtake and effect a junction with the other troops. This would create a force equal to all the possibilities of the campaign, and irretrievably wrest Southern Mississippi, with the towns of Jackson, Canton, and Meridian, from the possession of the enemy. Such action would restore a large territory to the Government, and weaken the enemy correspondingly by subtracting so much from his already limited resources.

From General Grant I returned to the head-quarters of the Seventeenth (McPherson's) Corps, and found the same prevailing good humor that I remarked everywhere else.

The officers who received General Grant's letter stated that it would be impossible to answer it by night, and it was not till a little before the peep of day that the proposed reply was furnished. Then a messenger arrived with a note from General Pemberton:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, VICKSBURG, *July* 3, 1863.

Major-General GRANT, commanding United States forces:

GENERAL:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this date, proposing terms for the surrender of this garrison and post. In the main, your terms are accepted; but in justice, both to the honor and spirit of my troops, manifested in the defense of Vicksburg,

I have the honor to submit the following amendments, which, if acceded to by you, will perfect the agreement between us. At ten o'clock to-morrow, I propose to evacuate the works in and around Vicksburg, and to surrender the city and garrison under my command, by marching out with my colors and arms and stacking them in front of my present limits, after which you will take possession; officers to retain their side-arms and personal property, and the rights and property of citizens to be respected.

I am, general, yours, very respectfully,

J. C. PEMBERTON, Lieutenant-General.

This was a proposal for the besieged to march out with the honors of war, only allowed to garrisons after a very obstinate and brave defense. It is entirely optional on the part of the victor to allow such a privilege, and many commanders have entirely refused it.

General Grant, with his accustomed magnanimity to the conquered, acquiesced in the request as follows :—

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF TENNESSEE,
BEFORE VICKSBURG, *July* 4, 1863.

Lieutenant-General PEMBERTON, commanding forces in Vicksburg:

GENERAL:—I have the honor to acknowledge your communication of the 3d of July. The amendments proposed by you cannot be acceded to in full. It will be necessary to furnish every officer and man with a parole signed by himself, which, with the completion of the rolls of prisoners, will necessarily take some time. Again, I can make no stipulation with regard to the treatment of citizens and their private property. While I do not propose to cause any of them any undue annoyance or loss, I cannot consent to leave myself under restraint by stipulations. The property which officers can be allowed to take with them will be as stated in the proposition of last evening—that is, that officers will be allowed their private baggage and side-arms, and mounted officers one horse each. If you mean by your proposition for each brigade to march to the front of the lines now occupied by it, and stack their arms at ten o'clock A. M., and then return to the inside and remain as prisoners until properly paroled, I will make no objection to it. Should no modifications be made of your acceptance of my terms by nine o'clock A. M., I shall regard them as having been rejected, and act accordingly. Should these terms be accepted, white flags will be displayed along your lines, to prevent such of my troops as may not have been notified from firing on your men.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General U. S. A.

After a very short consultation with his general officers, the commandant of Vicksburg sent his answer :—

HEAD-QUARTERS, VICKSBURG, *July* 4, 1863.

Major-General U. S. GRANT, commanding United States forces, &c.:

GENERAL:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this date, and, in reply, to say that the terms proposed by you are accepted.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. C. PEMBERTON, Lieutenant-General.

General Grant telegraphed to General McPherson's head-quarters, with instructions that the Seventeenth Corps be ordered under arms immediately, to be in readiness to move instantly into the city, upon the receipt of orders to that effect.

Shortly after the rebel works were surmounted by a large number of white flags along the entire lines, extending from right to left—the signals of surrender. Soon the enemy marched out by regiments, on McPherson's front, and stacked their arms and returned within, where they were paroled in a body, prior to the individual parole.

The privilege allowed by General Grant to the enemy of stacking their arms outside of their fortifications somewhat crowded matters, as the enemy was pressed for room to avoid trespassing beyond the small strip of unoccupied territory lying between the works of the two armies.

In attendance upon the capitulation of the rebels, there were a number of line officers and privates of the Union army as lookers-on. No one had been delegated by General Grant to superintend the matter, out of courtesy to the enemy, whose heroic defense had won them the admiration of both officers and men. The surrender was hardly known until some time after, owing to the quietness with which it was conducted.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE OCCUPATION OF VICKSBURG.—ORDER OF MARCH.

The Occupation of the City.—The Value of the Possession.—Incidents.—The Appearance of the Conquered.—The Dead.—Rebel Bill of Fare.—Grant and his Cigar.—Port Hudson hears the Tidings of Victory.—Correspondence between the hostile Commanders.—The Surrender of the Fortress.—General Grant's Report of the great Achievement.—The President's Congratulations.—One of his Anecdotes.

THE Fourth of July, 1863! forever memorable in the history of the United States and of its armies. On this day the glad tidings of victory at Gettysburg, in Pennsylvania, was sounded throughout the land, and on this day the victorious "Army of Tennessee" took possession of the boasted stronghold of the rebels—"the Gibraltar of the Mississippi"—Vicksburg.

It was about one o'clock, P. M., before matters had assumed such a stage of completion as would admit of the entrance of the city by our troops. A slight further detention was also occasioned, awaiting the pioneer corps, thrown out in advance, to open a passage through the breastworks and across the ditches and rifle-pits of the enemy. After this was finished no further obstructions presented themselves, and the column moved forward. The order of march was by a seniority of brigade commanders, with an exception in the case of the Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry, Colonel J. A. Maltby, which was specially ordered to lead the column, in consequence of heroic conduct during the siege and operations in the campaign against Vicksburg.

The order of formation, in the march into the city, was as follows:—

Major-General U. S. Grant and staff.

Major-General J. B. McPherson and staff.

Major-General J. A. Logan and staff.

Brigadier-General M. D. Leggett, First Brigade, Third Division, led by the Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry.

Brigadier-General Z. C. G. Ransom, First Brigade, Seventh Division, temporarily assigned to Logan.

Brigadier-General John Stevenson, Second Brigade, Third Division; and with each brigade its batteries, baggage train, &c.

The division of General John E. Smith, though part of the Seventeenth Army Corps, which was designated by General Grant to occupy the city, was held outside of the works as a kind of outer line of guards to prevent the escape of prisoners.

After passing through several inner lines of the rifle-pits and breastworks, the column of occupation penetrated the suburbs of the city, and marched through its principal streets to the Court-House. As might be expected, from the long schooling the city had received under the influence of the secession conspirators, no demonstrations of satisfaction at our arrival were made along the line of march; but, on the contrary, houses were closed, the citizens within doors, and the city was wrapped in gloom. It seems as if the population anticipated their next step would be into the grave. Upon arriving at the Court-House, the troops were drawn up in line facing the building. This done, the ceremony of possession was completed by the display of the flags of the Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry, and of the head-quarters of the Seventeenth Corps, from the dome of the Court-House.

Upon the appearance of the flags the troops cheered vociferously, making the city ring to its very suburbs with shouts of the votaries of liberty. It was an occasion which few ever have the opportunity of witnessing, and one which will secure a life-long remembrance in the minds of all present.

In consideration of the active part taken by the Seventeenth Corps in the campaign which consummated in the capture of Vicksburg, that command was designated by General Grant to take possession of the city. General Logan's division occupied within the works, while General John E. Smith held the Union works without. General McArthur continued with General Sherman's army in its operations against Johnston.

In view of General Grant's plans, Major-General McPherson was appointed to the command of the new district about to be formed, and having Vicksburg for its center.

Major-General Logan commanded the city and its environs.

The Provost-Marshal's Department was placed in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel James Wilson, provost-marshal of the corps—provost-guard, Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry.

A number of subordinate officers had to be created to carry out the laborious and endless details which naturally occur in the administration of a city in population as large as the present. However, as initiatory measures, the above answered every purpose, and the workings of the plans were harmonious and effective. There were no disgraceful scenes of rapine, violence, or insult to note, nor had any thing occurred to compromise as a mass the soldiers of the Government. There were a few instances of battering down store doors to examine the contents of the establishments, but this was soon stopped, upon the inauguration of the provost-guard. One rather unaccountable fact was, the trouble the guard experienced in keeping down the rebel soldiery. The people feared the thieving proclivities of their own men even more than ours. It was not long, however, before the efficient guard patrolling the city had picked up all vagrant individuals, compelled them to disgorge, and then quietly consigned them to the peaceable retirement of the guard-house, to await their trial before his worship, the provost-marshal. The aforesaid establishment is already quite populous with miscreant secesh, and a slight sprinkling of our own unfortunates. While they are amongst us they must expect to be obliged to conduct themselves like soldiers, and obey the newly inaugurated authority now ruling and insuring order and security to the inhabitants and property within the city. The quiet which now prevails everywhere is astonishing, and reflects great credit upon the abilities and judgment of those at the head of affairs.

After the surrender of the city was officially known to the transportation officers in charge of steamboats at Chickasaw Bayou, there was a general, mixed, and laughable

stampede of boats out of the Yazoo and down the Mississippi for the levee of Vicksburg. The *John H. Groesbeck*, being the office-boat of the chief of transportation, appropriated the advance of the Yazoo River batch.

The transports, however, were not the first to arrive before the city, for the Neptune, of the Mississippi was on the alert, and impatiently awaited the course of events, under full steam. No sooner was the flag thrown to the breeze from the Court-House than the admiral's glass caught sight of its beautiful folds, and in due time his vessel steamed down to the city, followed by all the gunboats in the neighborhood, and took possession of a few feet of river front.

In less than four hours after the city had capitulated, the levees were lined with steamers as far as the eye could reach. At least seventy-five had arrived up to that time, and more were coming in hourly. All the boats from below, as well as those from above, were there to swell the number. The city had the appearance of a great inland commercial metropolis. The levees were almost instantaneously covered with a busy, moving crowd of humanity, pushing hither and thither, as if they were old residents, and the city had not experienced the *interregnum* of intercourse with the outer world, which had been her fate for nearly two years. Many of the boats had already commenced to discharge their cargoes, which, of course, occasioned a lively activity on shore, while teams and men were busily engaged in hauling the different stores to their respective destinations.

It may be said that Vicksburg is once more a living city. Reclaimed from her late oppressors, she is free to share with her sister cities the numerous opportunities which have been restored to them by the reinstated authority of our great, and glorious, and ever to be perpetuated Republic.

The value of the reduction of Vicksburg was not only great in a moral, political, and strategical point of view; but it possessed still further importance by inflicting a severe loss upon the rebels, in both men and material.

The following is a rough estimate of the number of

officers, soldiers, and ordnance, which fell into the hands of the United States authorities with the city of Vicksburg:—

One lieutenant-general, John C. Pemberton, late commandant of the army for the defense of Vicksburg.

Nineteen major and brigadier-generals, as follows: Major-General Bowen, Major-General Martin L. Smith, and Major-General Forney; Brigadier-Generals Barton, Cochran, Lee, Vaughn, Reynolds, Baldwin, Harris, Taylor, Cummings, Stevenson, of Georgia, Hebart, Wall, of Texas, commanding Texan Legion, Moore, Schoep, Buford, and Cockerell.

Over four thousand field, line, and staff officers.

About twenty-three thousand effective men, non-commissioned officers and privates, and over six thousand men in hospital.

Ninety siege-guns.

One hundred and twenty-eight field-pieces.

Thirty-five thousand (approximately) muskets and rifles, principally Enfield, and in excellent order.

Powder and shell, for ordnance of different calibre, in abundance.

A large quantity of miscellaneous matter, such as wagons, a few animals, armorers' tools, machinery, &c.

Among the military establishments taken possession of, were the arsenal, well supplied with unused rifles, and the foundry, with all conveniences for casting shot, shell, and cannon, and capable of doing a great deal of other work of a similar character, such as casting.

The troops taken prisoners were mainly composed of Mississippians, called "the State troops," Georgians, Alabamians, Louisianians, Missourians, and regulars.

General Grant, in his official report, sums up the Union losses, during the series of battles of the Vicksburg campaign, as follows:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Port Gibson	130	718	5	853
Fourteen-Mile Creek (skirmish)	4	24	—	28
Raymond	69	341	32	442
Jackson	40	240	6	286

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Champion's Hill	426	1,842	189	2,457
Big Black Railroad Bridge	29	242	2	273
Vicksburg	245	3,688	303	4,230
Grand total	943	7,095	537	8,575

Nearly one-half of the wounded returned to duty within a month.

GENERAL RECAPITULATION.

Rebel losses in killed, wounded, stragglers, and prisoners	46,420
Union losses in killed, wounded, stragglers, and prisoners	8,575
Balance in Grant's favor	37,845

One who was there, wrote:—

"Pemberton was, of course, the chief attraction. He is, in appearance, a tall, lithe-built, and stately personage. Black hair, black eyes, full beard, and rather severe if not sinister expression of countenance, as of one who had great trials of the soul to endure."

This general was a Philadelphian, but married a Southern lady, and so became a Secessionist. The same observer adds:—

"The greatest curiosities are the caves hewn into the banks of earth, in which the women and children and non-combatants crept during the heat of the bombardment. At night, and sometimes during an entire day, the whole of these people would be confined to their caverns. They are constructed about the height of a man, and three feet wide, a fork V shaped into the bank. There are, perhaps, five hundred of these caves in the city, around the works. As many as fifteen have been crowded into one of them."

A highly cultivated and Christian lady, who lived in one of these caves, with no words of bitterness, has given a very interesting account of her captivity. They were dug, at first, with their mouths, or doors, opening toward the rear of the city, and away from the gunboats. And when General Grant so arranged his batteries that the shells came from that side, often they exploded right in the caves. One day, near her, a shell went crushing through the roof of a neighbor's cell, and tore in frag-

ments her sleeping babe. What an awful life of suspense! Even the moonlight evening, bathing rampart, deserted mansion, and cave, with soothing radiance, was no protection. She saw a scene, after Burbridge's charge, which she thought looked, after all, as if the millennium might be near. A wounded Confederate was lying nearer to our troops than his own. He looked and begged for water. The air was full of death's missiles. But a noble Union soldier stepped forward, and, taking his canteen, went to the sufferer, and, while he fanned him, gave him the cooling draught.

It was a touching scene. A little of heaven's pure light athwart the sulphurous gloom of war!

The spectacle of the first surrender of a great army to a Union general, after the civil conflict began, was very impressive, and thrilled, with quiet delight, each loyal beholder.

As melancholy a sight as ever man witnessed: for brave men conquered and humbled, no matter how vile the cause for which they fight, present always a sorrowful spectacle; and these foes of ours, traitors and enemies of liberty and civilization though they be, are brave, as many a hard-fought field can well attest. They marched out of their intrenchments, by regiments, upon the grassy declivity immediately outside their fort; they stacked their arms, hung their colors upon the center, laid off their knapsacks, belts, cartridge-boxes, and cap-pouches; and thus shorn of the accouterments of the soldier, returned inside their works, and thence down the Jackson road into the city. The men went through the ceremony with that downcast look so touching on a soldier's face; not a word was spoken; there was none of that gay badinage we are so much accustomed to hear from the ranks of regiments marching through our streets; the few words of command necessary were given by their own officers in that low tone of voice we hear used at funerals. Generals McPherson, Logan, and Forney, attended by their respective staffs, stood on the rebel breastworks overlooking the scene never before witnessed on this continent. The rebel troops, as to clothing, presented that varied appearance so

familiar in the North from seeing prisoners, and were from Texas, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and Missouri; the arms were mostly muskets and rifles of superior excellence, and I saw but very few shot-guns, or indiscriminate weapons of any kind. It was plain that Pemberton had a splendidly appointed army. Their flags were of a kind new to me—all I saw being cut in about the same dimensions as our regimental colors, all of the single color red, with a white cross in the center.

The ceremony of stacking arms occupied little over an hour upon that part of the lines; and when it was concluded, the glittering cavalcade of officers, Federal and rebel, mounted and swept cityward on the full gallop, through such clouds of dust as I hope never to ride through again. A few minutes, fortunately, brought us to a halt at a house on the extreme outskirts of the city, built of stone in the Southern fashion, with low roof and wide verandas, and almost hidden from view in an exuberance of tropical trees, and known as Forney's headquarters.

And here were gathered all the notables of both armies. In a damask-cushioned arm rocking-chair sat Lieutenant-General Pemberton, the most discontented-looking man I ever saw. Presently there appeared in the midst of the throng a man small in stature, heavily set, stoop-shouldered, a broad face, covered with a short, sandy beard, habited in a plain suit of blue flannel, with the two stars upon his shoulders, denoting a Major-General in the United States Army. He approached Pemberton and entered into conversation with him; there was no vacant chair near, but neither Pemberton nor any of his generals offered him a seat, and thus for five minutes the conqueror stood talking to the vanquished seated, when Grant turned away into the house and left Pemberton alone with his pride or his grief—it was hard to tell which. Grant has the most impassive of faces, and seldom, if ever, are his feelings photographed upon his countenance; but there was then, as he contemplated the result of his labors, the faintest possible trace of inward satisfaction peering out of his cold, gray eyes. All this

occupied less time than this recital of it, and meantime officers of both armies were commingled, conversing as sociably as if they had not been aiming at each other's lives a few hours before. Generals McPherson and Logan now turned back toward our camps to bring in the latter's division, and a party specially detailed galloped cityward, about a mile distant, for the purpose of hoisting the flag over the Court-House.

From the living we turn to the dead of Vicksburg :—

They lay in all positions; some with musket grasped as though yet contending; others with the cartridge in the fingers just ready to put the deadly charge where it might meet the foe. All ferocity had gone. Noble patriots! uninhabited tenements! ye rest here now in security! Your portals whence the spirits fled are as calm and pale as moonlight upon snow—as though no sweet love had ever woven for ye myrtle wreaths, nor death draped your hearts in ivy—as though mirth had never smiled nor sorrow wept where all is now silent. War, with its dangers, earth with its perplexities, neglect and poverty with their pangs, slander with its barb, the dear heart-broken ones at home—all fail to call ye back to strife. A dark and fearful shadow has crept over the land and gathered ye in its gloom. O the tears that will be shed! O the hearths that will be desolated! Eyes will look in vain for your return to the hearths that ye once gladdened, while Fame crowns ye with its laurels, and the land of the hereafter welcomes ye as "they who saved the land."

A remarkably sweet and youthful face was that of a rebel boy. Scarce eighteen, and as fair as a maiden, with quite small hands, long hair of the pale golden hue that auburn changes to when much in the sun, and curling at the ends. He had on a shirt of coarse white cotton, and brown pants, well worn; while upon his feet were a woman's shoes of about the size known as 'fours.' Too delicate was his frame for war; perchance some mother's idol. His left side was torn by a shell, and his left shoulder shattered. Poor, misguided boy! Hyacinth was scarce more delicately beautiful than he. Mayhap he had his Apollo too.

Two men who had caught at a fig-tree to assist them up a steep embankment lay dead at its feet, slain in all probability by an enfilade fire from their right; the branch at which they caught was still in their grasp. Some could not be recognized by their nearest friends. Several were headless—others were armless; but the manner of their death was always plain. The Minié left its large, rather clear hole; the shell its horrid rent; the shrapnel and grape their clear great gashes, as though one had thrust a giant's spear through the tender, quivering flesh.

This is the work of treason! This it is to unroof the temple of law and order, and let loose the demon of discord. A people more than prosperous have fallen upon evil times. Murder, arson, theft, all kinds of injustice, follow in the footsteps of war. Nor is the end yet. When shall spears and swords be beaten into ploughshares and pruning-hooks? 'How long, O Lord?'

In contrast with the tragical scenes of the triumph, we have a comic exhibition of the very destitution of the enemy:—

REBEL BILL OF FARE.

J. H. Early, Surgeon of the Seventeenth Iowa regiment, found the following copy of a bill of fare in the rebel camps at Vicksburg. It is a burlesque upon the rebel rations of mule flesh indulged in by them during the last day of the siege:—

HOTEL DE VICKSBURG.

Bill of Fare for July, 1863.

SOUP.

Mule Tail.

BOILED.

Mule bacon with poke greens.
Mule ham canvased.

ROAST.

Mule sirloin.
Mule rump, stuffed with rice.

VEGETABLES.

Peas and rice.
&c., &c., &c.

* * * * * * * * * *

DESSERT.

White oak acorns.
Beech-nuts.
Blackberry-leaf tea.
Genuine Confederate Coffee.

LIQUORS.

Mississippi water, vintage of 1492, superior, . . $3.00
Limestone water, late importation, very fine, . . 2.75
Spring water, Vicksburg brand, ... 1.50

Meals at all hours. Gentlemen to wait on themselves. Any inattention on the part of servants will be promptly reported at the office.

JEFF. DAVIS & Co., Proprietors.

CARD.—The proprietors of the justly celebrated Hotel de Vicksburg, having enlarged and refitted the same, are now prepared to accommodate all who may favor them with a call. Parties arriving by the river, or Grant's inland route, will find Grape, Canister & Co.'s carriages at the landing, or any dépôt on the line of entrenchments. Buck, Ball & Co. take charge of all baggage. No effort will be spared to make the visit of all as interesting as possible.

General Grant entered Vicksburg with a cigar in his mouth; a thing so entirely characteristic, the absence of it would have been unnatural. Upon this evidence of coolness and illustration of the power of habit, a newspaper of strong Southern proclivities remarked as follows:—

"We pardon General Grant's smoking a cigar as he entered the smouldering ruins of the town of Vicksburg. A little stage effect is admissible in great captains, considering that Napoleon at Milan wore the little cocked hat and sword of Marengo, and that snuff was the inevitable concomitant of victory in the great Frederick. General Grant is a noble fellow, and, by the terms of capitulation he accorded to the heroic garrison, showed himself as generous

as Napoleon was to Wurmser at the surrender of Mantua. His deed will read well in history, and he has secured to himself a name which posterity will pronounce with veneration and gratitude. There is no general in this country or in Europe that has done harder work than General Grant, and none that has better graced his victories by the exercise of humanity and virtue. What we learn of the terms of capitulation is sufficient to prove General Grant to be a generous soldier and a man. A truly brave man respects bravery in others, and when the sword is sheathed considers himself free to follow the dictates of humanity. General Grant is not a general who marks his progress by proclamations to frighten unarmed men, women, and children; he fulminates no arbitrary edicts against the press; he does not make war on newspapers and their correspondents; he flatters no one to get himself puffed; but he is terrible in arms and magnanimous after the battle. Go on, brave General Grant; pursue the course you have marked out for yourself, and Clio, the pensive muse, as she records your deeds, will rejoice at her manly theme."

Among the results of the fall of Vicksburg is one that must not be overlooked—Port Hudson. As soon as the garrison had surrendered, General Grant notified General Banks of the fact, and that officer at once imparted the glorious intelligence to his command. Like lightning the welcome news flew along the line, and the Union pickets joyously informed the rebel sentinels that their boasted stronghold had fallen.

The morning sun of July 7th flooded the Father of Waters, whose naval leviathans roared upon the tide. Peal after peal reverberated along the green shores. The rebel garrison of Port Hudson, whose guns are silent, wonder at the sound, the interludes of which were cheers of wildest rejoicing. They listen all day, and, as the evening approaches, their curiosity could endure the strange demonstration no longer. At one of the points, where the armies were within speaking distance, a rebel officer called out:—

"What are you making all that noise about?"

Union officer. "We have taken Vicksburg."

Rebel. "Don't believe it."

Union officer. "What will convince you?"

Rebel. "Nothing but a copy of the dispatch, or some reliable authority."

Union officer. "Well, I'll get a copy, and pass it over the parapet."

Rebel. "If you'll do that, and vouch for its genuineness on your honor as a gentleman and a soldier, I'll believe it."

The Union man soon furnished the evidence required, copied in his own hand.

The rebel took it, and read it, saying:—

"I am satisfied. It is useless for us to hold out any longer."

Meanwhile, General Grant had managed to have a message to General Banks intercepted by the enemy, conveying the same intelligence. General Frank Gardner sent to the latter to know if it were true that Vicksburg had surrendered. When assured it was, he sent the only message he would have been permitted to transmit:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, PORT HUDSON, LA., *July* 7, 1863.

GENERAL:—Having received information from your troops that Vicksburg has been surrendered, I make this communication to ask you to give me the official assurance whether this is true or not, and if true, I ask for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the consideration of terms for surrendering this position

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

FRANK GARDNER,

Major-General commanding Confederate States forces.

To Major-General BANKS, commanding U. S. forces near Port Hudson.

General Banks, early the next morning, replied as follows:—

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
BEFORE PORT HUDSON, *July* 8, 1863.

GENERAL:—In reply to your communication, dated the 7th instant, by flag of truce received a few moments since, I have the honor to inform you that I received yesterday morning, July 7th, at forty-five minutes past ten o'clock, by the gunboat *General Price*, an official dispatch from Major-General Ulysses S. Grant, United States Army, whereof the following is a true extract:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
NEAR VICKSBURG, *July* 4, 1863.

Major-General N. P. BANKS, commanding Department of the Gulf:

GENERAL:—The garrison of Vicksburg surrendered this morning. The

number of prisoners, as given by the officers, is twenty-seven thousand; field artillery, one hundred and twenty-eight pieces; and a large number of siege-guns, probably not less than eighty.

Your obedient servant, U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

I regret to say that, under present circumstances, I cannot, consistently with my duty, consent to a cessation of hostilities for the purpose you indicate.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. P. BANKS, Major-General Commanding.

To Major-General FRANK GARDNER, commanding Confederate States forces, Port Hudson.

The unwelcome news was all that was wanting to decide the fate of Port Hudson. In fact, after Vicksburg had capitulated, Port Hudson was untenable.

The rebel commandant, therefore, immediately dispatched the following communication to General Banks:—

PORT HUDSON, *July* 8, 1863.

GENERAL:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this date, giving a copy of an official communication from Major-General U. S. Grant, United States Army, announcing the surrender of the garrison of Vicksburg.

Having defended this position as long as I deem my duty requires, I am willing to surrender to you, and will appoint a commission of three officers to meet a similiar commission appointed by yourself, at nine o'clock this morning, for the purpose of agreeing upon and drawing up the terms of surrender, and for that purpose I ask a cessation of hostilities. Will you please designate a place outside of my breastworks where the meeting shall be held for this purpose?

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

FRANK GARDNER, commanding Confederate States forces.

To Major-General BANKS, commanding United States forces.

General Banks replied at once in the following language:—

HEAD-QUARTERS UNITED STATES FORCES,
BEFORE PORT HUDSON, *July* 8, 1863.

GENERAL:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this date, stating that you are willing to surrender the garrison under your command to the forces under my command, and that you will appoint a commission of three officers to meet a similar commission appointed by me, at nine o'clock this morning, for the purpose of agreeing upon and drawing up the terms of surrender.

In reply I have the honor to state, that I have designated Brigadier-

General Charles P. Stone, Colonel Henry W. Birge, and Lieutenant-Colonel Richard B. Irwin, as the officers to meet the commission appointed by you.

They will meet your officers, at the hour designated, at a point where the flag of truce was received this morning. I will direct that active hostilities shall entirely cease on my part, until further notice, for the purpose stated.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. P. Banks, Major-General commanding.

To Major-General Frank Gardner, commanding Confederate States forces, Port Hudson.

The following announces the result of the surrender:—

Head-Quarters Department of the Gulf,
Nineteenth Army Corps, Port Hudson, *July* 10, 1863.

To General H. W. Halleck:

Sir:—I have the honor to inform you that, with this post, there fell into our hands over five thousand five hundred prisoners, including one major-general and one brigadier-general; twenty pieces of heavy artillery, five complete batteries, numbering thirty-one pieces of field artillery; a good supply of projectiles for light and heavy guns, forty-four thousand eight hundred pounds of cannon-powder, five thousand stand of arms, and one hundred and fifty thousand rounds of small-arm ammunition, besides a small amount of stores of various kinds. We captured, also, two steamers, one of which is very valuable. They will be of great service at this time.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. P. Banks, Major-General commanding.

The report of General Grant contains a full and clear account of his great achievement:—

Head-Quarters Department of the Tennessee,
Vicksburg, Mississippi, *July* 6, 1863.

Colonel:—I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of the Army of the Tennessee and co-operating forces, from the date of my assuming the immediate command of the expedition against Vicksburg, Mississippi, to the reduction of that place.

From the moment of taking command in person, I became satisfied that Vicksburg could only be turned from the south side, and, in accordance with this conviction, I prosecuted the work on the canal, which had been located by Brigadier-General Williams, across the peninsula on the Louisiana side of the river, with all vigor, hoping to make a channel which would pass transports for moving the army and carrying supplies to the new base of operations thus provided. The task was much more herculean than it at first appeared, and was made much more so by the almost continuous rains that fell during the whole of the time this work was prosecuted. The river,

too, continued to rise and make a large expenditure of labor necessary to keep the water out of our camps and the canal.

Finally, on the 8th of March, the rapid rise of the river and the consequent great pressure upon the dam across the canal, near the upper end, at the main Mississippi levee, caused it to give way and let through the low lands back of our camps a torrent of water that separated the north and south shores of the peninsula as effectually as if the Mississippi flowed between them. This occurred when the enterprise promised success within a short time. There was some delay in trying to repair damages. It was found, however, that with the then stage of water some other plan would have to be adopted for getting below Vicksburg with transports.

Captain F. E. Prime, Chief Engineer, and Colonel G. G. Pride, who was acting on my staff, prospected a route through the bayous which run from near Milliken's Bend on the north and New Carthage on the south through Roundaway Bayou into the Tansas River. Their report of the practicability of this route determined me to commence work upon it. Having three dredge-boats at the time, the work of opening this route was executed with great rapidity. One small steamer and a number of barges were taken through the channel thus opened, but the river commencing, about the middle of April, to fall rapidly, and the roads becoming passable between Milliken's Bend and New Carthage, made it impracticable and unnecessary to open water communication between these points.

Soon after commencing the first canal spoken of, I caused a channel to be cut from the Mississippi River into Lake Providence; also one from the Mississippi River into Coldwater, by way of Yazoo Pass.

I had no great expectations of important results from the former of these, but having more troops than could be employed to advantage at Young's Point, and knowing that Lake Providence was connected by Bayou Baxter with Bayou Macon, a navigable stream through which transports might pass into the Mississippi below, through Tansas, Wachita, and Red Rivers, I thought it possible that a route might be opened in that direction which would enable me to co-operate with General Banks at Port Hudson.

By the Yazoo Pass route I only expected at first to get into the Yazoo by way of Coldwater and Tallahatchie with some lighter gunboats and a few troops, and destroy the enemy's transports in that stream and some gunboats which I knew he was building. The navigation, however, proved so much better than had been expected, that I thought for a time of the possibility of making this the route for obtaining the foothold on high land above Haines's Bluff, Mississippi, and small-class steamers were accordingly ordered for transporting an army that way. Major-General J. B. McPherson, commanding Seventeenth Army Corps, was directed to hold his corps in readiness to move by this route; and one division from each the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Corps were collected near the entrance of the Pass to be added to his command. It soon became evident that a sufficient number of boats of the right class could not be obtained for the movement of more than one division.

Whilst my forces were opening one end of the Pass, the enemy was

diligently closing the other end, and in this way succeeded in gaining time to strongly fortify Greenwood, below the junction of the Tallahatchie and Yallobusha. The advance of the expedition, consisting of one division of McClernand's corps from Helena, commanded by Brigadier-General L. F. Ross, and the Twelfth and Seventeenth Regiments Missouri Infantry, from Sherman's corps, as sharpshooters on the gunboats, succeeded in reaching Coldwater on the 2d day of March, after much difficulty, and the partial disabling of most of the boats. From the entrance into Coldwater to Fort Pemberton, at Greenwood, Mississippi, no great difficulty of navigation was experienced, nor any interruption of magnitude from the enemy. Fort Pemberton extends from the Tallahatchie to the Yazoo at Greenwood. Here the two rivers come within a few hundred yards of each other. The land around the fort is low, and at the time of the attack was entirely overflowed. Owing to this fact, no movement could be made by the army to reduce it, but all depended upon the ability of the gunboats to silence the guns of the enemy and enable the transports to run down and land troops immediately on the fort itself. After an engagement of several hours, the gunboats drew off, being unable to silence the batteries. Brigadier-General J. F. Quimby, commanding a division of McPherson's corps, met the expedition under Ross with his division on its return near Fort Pemberton, on the 21st of March, and, being the senior, assumed command of the entire expedition, and returned to the position Ross had occupied.

On the 23d day of March I sent orders for the withdrawal of all the forces operating in that direction, for the purpose of concentrating my army at Milliken's Bend.

On the 14th day of March, Admiral D. D. Porter, commanding Mississippi Squadron, informed me that he had made a reconnoissance up Steele's Bayou, and partially through Black Bayou toward Deer Creek, and so far as explored these water courses were reported navigable for the smaller iron-clads. Information, given mostly, I believe, by the negroes of the country, was to the effect that Deer Creek could be navigated to Rolling Fork, and that from there, through the Sunflower to the Yazoo River, there was no question about the navigation. On the following morning I accompanied Admiral Porter in the ram *Price*—seven iron-clads preceding us—up through Steele's Bayou to near Black Bayou.

At this time our forces were at a dead-lock at Greenwood, and I looked upon the success of this enterprise as of vast importance. It would, if successful, leave Greenwood between two forces of ours, and would necessarily cause the immediate abandonment of that stronghold.

About thirty steamers of the enemy would have been destroyed or fallen into our hands. Seeing that the great obstacle to navigation, so far as I had gone, was from overhanging trees, I left Admiral Porter near Black Bayou and pushed back to Young's Point for the purpose of sending forward a pioneer corps to remove these difficulties. Soon after my return to Young's Point, Admiral Porter sent back to me for a co-operating military force. Sherman was promptly sent with one division of his corps. The number of steamers suitable for the navigation of these bayous being limited,

most of the force was sent up the Mississippi River to Eagle's Bend, a point where the river runs within one mile of Steele's Bayou, thus saving an important part of this difficult navigation. The expedition failed, probably more from want of knowledge as to what would be required to open this route than from any impracticability in the navigation of the streams and bayous through which it was proposed to pass. Want of this knowledge led the expedition on until difficulties were encountered, and then it would become necessary to send back to Young's Point for the means of removing them. This gave the enemy time to move forces to effectually checkmate further progress, and the expedition was withdrawn when within a few hundred yards of free and open navigation to the Yazoo.

All this may have been providential in driving us ultimately to a line of operations which has proven eminently successful.

For further particulars of the Steele's Bayou expedition, see report of Major-General W. T. Sherman, forwarded on the 12th of April.

As soon as I decided to open water communication from a point on the Mississippi near Milliken's Bend to New Carthage, I determined to occupy the latter place, it being the first point below Vicksburg that could be reached by land at the stage of water then existing, and the occupancy of which, while it secured to us a point on the Mississippi River, would also protect the main line of communication by water. Accordingly, the Thirteenth Army Corps, Major-General J. A. McClernand commanding, was directed to take up its line of march on the 29th day of March for New Carthage, the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps to follow, moving no faster than supplies and ammunition could be transported to them.

The roads, though level, were intolerably bad, and the movement was therefore necessarily slow. Arriving at Smith's plantation, two miles from New Carthage, it was found that the levee of Bayou Vidal was broken in several places, thus leaving New Carthage an island.

All the boats that could be were collected from the different bayous in the vicinity, and others were built, but the transportation of an army in this way was found exceedingly tedious. Another route had to be found. This was done by making a further march around Vidal to Perkins's plantation, a distance of twelve miles more, making the whole distance to be marched from Milliken's Bend, to reach water communication on the opposite side of the point, thirty five miles. Over this distance, with bad roads to contend against, supplies of ordnance stores and provisions had to be hauled by wagons, with which to commence the campaign on the opposite side of the river.

At the same time that I ordered the occupation of New Carthage, preparations were made for running transports by the Vicksburg batteries with Admiral Porter's gunboat fleet.

On the night of the 16th of April, Admiral Porter's fleet and the transports *Silver Wave*, *Forest Queen*, and *Henry Clay* ran the Vicksburg batteries. The boilers of the transports were protected as well as possible with hay and cotton. More or less commissary stores were put on each. All three of these boats were struck more or less frequently while passing

the enemy's batteries, and the *Henry Clay*, by the explosion of a shell or by other means, was set on fire and entirely consumed. The other two boats were somewhat injured, but not seriously disabled. No one on board of either was hurt.

As these boats succeeded in getting by so well, I ordered six more to be prepared in like manner for running the batteries. These latter, viz.: *Tigress*, *Anglo-Saxon*, *Cheeseman*, *Empire City*, *Horizona*, and *Moderator*, left Milliken's Bend on the night of the 22d of April, and five of them got by, but in a somewhat damaged condition. The *Tigress* received a shot in her hull below the water line, and sunk on the Louisiana shore soon after passing the last of the batteries. The crews of these steamers, with the exception of that of the *Forest Queen*, Captain D. Conway, and the *Silver Wave*, Captain McMillen, were composed of volunteers from the army. Upon the call for volunteers for this dangerous enterprise, officers and men presented themselves by hundreds, anxious to undertake the trip. The names of those whose services were accepted will be given in a separate report.

It is a striking feature, so far as my observation goes, of the present volunteer army of the United States, that there is nothing which men are called upon to do, mechanical or professional, that accomplished adepts cannot be found for the duty required in almost every regiment.

The transports injured in running the blockade were repaired by order of Admiral Porter, who was supplied with the material for such repairs as they required, and who was and is ever ready to afford all the assistance in his power for the furtherance of the success of our arms. In a very short time five of the transports were in running order, and the remainder were in condition to be used as barges in the moving of troops. Twelve barges loaded with forage and rations were sent in tow of the last six boats that run the blockade; one-half of them got through in a condition to be used.

Owing to the limited number of transports below Vicksburg, it was found necessary to extend our line of land travel to Hard Times, Louisiana, which, by the circuitous route it was necessary to take, increased the distance to about seventy miles to Milliken's Bend, our starting point.

The Thirteenth Army Corps being all through to the Mississippi, and the Seventeenth Army Corps well on the way, so many of the Thirteenth as could be got on board the transports and barges were put aboard and moved to the front of Grand Gulf on the 29th of April. The plan here was that the navy should silence the guns of the enemy, and the troops land under cover of the gunboats and carry the place by storm.

At eight o'clock A. M. the navy made the attack, and kept it up for more than five hours in the most gallant manner. From a tug out in the stream I witnessed the whole engagement. Many times it seemed to me the gunboats were within pistol shot of the enemy's batteries. It soon became evident that the guns of the enemy were too elevated and their fortifications too strong to be taken from the water side. The whole range of hills on that side was known to be lined with rifle-pits, besides, the field artillery could be moved to any position where it could be made useful in case of

an attempt at landing. This determined me to run again the enemy's batteries, turn his position by effecting a landing at Rodney, or at Bruinsburg, between Grand Gulf and Rodney. Accordingly, orders were immediately given for the troops to debark at Hard Times, Louisiana, and march across to the point immediately below Grand Gulf. At dark the gunboats again engaged the batteries, and all the transports ran by, receiving but two or three shots in the passage, and these without injury. I had some time previously ordered a reconnoissance to a point opposite Bruinsburg, to ascertain if possible from persons in the neighborhood the character of the road leading to the highlands back of Bruinsburg. During the night I learned from a negro man that there was a good road from Bruinsburg to Port Gibson, which determined me to land there.

The work of ferrying the troops to Bruinsburg was commenced at daylight in the morning, the gunboats as well as transports being used for the purpose.

As soon as the Thirteenth Army Corps was landed, and could draw three days' rations to put in haversacks (no wagons were allowed to cross until the troops were all over), they were started on the road to Port Gibson. I deemed it a matter of vast importance that the highlands should be reached without resistance.

The Seventeenth Corps followed as rapidly as it could be put across the river.

About two o'clock on the 1st of May the advance of the enemy was met eight miles from Bruinsburg, on the road to Port Gibson. He was forced to fall back, but, as it was dark, he was not pursued far until daylight. Early on the morning of the 1st I went out, accompanied by members of my staff, and found McClernand with his corps engaging the enemy about four miles from Port Gibson. At this point the roads branched in exactly opposite directions, both, however, leading to Port Gibson. The enemy had taken position on both branches, thus dividing, as he fell back, the pursuing forces. The nature of the ground in that part of the country is such that a very small force could retard the progress of a much larger one for many hours. The roads usually run on narrow, elevated ridges, with deep and impenetrable ravines on either side. On the right were the divisions of Hovey, Carr, and Smith, and on the left the division of Osterhaus, of McClernand's corps. The three former succeeded in driving the enemy from position to position back toward Port Gibson steadily all day.

Osterhaus did not, however, move the enemy from the position occupied by him on our left until Logan's division, of McPherson's corps, arrived.

McClernand, who was with the right in person, sent repeated messages to me before the arrival of Logan, to send Logan's and Quimby's divisions, of McPherson's corps, to him.

I had been on that as well as all other parts of the field, and could not see how they could be used there to advantage. However, as soon as the advance of McPherson's corps (Logan's division) arrived, I sent one brigade to McClernand on the right, and sent one brigade, Brigadier-General J. E. Smith commanding, to the left to the assistance of Osterhaus.

By the judicious disposition made of this brigade, under the immediate supervision of McPherson and Logan, a position was soon obtained giving us an advantage which soon drove the enemy from that part of the field, to make no further stand south of Bayou Pierre.

The enemy was here repulsed with a heavy loss in killed, wounded and prisoners. The repulse of the enemy on our left took place late in the afternoon. He was pursued toward Port Gibson, but night closing in, and the enemy making the appearance of another stand, the troops slept upon their arms until daylight.

In the morning it was found that the enemy had retreated across Bayou Pierre, on the Grand Gulf road, and a brigade of Logan's division was sent to divert his attention whilst a floating bridge was being built across Bayou Pierre immediately at Port Gibson. This bridge was completed, eight miles marched by McPherson's corps to the north fork of Bayou Pierre, that stream bridged, and the advance of this corps commenced passing over it at five o'clock the following morning.

On the 3d the enemy was pursued to Hawkinson's Ferry, with slight skirmishing all day, during which we took quite a number of prisoners, mostly stragglers, from the enemy.

Finding that Grand Gulf had been evacuated, and that the advance of my forces was already fifteen miles out from there, and on the road, too, they would have to take to reach either Vicksburg, Jackson, or any intermediate point on the railroad between the two places, I determined not to march them back, but taking a small escort of cavalry, some fifteen or twenty men, I went to the Gulf myself, and made the necessary arrangements for changing my base of supplies from Bruinsburg to Grand Gulf.

In moving from Milliken's Bend, the Fifteenth Army Corps, Major-General W. T. Sherman commanding, was left to be the last to start. To prevent heavy re-enforcements going from Vicksburg to the assistance of the Grand Gulf forces, I directed Sherman to make a demonstration on Haines's Bluff, and to make all the show possible. From information since received from prisoners captured, this ruse succeeded admirably.

It had been my intention, up to the time of crossing the Mississippi River, to collect all my forces at Grand Gulf, and get on hand a good supply of provisions and ordnance stores before moving, and in the mean time to detach an army corps to co-operate with General Banks on Port Hudson and effect a junction of our forces.

About this time I received a letter from General Banks, giving his position west of the Mississippi River, and stating that he could return to Baton Rouge by the 10th of May; that by the reduction of Port Hudson he could join me with twelve thousand men.

I learned about the same time that troops were expected at Jackson from the Southern cities with General Beauregard in command. To delay until the 10th of May, and for the reduction of Port Hudson after that, the accession of twelve thousand men would not leave me relatively so strong as to move promptly with what I had. Information received from day to day of the movements of the enemy also impelled me to the course pursued.

Whilst lying at Hawkinson's Ferry waiting for wagons, supplies, and Sherman's corps, which had come forward in the mean time, demonstrations were made, successfully, I believe, to induce the enemy to think that route and the one by Hall's Ferry above were objects of much solicitude to me. Reconnoissances were made to the west side of the Big Black to within six miles of Warrenton. On the 7th of May an advance was ordered, McPherson's corps keeping the road nearest Black River to Rocky Springs, McClernand's corps keeping the Ridge Road from Willow Springs, and Sherman following with his corps, divided on the two roads. All the ferries were closely guarded until our troops were well advanced. It was my intention here to hug the Black River as closely as possible with McClernand's and Sherman's corps, and get them to the railroad, at some place between Edwards's Station and Bolton. McPherson was to move by way of Utica to Raymond, and from there into Jackson, destroying the railroad telegraph, public stores, etc., and push west to rejoin the main force. Orders were given to McPherson accordingly. Sherman was moved forward on the Edwards's Station road, crossing Fourteen-Mile Creek, at Dillon's Plantation; McClernand was moved across the same creek, further west, sending one division of his corps by the Baldwin's Ferry road as far as the river. At the crossing of Fourteen-Mile Creek, both McClernand and Sherman had considerable skirmishing with the enemy to get possession of the crossing.

McPherson met the enemy near Raymond, two brigades strong, under Gregg and Walker, on the same day engaged him, and, after several hours' hard fighting, drove him with heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Many threw down their arms and deserted.

My position at this time was with Sherman's corps, some seven miles west of Raymond, and about the centre of the army.

On the night of the 12th of May, after orders had been given for the corps of McClernand and Sherman to march toward the railroad by parallel roads, the former in the direction of Edwards's Station and the latter to a point on the railroad between Edwards's Station and Bolton, the order was changed, and both were directed to move toward Raymond.

This was in consequence of the enemy having retreated toward Jackson after his defeat at Raymond, and of information that re-enforcements were daily arriving at Jackson, and that General Joe Johnston was hourly expected there to take command in person. I therefore determined to make sure of that place, and leave no enemy in my rear.

McPherson moved on the 13th to Clinton, destroyed the railroad and telegraph, and captured some important dispatches from General Pemberton to General Gregg, who had commanded the day before in the battle of Raymond. Sherman moved to a parallel position on the Mississippi Springs and Jackson road; McClernand moved to a point near Raymond.

The next day Sherman and McPherson moved their entire forces toward Jackson. The rain fell in torrents all the night before, and continued until about noon of that day, making the roads at first slippery and then miry. Notwithstanding, the troops marched in excellent order, without straggling, and in the best of spirits, about fourteen miles, and engaged the

enemy about twelve o'clock, M., near Jackson. McClernand occupied Clinton with one division, Mississippi Springs with another, Raymond with a third, and had his fourth division and Blair's division of Sherman's corps, with a wagon train still in the rear, near New Auburn, while McArthur, with one brigade of his division of McPherson's corps, was moving toward Raymond on the Utica road. It was not the intention to move these forces any nearer Jackson, but to have them in a position where they would be in supporting distance if the resistance at Jackson should prove more obstinate than there seemed reason to expect.

The enemy marched out the bulk of his force on the Clinton road, and engaged McPherson's Corps about two and a half miles from the city. A small force of artillery and infantry took a strong position in front of Sherman about the same distance out. By a determined advance of our skirmishers, these latter were soon driven within their rifle-pits just outside the city. It was impossible to ascertain the strength of the enemy at this part of the line in time to justify an immediate assault. Consequently McPherson's two divisions engaged the main bulk of the rebel garrison at Jackson, without further aid than the moral support given them by the knowledge the enemy had of a force to the south side of the city, and a few infantry and artillery of the enemy posted there to impede Sherman's progress. Sherman soon discovered the weakness of the enemy by sending a reconnoitering party to his right, which also had the effect of causing the enemy to retreat from this part of his line. A few of the artillerists, however, remained in their places, firing upon Sherman's troops, until the last moment, evidently instructed to do so, with the expectation of being captured in the end. On entering the city, it was found that the main body of the enemy had retreated north, after a heavy engagement of more than two hours with McPherson's corps, in which he was badly beaten. He was pursued until near night, but without further damage to him.

During that evening I learned that General Johnston, as soon as he had satisfied himself that Jackson was to be attacked, had ordered Pemberton peremptorily to march out from the direction of Vicksburg and attack our rear. Availing myself of this information, I immediately issued orders to McClernand and Blair, of Sherman's corps, to face their troops toward Bolton, with a view to reaching Edwards's Station, marching on different roads converging near Bolton. These troops were admirably located for such a move. McPherson was ordered to retrace his steps early in the morning of the 15th on the Clinton road. Sherman was left in Jackson to destroy the railroads, bridges, factories, workshops, arsenals, and every thing valuable for the support of the enemy. This was accomplished in the most effectual manner.

On the afternoon of the 15th, I proceeded as far west as Clinton, through which place McPherson's corps passed to within supporting distance of Hovey's division of McClernand's corps, which had moved that day on the same road to within one and a half miles of Bolton. On reaching Clinton, at a quarter to five P. M., I ordered McClernand to move his command early the next morning towards Edwards's Dépôt, marching so as to feel the

enemy, if he encountered him, but not to bring on a general engagement unless he was confident he was able to defeat him; and also to order Blair to move with him.

About five o'clock on the morning of the 16th, two men, employés on the Jackson and Vicksburg Railroad, who had passed through Pemberton's army the night before, were brought to my head-quarters. They stated Pemberton's force to consist of about eighty regiments, with ten batteries of artillery, and that the whole force was estimated by the enemy at about twenty-five thousand men. From them I also learned the positions being taken up by the enemy, and his intention of attacking our rear. I had determined to leave one division of Sherman's corps one day longer in Jackson, but this information determined me to bring his entire command up at once, and I accordingly dispatched him at 5.30 A. M. to move with all possible speed until he came up with the main force near Bolton. My dispatch reached him at 7.10 A. M., and his advance division was in motion in one hour from that time. A dispatch was sent to Blair at the same time, to push forward his division in the direction of Edwards's Station with all possible dispatch. McClernand was directed to establish communication between Blair and Osterhaus, of his corps, and keep it up, moving the former to the support of the latter. McPherson was ordered forward at 5.45 A. M. to join McClernand, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, of my staff, was sent forward to communicate the information received, and with verbal instructions to McClernand as to the disposition of his forces. At an early hour I left for the advance, and on arriving at the crossing of the Vicksburg and Jackson Railroad with the road from Raymond to Bolton, I found McPherson's advance and his Pioneer Corps engaged in rebuilding a bridge on the former road that had been destroyed by the cavalry of Osterhaus's division that had gone into Bolton the night before. The train of Hovey's division was at a halt, and blocked up the road from further advance on the Vicksburg road. I ordered all quartermasters and wagonmasters to draw their teams to one side and make room for the passage of troops. McPherson was brought up by this road. Passing to the front, he found Hovey's division of the Thirteenth Army Corps at a halt, with our skirmishers and the enemy's pickets near each other. Hovey was bringing his troops into line, ready for battle, and could have brought on an engagement at any moment. The enemy had taken up a very strong position on a narrow ridge, his left wing resting on a height where the road makes a sharp turn to the left approaching Vicksburg. The top of the ridge and the precipitous hillside to the left of the road are covered by a dense forest and undergrowth. To the right of the road the timber extends a short distance down the hill and then opens into cultivated fields on a gentle slope, and into a valley extending for a considerable distance. On the road and into the wooded ravine and hillside Hovey's division was disposed for the attack. McPherson's two divisions—all of his corps with him on the march from Milliken's Bend (until Ransom's brigade arrived that day after the battle)—were thrown to the right of the road, properly speaking, to the enemy's rear. But I would not permit an attack to be commenced by our

troops until I could hear from McClernand, who was advancing with four divisions, two of them on a road intersecting the Jackson road about one mile from where the troops above described were placed, and about the centre of the enemy's line; the other two divisions on a road still north, and nearly the same distance off.

I soon heard from McClernand, through members of his staff, and my own, whom I had sent to him early in the morning, and found that by the nearest practicable route of communication he was two and a half miles distant. I sent several successive messages to him to push forward with all rapidity. There had been continuous firing between Hovey's skirmishers and the rebel advance, which, by eleven o'clock, grew into a battle. For some time this division bore the brunt of the conflict; but, finding the enemy too strong for them, at the instance of Hovey, I directed first one and then a second brigade from Crocker's division to re-enforce him. All this time Logan's division was working upon the enemy's left and rear, and weakened his front attack most wonderfully. The troops here opposing us evidently far outnumbered ours. Expecting McClernand momentarily with four divisions, including Blair's, I never felt a doubt of the result. He did not arrive, however, until the enemy had been driven from the field, after a terrible contest of hours, with a heavy loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners, and a number of pieces of artillery. It was found afterward that the Vicksburg road, after following the ridge in a southerly direction for about one mile, and to where it intersected one of the Raymond roads, turns almost to the west down the hill and across the valley in which Logan was operating on the rear of the enemy. One brigade of Logan's division had, unconscious of this important fact, penetrated nearly to this road, and compelled the enemy to retreat, to prevent capture. As it was, much of his artillery and Loring's division of his army was cut off, besides the prisoners captured. On the call of Hovey for more re-enforcements, just before the rout of the enemy commenced, I ordered McPherson to move what troops he could by a left flank around to the enemy's front. Logan rode up at this time and told me that, if Hovey could make another dash at the enemy, he could come up from where he then was, and capture the greater part of their force. I immediately rode forward, and found the troops that had been so gallantly engaged for so many hours, withdrawn from their advanced position, and were filling their cartridge-boxes. I directed them to use all dispatch, and push forward as soon as possible, explaining to them the position of Logan's division. Proceeding still further forward, expecting every moment to see the enemy, and reaching what had been his line, I found he was retreating. Arriving at the Raymond road, I saw to my left and on the next ridge a column of troops, which proved to be Carr's division, and McClernand with it in person; and to the left of Carr Osterhaus's division soon afterward appeared, with his skirmishers well in advance. I sent word to Osterhaus that the enemy was in full retreat, and to push up with all haste. The situation was soon explained, after which I ordered Carr to pursue with all speed to Black River, and cross it if he could, and to Osterhaus to follow. Some of McPherson's

troops had already got into the road in advance; but, having marched and engaged the enemy all day, they were fatigued, and gave the road to Carr, who continued the pursuit until after dark, capturing a train of cars loaded with commissary and ordnance stores and other property.

The delay in the advance of the troops immediately with McClernand was caused, no doubt, by the enemy presenting a front of artillery and infantry where it was impossible, from the nature of the ground and the density of the forest, to discover his numbers. As it was, the battle of Champion's Hill, or Baker's Creek, was fought mainly by Hovey's division of McClernand's corps and Logan's and Quimby's divisions (the latter commanded by Brigadier-General M. M. Crocker) of McPherson's corps.

Ransom's brigade, of McPherson's corps, came on to the field where the main battle had been fought, immediately after the enemy had begun his retreat.

Word was sent to Sherman, at Bolton, of the result of the day's engagement, with directions to turn his corps toward Bridgeport, and to Blair to join him at this latter place.

At daylight on the 17th, the pursuit was renewed, with McClernand's corps in the advance. The enemy was found strongly posted on both sides of the Black River. At this point on Black River the bluffs extend to the water's edge on the west bank. On the east side is an open, cultivated bottom, of near one mile in width, surrounded by a bayou of stagnant water, from two to three feet in depth, and from ten to twenty feet in width, from the river above the railroad to the river below. Following the inside line of this bayou, the enemy had constructed rifle-pits, with the bayou to serve as a ditch on the outside and immediately in front of them. Carr's division occupied the right in investing this place, and Lawler's brigade the right of his division. After a few hours' skirmishing, Lawler discovered that, by moving a portion of his brigade under cover of the river bank, he could get a position from which that place could be successfully assaulted, and ordered a charge accordingly. Notwithstanding the level ground over which a portion of his troops had to pass without cover, and the great obstacle of the ditch in the front of the enemy's works, the charge was gallantly and successfully made, and in a few minutes the entire garrison with seventeen pieces of artillery were the trophies of this brilliant and daring movement. The enemy on the west bank of the river immediately set fire to the railroad bridge and retreated, thus cutting off all chance of escape for any portion of his forces remaining on the east bank.

Sherman by this time had reached Bridgeport, on Black River, above. The only pontoon train with the expedition was with him. By the morning of the 18th he had crossed the river, and was ready to march on Walnut Hills. McClernand and McPherson built floating bridges during the night, and had them ready for crossing their commands by eight A. M. of the 18th.

The march was commenced by Sherman at an early hour, by the Bridgeport and Vicksburg road, turning to the right when within three and a half miles of Vicksburg, to get possession of Walnut Hills and the Yazoo River. This was successfully accomplished before the night of the 18th. McPher-

son crossed Black River above the Jackson road, and came into the same road with Sherman, but to his rear. He arrived after nightfall with his advance to where Sherman turned to the right. McClernand moved by the Jackson and Vicksburg road to Mount Albans, and there turned to the left to get into Baldwin's Ferry road. By this disposition the three army corps covered all the ground their strength would admit of, and by the morning of the 19th the investment of Vicksburg was made as complete as could be by the forces at my command.

During the day there was continuous skirmishing, and I was not without hope of carrying the enemy's works. Relying upon the demoralization of the enemy, in consequence of repeated defeats outside of Vicksburg, I ordered a general assault at two P. M. on this day.

The Fifteenth Army Corps, from having arrived in front of the enemy's works in time on the 18th to get a good position, were enabled to make a vigorous assault. The Thirteenth and Seventeenth Corps succeeded no further than to gain advanced positions, covered from the fire of the enemy. The 20th and 21st were spent in perfecting communications with our supplies. Most of the troops had been marching and fighting battles for twenty days, on an average of about five days' rations, drawn from the commissary department. Though they had not suffered from short rations up to this time, the want of bread to accompany the other rations was beginning to be much felt. On the 21st, my arrangements for drawing supplies of every description being complete, I determined to make another effort to carry Vicksburg by assault. There were many reasons to determine me to adopt this course. I believed an assault from the position gained by this time could be made successfully. It was known that Johnston was at Canton with the force taken by him from Jackson, re-enforced by other troops from the east, and that more were daily reaching him. With the force I had, a short time must have enabled him to attack me in the rear, and possibly succeeded in raising the siege. Possession of Vicksburg at that time would have enabled me to have turned upon Johnston and driven him from the State, and possessed myself of all the railroads and practical military highways, thus effectually securing to ourselves all territory west of the Tombigbee, and this before the season was too far advanced for campaigning in this latitude. It would have saved Government sending large re-enforcements, much needed elsewhere; and finally, the troops themselves were impatient to possess Vicksburg, and would not have worked in the trenches with the same zeal, believing it unnecessary, that they did after their failure to carry the enemy's works. Accordingly, on the 21st, orders were issued for a general assault on the whole line, to commence at 10 A. M. on the 22d. All the corps commanders set their time by mine, that there should be no difference between them in movement of assault. Promptly at the hour designated, the three army corps then in front of the enemy's works commenced the assault. I had taken a commanding position near McPherson's front, and from which I could see all the advancing columns from his corps, and a part of each of Sherman's and

McClernand's. A portion of the commands of each succeeded in planting the flags on the outer slopes of the enemy's bastions, and maintained them there until night. Each corps had many more men than could possibly be used in the assault, over such ground as intervened between them and the enemy. More men could only avail in case of breaking through the enemy's line, or in repelling a sortie. The assault was gallant in the extreme on the part of all the troops; but the enemy's position was too strong, both naturally and artificially, to be taken in that way. At every point assaulted, and at all of them at the same time, the enemy was able to show all the force his works could cover. The assault failed, I regret to say, with much loss on our side in killed and wounded, but without weakening the confidence of the troops in their ability to ultimately succeed.

No troops succeeded in entering any of the enemy's works with the exception of Sergeant Griffith, of the Twenty-first Regiment, Iowa Volunteers, and some eleven privates of the same regiment. Of these none returned except the sergeant and possibly one man. The work entered by him, from its position, could give us no practical advantage, unless others to the right and left of it were carried and held at the same time.

About 12 M. I received a dispatch from McClernand that he was hard pressed at several points, in reply to which I directed him to re-enforce the points hard pressed from such troops as he had that were not engaged. I then rode round to Sherman, and had just reached there when I received a second dispatch from McClernand, stating positively and unequivocally that he was in possession of and still held two of the enemy's forts, that the American flag then waved over them, and asking me to have Sherman and McPherson make a diversion in his favor. This dispatch I showed to Sherman, who immediately ordered a renewal of the assault on his front. I also sent an answer to McClernand directing him to order up McArthur to his assistance, and started immediately to the position I had just left on McPherson's line, to convey to him the information from McClernand by this last dispatch, that he might make the diversion requested. Before reaching McPherson, I met a messenger with a third dispatch from McClernand, of which the following is a copy:—

HEAD-QUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS, IN THE FIELD,
NEAR VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, *May* 22, 1863.

GENERAL:—We have gained the enemy's intrenchments at several points, but are brought to a stand. I have sent word to McArthur to re-enforce me if he can. Would it not be best to concentrate the whole or a part of his command on this point?

JOHN A. MCCLERNAND, Major-General commanding.

Major-General U. S. GRANT.

P. S.—I have received your dispatch. My troops are all engaged, and I cannot withdraw any to re-enforce others.

The position occupied by me during most of the time of the assault gave me a better opportunity of seeing what was going on in front of the Thirteenth Army Corps than I believed it possible for the commander of it to have. I could not see his possession of forts, nor necessity for re-enforcements, as represented in his dispatches, up to the time I left it, which was between twelve M. and one P. M., and I expressed doubts of their correctness, which doubts the facts subsequently, but too late, confirmed. At the time I could not disregard his reiterated statements, for they might possibly be true; and that no possible opportunity of carrying the enemy's stronghold should be allowed to escape through fault of mine, I ordered Quimby's division, which was all of McPherson's corps then present but four brigades, to report to McClernand, and notified him of the order. I showed his dispatches to McPherson, as I had to Sherman, to satisfy him of the necessity of an active diversion on their part to hold as much force in their fronts as possible. The diversion was promptly and vigorously made, and resulted in the increase of our mortality list full fifty per cent., without advancing our position or giving us other advantages.

About half-past three P. M. I received McClernand's fourth dispatch, as follows:—

HEAD-QUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS,
May 22, 1863.

GENERAL:—I have received your dispatch in regard to General Quimby's division and General McArthur's division. As soon as they arrive I will press the enemy with all possible speed, and doubt not I will force my way through. I have lost no ground. My men are in two of the enemy's forts, but they are commanded by rifle-pits in the rear. Several prisoners have been taken, who intimate that the rear is strong. At this moment I am hard pressed.

JOHN A. MCCLERNAND, Major-General commanding.

Major-General U. S. GRANT, Department of the Tennessee.

The assault of this day proved the quality of the soldiers of this army. Without entire success, and with a heavy loss, there was no murmuring or complaining, no falling back, nor other evidence of demoralization.

After the failure of the 22d, I determined upon a regular siege. The troops, now being fully awake to the necessity of this, worked diligently and cheerfully. The work progressed rapidly and satisfactorily until the 3d of July, when all was about ready for a final assault.

There was a great scarcity of engineer officers in the beginning, but under the skillful superintendence of Captain F. E. Prime, of the Engineer Corps, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson, of my staff, and Captain C. B. Comstock, of the Engineer Corps, who joined this command during the siege, such practical experience was gained as would enable any division of this army hereafter to conduct a siege with considerable skill in the absence of regular engineer officers.

On the afternoon of the 3d of July, a letter was received from Lieutenant-General Pemberton, commanding the Confederate forces at Vicksburg, proposing an armistice and the appointment of commissioners to arrange terms for the capitulation of the place. The correspondence, copies of which are herewith transmitted, resulted in the surrender of the city and garrison of Vicksburg, at ten o'clock A. M., July 4, 1863, on the following terms:—The entire garrison, officers and men, were to be paroled, not to take up arms against the United States until exchanged by the proper authorities; officers and men each to be furnished with a parole signed by himself; officers to be allowed their side arms and private baggage, and the field, staff, and cavalry officers one horse each; the rank and file to be allowed all their clothing, but no other property; rations from their own stores sufficient to last them beyond our lines; the necessary cooking utensils for preparing their food, and thirty wagons to transport such articles as could not well be carried. These terms I regard more favorable to the Government than an unconditional surrender. It saved us the transportation of them North, which at that time would have been very difficult, owing to the limited amount of river transportation on hand, and the expense of subsisting them. It left our army free to operate against Johnston, who was threatening us from the direction of Jackson, and our river transportation to be used for the movement of troops to any point the exigency of the service might require.

I deem it proper to state here, in order that the correspondence may be fully understood, that, after my answer to General Pemberton's letter of the morning of the 3d, we had a personal interview on the subject of the capitulation.

The particulars and incidents of the siege will be contained in the reports of division and corps commanders, which will forwarded as soon as received.

I brought forward, during the siege, in addition to Lauman's division, and four regiments previously ordered from Memphis, Smith's and Kimball's divisions, of the Sixteenth Army Corps, and assigned Major-General C. C. Washburne to command the same. On the 11th of June, Major-General F. J. Herron's division from the Department of the Missouri arrived, and on the 14th two divisions of the Ninth Army Corps, Major-General J. G. Parke commanding, arrived. This increase in my force enabled me to make the investment most complete, and at the same time left me a large reserve to watch the movements of Johnston. Herron's division was put into position on the extreme left, south of the city, and Lauman's division was placed between Herron and McClernand. Smith's and Kimball's divisions and Parke's corps were sent to Haines's Bluff. This place I had fortified to the land side, and every preparation made to resist a heavy force. Johnston crossed Big Black River with a portion of his force, and every thing indicated that he would make an attack about the 25th of June. Our position in front of Vicksburg having been made as strong against a sortie from the enemy as his works were against an assault, I placed Major-General Sherman in command of all the troops

designated to look after Johnston. The force intended to operate against Johnston, in addition to that at Haines's Bluff, was one division from each of the Thirteenth, Fifteenth, and Seventeenth Army Corps, and Lauman's division. Johnston, however, not attacking, I determined to attack him the moment Vicksburg was in our possession, and accordingly notified Sherman that I should again make an assault on Vicksburg at daylight on the 6th, and for him to have up supplies of all descriptions ready to move upon receipt of orders, if the assault should prove a success. His preparations were immediately made, and when the place surrendered on the 4th, two days earlier than I had fixed for the attack, Sherman was found ready, and moved at once with a force increased by the remainder of both the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Army Corps, and is at present investing Jackson, where Johnston has made a stand.

In the march from Bruinsburg to Vicksburg, covering a period of twenty days, before supplies could be obtained from government stores, only five days' rations were issued, and three days' of these were taken in haversacks at the start, and were soon exhausted. All other subsistence was obtained from the country through which we passed. The march was commenced without wagons, except such as could be picked up through the country. The country was abundantly supplied with corn, bacon, beef, and mutton. The troops enjoyed excellent health, and no army ever appeared in better spirit or felt more confident of success.

In accordance with previous instructions, Major-General S. A. Hurlbut started Colonel (now Brigadier-General) B. H. Grierson with a cavalry force from La Grange, Tennessee, to make a raid through the central portion of the State of Mississippi, to destroy railroads and other public property, for the purpose of creating a diversion in favor of the army moving to the attack on Vicksburg. On the 17th of April this expedition started, and arrived at Baton Rouge on the 2d of May, having successfully traversed the whole State of Mississippi. This expedition was skillfully conducted, and reflects great credit on Colonel Grierson and all of his command. The notice given this raid by the Southern press confirms our estimate of its importance. It has been one of the most brilliant cavalry exploits of the war, and will be handed down in history as an example to be imitated. Colonel Grierson's report is herewith transmitted.

I cannot close this report without an expression of thankfulness for my good fortune in being placed in co-operation with an officer of the navy, who accords, to every move that seems for the interest and success of our arms, his hearty and energetic support. Admiral Porter, and the very efficient officers under him, have ever shown their greatest readiness in their co-operation, no matter what was to be done or what risk to be taken, either by their men or their vessels. Without this prompt and cordial support, my movements would have been much embarrassed, if not wholly defeated.

Captain J. U. Shirk, commanding the *Tuscumbia*, was especially active

and deserving of the highest commendation for his personal attention to the repairing of the damage done our transports by the Vicksburg batteries.

The result of this campaign has been the defeat of the enemy in five battles outside of Vicksburg; the occupation of Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi, and the capture of Vicksburg and its garrison and munitions of war; a loss to the enemy of thirty-seven thousand (37,000) prisoners, among whom were fifteen general officers; at least ten thousand killed and wounded, and among the killed Generals Tracy, Tilghman, and Green, and hundreds and perhaps thousands of stragglers, who can never be collected and reorganized. Arms and munitions of war for an army of sixty thousand men have fallen into our hands, besides a large amount of other public property, consisting of railroads, locomotives, cars, steamboats, cotton, &c., and much was destroyed to prevent our capturing it.

Our loss in the series of battles may be summed up as follows:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Port Gibson	130	718	5
Fourteen-Mile Creek (skirmish)	4	24	—
Raymond	69	341	32
Jackson	40	240	6
Champion's Hill	429	1,842	189
Big Black railroad bridge	29	242	2
Vicksburg	545	3,688	303

Of the wounded, many were but slightly wounded, and continued on duty; many more required but a few days or weeks for their recovery. Not more than one-half of the wounded were permanently disabled.

My personal staffs and chiefs of departments have, in all cases, rendered prompt and efficient service.

In all former reports I have failed to make mention of Company A, Fourth Regiment Illinois Cavalry Volunteers, Captain S. D. Osband commanding. This company has been on duty with me as an escort company since November, 1861, and in every engagement I have been in since that time rendered valuable service, attracting general attention for their exemplary conduct, soldierly bearing, and promptness. It would not be overstating the merits of this company to say that many of them would fill with credit any position in a cavalry regiment.

For the brilliant achievements recounted in this report, the Army of the Tennessee, their comrades of the Ninth Army Corps, Herron's division of the Army of the Frontier, and the navy co-operating with them, deserve the highest honors their country can award.

I have the honor to be, colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. Grant, Major-General U. S. A. commanding.

Colonel J. C. Kelton, A. A.-G., Washington, D. C.

General Halleck, in his report, gives to the chief the honor of a campaign, emphatically his own—for not a subordinate general counseled the venture of crossing the hostile territory:—

"When we consider the character of the country in which the army operated, the formidable obstacles to be overcome, the number of forces and the strength of the enemy's works, we cannot fail to admire the courage and endurance of the troops, and the skill and daring of their commander. No more brilliant exploit can be found in military history. It has been alleged, and the allegation has been widely circulated by the press, that General Grant, in the conduct of his campaign, positively disobeyed the instructions of his superiors. It is hardly necessary to remark that General Grant never disobeyed an order or instruction, but always carried out to the best of his ability every wish or suggestion made to him by the Government. Moreover, he has never complained that the Government did not furnish him all the means and assistance in its power, to facilitate the execution of any plan he saw fit to adopt."

When the news of this glorious victory officially reached the President, he sent an autograph letter to General Grant, of which document the following is a copy:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *July* 13, 1863.

To Major-General GRANT:—

MY DEAR GENERAL:—I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below, and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks; and when you turned northward, east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make a personal acknowledgment, that you were right and I was wrong.

Yours, very truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Several gentlemen were near the President at the time he received the news of Grant's success, some of whom had been complaining of the rumors of his habit of using intoxicating drinks to excess.

"So I understand Grant drinks whisky to excess?" interrogatively remarked the President.

"Yes," was the reply.

"What whisky does he drink?" inquired Mr. Lincoln.

"What whisky?" doubtfully queried his hearers.

"Yes. Is it Bourbon or Monongahela?"

"Why do you ask, Mr. President?"

"Because if it makes him win victories like this at Vicksburg, I will send a demijohn of the same kind to every general in the army."

His visitors saw the point, although at their own cost.

CHAPTER XVII.

SIEGE OF JACKSON.—GENERAL GRANT'S TOUR.

General Johnston Alarmed.—Retires to his Defenses at Jackson.—Addresses his Troops.—Investment of the City by Sherman.—Raids.—Incidents of the Siege.—General Grant Relaxes the Sternness of Military Rule.—His Care of the Negroes.—He makes a Tour of Observation.—Festival at Memphis.—Visits General Banks at New Orleans.—Grand Review.—Meets with an Accident.—Resumes Active Command.

But what, meanwhile, has Johnston been doing, whom we left hovering in the distance around Vicksburg, impatient to help the beleaguered army? Foiled in his designs by the sleepless vigilance of General Grant, he had chafed like a caged lion in the toils, quite as thoroughly besieged in the open field as his fellow traitors were within the city. And now General Sherman, by General Grant's order, moved toward him, animated by the recent victories.

The rebel general, on finding the Union troops had been sent in pursuit of his forces, fell back within the defenses of the Mississippi State capital, where he issued the following proclamation to his troops:—

Head-Quarters on the Field, *July* 9, 1863.

Fellow-Soldiers:—An insolent foe, flushed with hope by his recent success at Vicksburg, confronts you, threatening the people, whose homes and liberty you are here to protect, with plunder and conquest. Their guns may even now be heard as they advance.

The enemy it is at once the duty and the mission of you, brave men, to chastise and expel from the soil of Mississippi. The commanding general confidently relies on you to sustain his pledge, which he makes in advance, and he will be with you in the good work, even unto the end.

The vice of "straggling" he begs you to shun, and to frown on. If needs be, it will be checked by even the most summary remedies.

The telegraph has already announced a glorious victory over the foe, won by your noble comrades of the Virginia army on Federal soil: may he not, with redoubled hopes, count on you, while defending your firesides and

household gods, to emulate the proud example of your brothers in the East?

The country expects in this, the great crisis of its destiny, that every man will do his duty.

JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON, General commanding.

The army under General Sherman had advanced steadily, and was now gradually encircling the city. On the 12th of July he had invested the city from Pearl River, on the north of Jackson, to the same stream south of the place. The Pearl River runs directly through the city. By this means, General Sherman succeeded in cutting off many hundred cars from the Confederacy. While investing the city, General Sherman on the 11th of July sent a company of cavalry on a foraging expedition, and during the trip the command ascertained that the extensive library, formerly belonging to the rebel President, was secreted in a house near by. The cavalry at once proceeded to the house, and there found thousands of volumes of books, and several bushels of private and political papers belonging to Davis, written by persons North and South, who had been engaged in the plot of inciting the rebellion. Some of the papers were carried into camp, and served as novel literature for the officers and men.

In addition to these, valuable gold-headed walking-canes were found, one of them presented to Davis by Franklin Pierce. On another one was the inscription, "From a Soldier to a Soldier's Friend."

In many of the letters the subject of secession was warmly discussed. Some of them date back as far as 1852. Many of the more prominent writers accepted the separation of the North and South as a foregone conclusion, but only disagreed how and when it should be done. Davis was alluded to as the political Moses.

On the morning of July 12th, General Sherman sent a battalion of cavalry on an expedition about fifteen miles east of Jackson, to destroy the railroad bridges, culverts, rolling stock, and whatever aided the war of rebellion.

During the greater part of the preceding night the investing forces made arrangements for a cannonade of the enemy's works. A premature movement of a portion of

the line nearly caused a failure of the expedition, but prompt action on the part of the commanding general remedied the evil.

On the 13th of July the rebels made a sortie from their works and advanced a brigade of infantry and several batteries of artillery against the right of the line, to break it. It was sudden and made under the cover of a heavy fog; but was met with a determined resistance. In a short time after the enemy had opened the attack, the whole of the right wing was in line of battle, ready for any emergency.

On the night of June 16th, General Joseph E. Johnston with a portion of his army evacuated Jackson and retreated in great haste toward the east. Had he not made his retreat that night, the whole garrison would probably have been captured the next day by a complete investment of the city.

General Grant had remained at Vicksburg when General Sherman advanced, but he was not idle. He held constant communication with his various commands, and organized expeditions, the more effectually to clear the department of all vestige of rebel rule. A dispatch affords a glimpse of his work :—

VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, *July* 12, 1863.

Major-General HALLECK, General-in-chief:

General Sherman has Jackson invested from Pearl River on the north to the River on the south. This has cut off many hundred cars from the Confederacy. Sherman says he has forces enough, and feels no apprehension about the result.

Finding that Yazoo city was being fortified, I sent General Herron there with his division. He captured several hundred prisoners and one steamboat. Five pieces of heavy artillery and all the public stores fell into our hands. The enemy burned three steamboats on the approach of the gunboats.

The *De Kalb* was blown up and sunk in fifteen feet of water by the explosion of a torpedo.

Finding that the enemy were crossing cattle for the rebel army at Natchez, and were said to have several thousand there, I have sent steamboats and troops to collect them, and destroy all boats, and means for making more.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

General Grant telegraphed :—

VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, *July* 18, 1863.

Major-General H. W. HALLECK, General-in-chief:

Joe Johnston evacuated Jackson on the night of the 16th instant. He is now in full retreat east. Sherman says most of Johnston's army must perish from heat, lack of water, and general discouragement.

The army paroled here have to a great extent deserted, and are scattered over the country in every direction.

Learning that Yazoo city was being fortified, I sent General Herron there. Five guns were captured, many stores, and about three hundred prisoners.

General Ransom was sent to Natchez to stop the crossing of cattle for the Eastern army. On arrival he found that large numbers had been driven out of the city to be pastured: also that munitions of war had recently been crossed over to wait for Kirby Smith. He mounted about two hundred of his men and sent them in both directions.

They captured a number of prisoners and five thousand head of Texas cattle, two thousand head of which were sent to General Banks. The balance have been or will be brought here.

In Louisiana they captured more prisoners, and a number of teams loaded with ammunition. Over two million rounds of ammunition were brought back to Natchez with the teams captured, and two hundred and sixty-eight thousand rounds, besides artillery ammunition, were destroyed.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General commanding.

These dispatches tell the story of a closing campaign, unsurpassed in the greatness of its conception and its results.

A major in the rebel army had formerly served in the same regiment of the United States army with Grant, but was then his prisoner. Grant treated him kindly, invited him to his private apartment, and, after he left, gave a sketch of the rebel's former life to the members of his staff. He said that, when the rebel major was in his room and he was talking to him about the Confederate service, the latter replied, "Grant, I tell you, I ain't much of a rebel, after all, and when I am paroled, I will let the d——d service go to the mischief."

While General Grant's head-quarters were at Vicksburg, several interesting scenes enlivened the interlude of exhausting toil. The President nominated him to the office of Major-General, and the commission was issued, bearing date of July 4, 1863. The officers who had served under him, with appropriate ceremonies, presented him a

splendid sword. The blade was of finest steel, the scabbard of solid silver, elegantly finished, the handle richly carved with the figure of a young giant crushing the hydra, rebellion; and the box, on whose lid, inside, was wrought his name with crimson silk, was made of rosewood, bound with ivory, and lined with velvet.

General Grant relaxed the severity of his orders the moment it was safe to enlarge the liberty of his soldiers:—

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, *July* 20, 1863.

In pursuance of Section 32, of an Act entitled "An Act for enrolling and calling out the National forces, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1863, furloughs may be granted for a period not exceeding thirty days at one time, to five per centum of the non-commissioned officers and privates of each regiment, battery, independent company, and detachment, present with their respective commands in this department, for good conduct in their line of duty, by their immediate commanding officers, approved by intermediate and army corps commanders. Furloughs thus granted are intended for the benefit of well men, and the sick who have become so from fatigue or exposure in the line of duty.

Under no circumstances will furloughs be given to men who have shirked duty, or straggled on the march, or from camps. Such men must be made to perform extra fatigue duty by their immediate commanding officers, and in cases where this is not regarded as sufficient punishment, they will be fined in an amount not beyond that which a regimental court-martial is authorized to impose. The amount of such fine will be entered on the proper muster and pay rolls, opposite their respective names, and the cause for which it is imposed stated.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

The open rebel sympathizers, although despising the United States Government, and constantly giving practical aid to its enemies, were ever ready to send their negroes to be fed by the military authorities. General Grant was determined to put a stop to this proceeding, and issued the following order:—

HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, *July* 21, 1863.

1. Hereafter no issues of provisions will be made for contrabands, except those serving in regiments or in contraband camps.

2. Issues of provisions will not be made to citizens, except on certificates that they are destitute, and have no means of purchasing the necessary supplies for their families. These certificates must state the number of the

family, and the time for which they draw, which shall not exceed ten days at any one time.

3. In making issues to citizens, only articles of prime necessity will be given, *i. e.*, bread and meat, and these at the rate of one pound of flour, one half pound of salt meat, or one pound of fresh beef, to the ration.

By order of Major-General U. S. Grant.

The matter of trade with the rebels had always been a source of trouble to General Grant, as he found that persons so engaged were far more ready to secure to themselves the profits of illicit speculation than to care for the success of the Union armies. The following letter to the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury clearly sets forth his feelings upon this matter, and explains his objections to the plan of "Trade following the Flag":

Head-Quarters Department of the Tennessee,
Vicksburg, Mississippi, *July* 21, 1863.

Sir:—Your letter of the 4th instant to me, inclosing a copy of a letter of same date to Mr. Mellen, special agent of the Treasury, is just received. My Assistant Adjutant-General, by whom I shall send this letter, is about starting for Washington; hence I shall be very short in my reply.

My experience in West Tennessee has convinced me that any trade whatever with the rebellious States is weakening to us of at least thirty-three per cent. of our force. No matter what the restrictions thrown around trade, if any whatever is allowed it will be made the means of supplying the enemy what they want. Restrictions, if lived up to, make trade unprofitable, and hence none but dishonest men go into it. I will venture to say that no honest man has made money in West Tennessee in the last year, while many fortunes have been made there during the time.

The people in the Mississippi valley are now nearly subjugated. Keep trade out for a few months, and I doubt not but that the work of subjugation will be so complete, that trade can be opened freely with the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi; that the people of these States will be more anxious for the enforcement and protection of our laws than the people of the loyal States. They have experienced the misfortune of being without them, and are now in a most happy condition to appreciate their blessings.

No theory of my own will ever stand in the way of my executing, in good faith, any order I may receive from those in authority over me; but my position has given me an opportunity of seeing what would not be known by persons away from the scene of war; and I venture, therefore, to suggest great caution in opening trade with rebels.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. Grant, Major-General.

Hon. S. P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury.

It is clear by the last paragraph, that General Grant never allowed his private feelings to interfere with duty, and was always ready to render a cheerful obedience to authority.

By the end of July, 1863, he had perfected a complete system of mounted patrols between Vicksburg and New Orleans, who, with the gunboats, afforded ample protection to vessels. Every thing soon became quiet, and there were no signs of rebels on either shore. He ordered all sick soldiers in hospital, able to bear the journey, to be sent home on thirty days' furlough, and all those permanently disabled to be immediately discharged or recommended for membership in the invalid corps.

The following indicates General Grant's care for the soldiers under his command, and his determination that they should not be imposed upon by the cormorants that generally hang upon the trail of an army :

When General Grant issued his order, No. 45, granting furloughs to the soldiers, he also issued a special order forbidding steamboat men to charge more than five dollars to enlisted men, and seven dollars to officers, as fare between Vicksburg and Cairo. Immediately after Vicksburg had fallen, a large number of steamboats cleared from Northern ports for that place, and were in the habit of charging soldiers, going home on furlough, from fifteen to thirty dollars fare to Cairo.

One day, the steamer *Hope* touched at Vicksburg. The decks were covered with the brave volunteers, homeward bound from the late hard service, on a brief furlough. There were twelve hundred bronzed heroes, of whom nearly a quarter were officers. General Grant was informed that the captain had charged them from ten to twenty-five dollars each. Calling an officer, he said :

"Take a guard, and order that captain to refund to enlisted men the excess of five dollars, and of seven dollars to the officers ; or he'll be arrested, and his boat confiscated."

The captain listened, and looked with amazement. The armed guard convinced him it was useless to resist. He put on an air of injured innocence in the extortion, and

out with his pocket-book. The money was counted and paid over, amid the shouts of the troops huzzaing for Grant, the soldier's friend.

He remarked to those about him:

"I will teach them, if they need the lesson, that the men who have periled their lives, to open the Mississippi River for their benefit, cannot be imposed upon with impunity."

This considerate regard to the interests of the abused soldiers is one of the most pleasing, attractive features of General Grant's character. It won confidence from the humblest volunteer in his command.

The General is no politician, if that word means more than a loyal citizen. Like all conspicuous men, especially in the civil war of our country, in which politics—by which is understood party success and office-seeking—have been a deadly poison, corrupting and threatening the very life of the nation, he was not unfrequently approached on the subject by the "wire-pullers." A good story or two went abroad from his head-quarters at Vicksburg. Professed political friends paid him a visit, and, after a short time spent in compliments, they touched upon the never-ending subject of politics. One of the party was in the midst of a very flowery speech, using all his rhetorical powers to induce the General, if possible, to view matters in the same light as himself, when he was suddenly stopped by General Grant:

"There is no use of talking politics to me. I know nothing about them; and, furthermore, I do not know of any person among my acquaintances who does. But," continued he, "there is one subject with which I am perfectly acquainted; talk of that, and I am your man."

"What is that, General?" asked the politicians, in great surprise.

"Tanning leather," was the reply.

The subject was immediately changed.

The magnanimity of General Grant shone finely in his unambitious award of honor to his officers. July 23d, he wrote to the proper authorities:

"I would respectfully, but urgently, recommend the

promotion of Major-General W. T. Sherman, now commanding the Fifteenth Army Corps, to the position of Brigadier-General in the regular army.

"To General Sherman I was greatly indebted for his promptness in forwarding to me, during the siege of Fort Donelson, re-enforcements and supplies from Paducah. At the battle of Shiloh, on the first day, he held with raw troops the keypoint to the landing. To his individual efforts I am indebted for the success of that battle. Twice hit, and several (I think three) horses shot under him on that day, he maintained his position with raw troops. It is no disparagement to any other officer to say that I do not believe there was another division commander on the field who had the skill and experience to have done it. His services as division commander in the advance on Corinth, I will venture to say, were appreciated by the now General-in-Chief beyond those of any other division commander.

"General Sherman's arrangement as commander of troops in the attack on Chickasaw Bluffs, last December, was admirable; seeing the ground from the opposite side from the attack, I saw the impossibility of making it successful. The conception of the attack on Arkansas Post was General Sherman's. His part of the execution, no one denies, was as good as it possibly could have been. His demonstration at Haines's Bluff, in April, to hold the enemy about Vicksburg, while the army was securing a foothold east of the Mississippi; his rapid marches to join the army afterward; his management at Jackson, Mississippi, in the first attack; his almost unequaled march from Jackson to Bridgeport, and passage of Black River; his securing Walnut Hills on the 18th of May, and thus opening communications with our supplies, all attest his great merit as a soldier. The siege of Vicksburg and last capture of Jackson and dispersion of Johnston's army entitle General Sherman to more credit than usually falls to the lot of one man to earn. The promotion of such men as Sherman always adds strength to our arms."

On the same day that he recommended the promotion of General Sherman, he also requested the same honor for

General McPherson, and wrote to the General-in-Chief concerning him as follows:

"General McPherson has been with me in every battle since the commencement of the rebellion, except Belmont. At Forts Henry, Donelson, Shiloh, and the siege of Corinth, as a staff officer and engineer, his services were conspicuous and highly meritorious. At the second battle of Corinth his skill as a soldier was displayed in successfully carrying re-enforcements to the besieged garrison, when the enemy was between him and the point to be reached.

"In the advance through Central Mississippi last November and December, General McPherson commanded one wing of the army with all the ability possible to show, he having the lead in the advance and the rear returning.

"In the campaign and siege terminating with the fall of Vicksburg, General McPherson has filled a conspicuous part at the battle of Port Gibson. It was under his direction that the enemy was driven, late in the afternoon, from a position they had succeeded in holding all day against an obstinate attack. His corps, the advance, always under his immediate eye, were the pioneers in the movement from Port Gibson to Hawkinson's Ferry. From the north fork of the Bayou Pierre to Black River it was a constant skirmish, the whole skillfully managed. The enemy was so closely pressed as to be unable to destroy their bridge of boats after them. From Hawkinson's Ferry to Jackson, the Seventeenth Army Corps marched roads not traveled by other troops, fighting the entire battle of Raymond alone, and the bulk of Johnston's army was fought by this corps, entirely under the management of General McPherson.

"At Thompson's Hill, the Seventeenth Corps and General McPherson were conspicuous; all that could be termed a battle there was fought by the divisions of General McPherson's corps, and Hovey's division of the Thirteenth Corps. In the assault of the 22d of May, on the fortifications of Vicksburg, and during the entire siege, General McPherson and his command took unfading laurels. He is one of our ablest engineers and most skillful generals."

The commander-in-chief was in earnest in his purpose to eradicate from his department all bands of marauders, guerrillas, and irregular troopers, who, under the disguise of citizens, committed depredations within the Union lines. Neither would he allow plundering by his own soldiers. He therefore issued the following important order to that effect:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, *August* 1, 1863.

I. All regularly organized bodies of the enemy having been driven from those parts of Kentucky and Tennessee west of the Tennessee River, and from all of Mississippi west of the Mississippi Central Railroad, and it being to the interest of those districts not to invite the presence of armed bodies of men among them, it is announced that the most rigorous penalties will hereafter be inflicted upon the following classes of prisoners, to wit: All irregular bodies of cavalry not mustered and paid by the Confederate authorities; all persons engaged in conscripting, enforcing the conscription, or apprehending deserters, whether regular or irregular; all citizens encouraging or aiding the same; and all persons detected in firing upon unarmed transports.

It is not contemplated that this order shall affect the treatment due to prisoners of war captured within the districts named, when they are members of legally organized companies, and when their acts are in accordance with the usages of civilized warfare.

II. The citizens of Mississippi within the limits above described are called upon to pursue their peaceful avocations, in obedience to the laws of the United States. While doing so in good faith, all United States forces are prohibited from molesting them in any way. It is earnestly recommended that the freedom of negroes be acknowledged, and that, instead of compulsory labor, contracts on fair terms be entered into between the former masters and servants, or between the latter and other persons who may be willing to give them employment. Such a system as this, honestly followed, will result in substantial advantages to all parties.

All private property will be respected, except when the use of it is necessary for the Government, in which case it must be taken under the direction of a corps commander, and by a proper detail under charge of a commissioned officer, with specific instructions to seize certain property and no other. A staff-officer of the quartermaster's or subsistence department will, in each instance, be designated to receipt for such property as may be seized, the property to be paid for at the end of the war on proof of loyalty, or on proper adjustment of the claim, under such regulations or laws as may hereafter be established. All property seized under this order must be taken up on returns by the officers giving receipts, and disposed of in accordance with existing regulations.

III. Persons having cotton, or other produce not required by the army

will be allowed to bring the same to any military post within the State of Mississippi, and abandon it to the agent of the Treasury Department at said post, to be disposed of in accordance with such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may establish. At posts where there is no such agent, the post quartermaster will receive all such property, and, at the option of the owner, hold it till the arrival of the agent, or send it to Memphis, directed to Captain A. R. Eddy, Acting Quartermaster, who will turn it over to the properly authorized agent at that place.

IV. Within the county of Warren, laid waste by the long presence of contending armies, the following rules, to prevent suffering, will be observed:

Major-General Sherman, commanding the Fifteenth Army Corps, and Major-General McPherson, commanding the Seventeenth Army Corps, will each designate a commissary of subsistence, who will issue articles of prime necessity to all destitute families calling for them, under such restrictions for the protection of the Government as they may deem necessary. Families who are able to pay for the provisions drawn will in all cases be required to do so.

V. Conduct disgraceful to the American name has been frequently reported to the Major-General commanding, particularly on the part of portions of the cavalry. Hereafter, if the guilty parties cannot be reached, the commanders of regiments and detachments will be held responsible, and those who prove themselves unequal to the task of preserving discipline in their commands will be promptly reported to the War Department for "muster out." Summary punishment must be inflicted upon all officers and soldiers apprehended in acts of violence or lawlessness.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

The negroes in the department having all become free by virtue of President Lincoln's proclamation and the occupation of the country by the United States authorities, General Grant issued the following order for the care and disposition of such as were without protection or employment:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, *August* 10, 1863.

I. At all military posts in States within this department, where slavery has been abolished by the proclamation of the President of the United States, camps will be established for such freed people of color as are out of employment.

II. Commanders of posts or districts will detail suitable officers from the army as superintendents of such camps. It will be the duty of such superintendents to see that suitable rations are drawn from the Subsistence Department for such people as are confided to their care.

III. All such persons supported by the Government will be employed in every practicable way, so as to avoid, as far as possible, their becoming a

burden upon the Government. They may be hired to planters or other citizens, on proper assurance that the negroes so hired will not be run off beyond the military jurisdiction of the United States; they may be employed on any public works, in gathering crops from abandoned plantations, and generally in any manner local commanders may deem for the best interests of the Government, in compliance with law and the policy of the Administration.

IV. It will be the duty of the provost-marshal at every military post to see that every negro, within the jurisdiction of the military authority, is employed by some white person, or is sent to the camps provided for freed people.

V. Citizens may make contracts with freed persons of color for their labor, giving wages per month in money, or employ families of them by the year on plantations, &c., feeding, clothing and supporting the infirm as well as able-bodied, and giving a portion, not less than one-twentieth of the commercial part of their crops, in payment for such services.

VI. Where negroes are employed under this authority, the parties employing will register with the provost-marshal their names, occupation, and residence, and the number of negroes so employed. They will enter into such bonds as the provost-marshal, with the approval of the local commander, may require, for the kind treatment and proper care of those employed, and as security against their being carried beyond the employé's jurisdiction.

VII. Nothing of this order is to be construed to embarrass the employment of such colored persons as may be required by the Government.

By order of Major-General U. S. Grant.

But now we turn to a domestic view of the warrior's life. His excellent wife, who had patiently waited in the distance for a victorious pause in his stormy career, embraced the moments of comparative rest, and left her home for his camp. With a devoted wife's just pride, she desired not only to see him, but the stronghold which had immortalized his name.

Reaching St. Louis, it soon became known that she was there. A fine band gathered to the hotel, and serenaded the lady, who sought the public applause no more than her husband. When the music died away, three cheers rang out for General Grant, followed by as many more for her. Leaning on the arm of Brigadier-General Strong, he responded to repeated calls for a speech, as follows:—

"Gentlemen:—I am requested by Mrs. Grant to

express her acknowledgments for the honor you have done her on this occasion. I know well that, in tendering her thanks, I express your sentiments, when I say the compliment through her to her noble husband is one merited by a brave and great man, who has made his name forever honored and immortal, in the history of America's illustrious patriots, living or dead. Mrs. Grant does not desire, in the testimony you have offered, that you should forget the brave and gallant officers and soldiers who have so largely assisted in bringing about the glorious result which has recently caused the big heart of our nation to leap with joy. She asks you also to stop and drop a pensive tear over the graves of the noble dead, who have fallen in the struggle, that you and I, and all of us, might enjoy the fruits of their patriotic devotion to a country second to none on the earth. We trust that the Mississippi forever will be under the control of our glorious country. Mrs. Grant is now on the way to join her husband, who, since the commencement of the war, has not asked for one day's absence. He has not found time to be sick. With these remarks she bids you good-night, and begs that you accept her thousand thanks."

We cannot enter the seclusion of the house in the conquered city, and hear all the words of devotion and congratulation there, which came in like æolian harmony during the pauses of a tempest, to the experience of the great commander.

Leaving the youthful but gifted McPherson to command the District of Vicksburg, General Grant began a tour of observation among the important posts of his extensive military rule.

The first important place of a formal visit was Memphis, in the southwestern corner of Tennessee, nearly north of Vicksburg, which he reached on the 25th of August, and where he was received with great honor by the inhabitants of that city, although he arrived late in the evening.

At ten o'clock the next morning a committee of citizens waited upon the General to tender him the hospitalities of the city, and to present to him a series of resolutions passed at a meeting of the residents of Memphis, held on the day

of his arrival. At the close of the address, an invitation was proffered to General Grant to be present at a dinner to be given in his honor that evening. The General received the committee cordially, but without further words than the thanking of the gentlemen, and through them the citizens of Memphis, for the great courtesy conferred upon him. He afterward forwarded the following modest and pleasant letter of acceptance :—

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE, *August* 26, 1863.

GENTLEMEN :—I received a copy of the resolutions passed by the "loyal citizens of Memphis, at a meeting held at the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce, August 25th, 1863," tendering me a public reception.

In accepting this testimonial, which I do at a great sacrifice of my personal feelings, I simply desire to pay a tribute to the first public exhibition in Memphis of loyalty to the Government which I represent in the Department of the Tennessee. I should dislike to refuse, for considerations of personal convenience, to acknowledge, anywhere or in any form, the existence of sentiments which I have so long and so ardently desired to see manifested in this department. The stability of this Government and the unity of this nation depend solely on the cordial support and the earnest loyalty of the people. While, therefore, I thank you sincerely for the kind expressions you have used toward myself, I am profoundly gratified at this public recognition, in the city of Memphis, of the power and authority of the Government of the United States.

I thank you, too, in the name of the noble army which I have the honor to command. It is composed of men whose loyalty is proved by their deeds of heroism and their willing sacrifices of life and health. They will rejoice with me that the miserable adherents of the rebellion, whom their bayonets have driven from this fair land, are being replaced by men who acknowledge human liberty as the only true foundation of human government. May your efforts to restore your city to the cause of the Union be as successful as have been theirs to reclaim it from the despotic rule of the leaders of the rebellion. I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your very obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

Messrs. R. HOUGH and others, Committee, Memphis.

At precisely nine o'clock, the band struck up one of the national airs, the doors of the reception room flew open, and General Grant made his appearance. There was a great rush on the part of the enthusiastic and impatient to grasp the hero's hand. An hour, at least, though it seemed less, was thus consumed in hand-shaking and congratula-

tions. After the lapse of this time, the band again sent forth its melody in the shape of a march. The whole assemblage then formed in two ranks, headed by General Grant. This done, the entire party marched into the dining-room, made the complete round of the tables, examining the preparations, and then seated themselves.

The repast was followed by the toasts:

"The United States of America—They have one Constitution and Government. May they have one grand destiny while human institutions endure." Responded to by Honorable Charles Kortrecht.

"The Army and Navy—Their deeds and heroism in this war will be the noble theme of poet and historian in all future time." Responded to by Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas.

"General Grant—The guest of the city."

This was the signal for the wildest applause, and it was some minutes before order could be restored. It was expected that General Grant would be brought to his feet by this; but the company were disappointed, upon perceiving that, instead, his place was taken by his staff surgeon, Dr. Hewitt, who remarked:

"I am instructed by General Grant to say, that, as he has never been given to public speaking, you will have to excuse him on this occasion; and, as I am the only member of his staff present, I therefore feel it my duty to thank you for this manifestation of your good-will, as also the numerous other kindnesses of which he has been the recipient ever since his arrival among you. General Grant believes that, in all he has done, he has no more than accomplished a duty, and one, too, for which no particular honor is due. But the world, as you do, will accord otherwise."

The Doctor then proposed, at General Grant's request:

"The officers of the different staffs, and the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Army of the Tennessee."

"The Federal Union—It must and will be preserved." Responded to by Major-General S. A. Hurlbut.

"The Old Flag—May its extinguished stars, rekindled by the sacred flame of human liberty, continue to shine

forever undiminished in number, and undimmed in splendor." Brigadier-General Veatch.

"The President of the United States—He must be sustained." Colonel J. W. Fuller.

"The Star-spangled Banner" was here sung, the whole party joining in the chorus.

"The loyal men of Tennessee—Their devotion to the Union, the cause of republican government, and constitutional liberty, is like gold tried seven times by fire."—Mr. J. M. Tomony.

The remainder of the toasts were of a local character, with the exception of the closing one, which was as follows:

"General Grant—Your Grant and my Grant. Having granted us victories, grant us the restoration of the 'Old Flag;' grant us supplies, so that we may grant to our friends the grant to us."

Dr. Morris read the following lines composed in honor of General Grant:—

DE SOTO, FULTON, GRANT.

The daring Spaniard, when his eyes beheld,
For the first time, yon noble river roll
And sparkle in the sunbeams, as it bore
Its mighty current onward to the sea,
Fell upon bended knee and worshiped God
Aloud, for that his painful task was done.
The secret of the ages he had solved—
The Mississippi, sire of floods, stood forth,
Embanked in verdure, bordered by a soil
Richer than Egypt's Delta,
Science and commerce winged their pinions there,
And wrote his name, De Soto, on their scrolls.

Ages rolled by, the tawny savage fled—
The white man launched his boat upon the flood,
The forest fell, the fertile soil gave back
Unto the sower's hand a hundred-fold.
Then rose the genius Fulton, and he taught
To stem the unconquered flood, to push the weight
Of mightiest keels against the heaving mass
That untold centuries had crowned with power;
He sent his messengers in smoke and flame

Up to the Mississippi's very fount;
And by the Spaniard's name he wrote his own—
Fulton, the nation's benefactor.

Yon sire of floods was the great bond that joined
These waters into one: his bosom bore
In precious freightage all that nature yields
From furthest North down to a torrid clime;
Its channel was the highway of the West:
Science had made his heaving mass her own;
Pleasure danced revelry upon its floods;
Beauty and love dwelt by him all secure;
Fraternal hands joined hands along his banks;
His very waters made us all akin.

Then spoke an enemy—and on his banks
Armed men appeared, and cannon-shot proclaimed
The Mississippi closed—that mighty stream
Found by De Soto, and by Fulton won!
One thought to chain him! ignominious thought!
But then the grand old monarch shook his locks
And burst his fetters like a Samson freed!
The heights were crowned with ramparts sheltering those
Whose treason knew no bounds: the frowning forts
Belched lightnings, and the morning gun
A thousand miles told mournfully the tale,
The Mississippi closed.

Not long; from the Lord God of Hosts was sent
A leader who with patient vigil planned
A great deliverance: height by height was gained,
Island and hill and woody bank and cliff.
Month followed month, till on our natal day
The last great barrier fell, and never more
The sire of waters shall obstruction know!
Now with De Soto's name, and Fulton's, see
The greater name of Grant!

Our children's children, noble Grant, shall sing
That great deliverance! On the floods of spring
Thy name shall sparkle, smiling commerce tell
Thy great achievement which restores the chain,
Never again to break, which makes us one.

General Grant immediately turned his steps southward again, visiting Natchez and other points in the department.

He proceeded to New Orleans to confer with General Banks on the question of re-opening trade between the North and South. He arrived there on the 2d of September, within one week from the time he left Memphis, and the next day it was announced that the trade of the city of New Orleans with Cairo, St. Louis and the cities and towns of the Upper Mississippi, the Missouri and Ohio Rivers, was declared free from any military restriction whatever. The trade of the Mississippi within the Department of the Gulf was held subject only to such limitations as might prove necessary to prevent the supply of provisions and munitions of war to the enemies of the country.

On the morning of the 4th of September, 1863, General Grant held a grand review of the Thirteenth Army Corps, which had been under his command at Vicksburg, but was afterward transferred to that of General Banks.

General Banks, accompanied by a numerous staff, was at the St. Charles Hotel as early as eight o'clock, and at nine o'clock both generals left for Carrolton, where the review took place. The street was crowded to witness the departure of these officers, all present being desirous of seeing General Grant. He was in undress uniform, without sword, sash, or belt; coat unbuttoned, a low-crowned black felt hat, without any mark upon it of military rank; a pair of kid gloves, and a cigar in his mouth. It must be known, however, that he is never without the latter, except when asleep.

During the review, General Grant, although a good horseman, being mounted on a strange horse, was suddenly thrown from his seat, and severely injured. At this particular time the mishap was of serious consequence with regard to the campaigns in the Southwest, as may be judged from the annual report of the general-in-chief.

It appears, in the following extract from that document, that it was intended that General Grant should take command in September, 1863, of the Union forces moving toward northwestern Georgia; but his accident prevented:

"As three separate armies—those of the Ohio, Cumberland, and Tennessee—were now to operate in the same field, it seemed necessary to have a single commander, in

order to secure a more perfect co-operation than had been obtained with the separate commands of Burnside and Rosecrans. General Grant, by his distinguished services and superior rank to all the other generals in the West, seemed entitled to this general command. But, unfortunately, he was at this time in New Orleans, unable to take the field. Moreover, there was no telegraphic communication with him, and the dispatches of September 13th, directed to him and General Sherman, did not reach them until some days after their dates, thus delaying the movement of General Grant's forces from Vicksburg. General Hurlbut, however, had moved the troops of his own corps, then in West Tennessee, with commendable promptness. These were to be replaced by re-enforcements from Steele's corps, in Arkansas, which also formed part of General Grant's army. Hearing nothing from General Grant's or General Sherman's corps at Vicksburg, it was determined, on the 23d, to detach the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps from the Army of the Potomac, and send them by rail, under the command of General Hooker, to protect General Rosecrans's line of communication from Bridgeport to Nashville. It was known that these troops could not go immediately to the front. To send more men to Chattanooga, when those already there could not be fully supplied, would only increase the embarrassment, and probably cause the evacuation of that place. In other words, Hooker's command was temporarily performing the duties previously assigned to the re-enforcements ordered from Grant's army."

General Grant's injuries were of so serious a nature that it was feared he would never be able to take the field again. He was carried from Carrolton, on a litter, to the steamer *Franklin*, which took him up the river; his breastbone was said to have been crushed, three ribs broken, and one side paralyzed; and his brain was thought to be affected from the concussion of the fall from his horse. Fortunately for the country, by the aid of a good surgeon, he was enabled, after over a month's illness, to take the position destined for him, as chief commander in the West.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A NEW CAMPAIGN.—CHATTANOOGA.

Chickamauga.—Rosecrans defeated there.—Preparations for a new Campaign.—General Grant moves up the Mississippi.—Again at Vicksburg, caring for his Command.—A Board and Medal of Honor.—General Sherman on the March for Chattanooga.—General Grant meets the Secretary of War.—Enlarged Command.—The Enemy alarmed.—Affected Mirth.—Chattanooga Relieved.—Preparations for Decisive Battle.—The Bloody Contest.—General O'Meara.

In southeastern Tennessee, on the Western and Atlantic Railroad, eighteen miles apart, are Chickamauga and Chattanooga. The Tennessee River flows near, and railways run among the wild summits which guard glorious valleys, and make some of the finest scenery in the world. The history of this battle-ground, forever associated with the names of Grant, Sherman, and Thomas, is peculiar and interesting.

This was the Cherokee's favorite hunting-ground. Over it the State of Georgia extended her laws, and imprisoned the missionaries who refused to take the oath of allegiance to them.

While General Grant was a suffering invalid, September 19th, General Rosecrans, at the head of the Army of the Cumberland, met General Bragg at Chickamauga, and, after a desperate conflict, was glad to retreat to Chattanooga, unpursued by his successful enemy.

As soon as he was able to move, the chief began his voyage up the Mississippi River. He stopped at the principal dépôts of his troops, and arranged for their departure eastward, at such times as would enable them to form a combination with the forces at Chattanooga.

While at Vicksburg, he was determined that his men should be paid, and issued his order accordingly. It was also necessary to make a tariff of rates to prevent impositions upon the war-ruined people of the Southwest. The

exorbitant prices of passage on the Mississippi River called forth from department head-quarters the last paragraph of the following order in relation to river matters:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, *September* 29, 1863.

I. All enlisted men on detached service, in army corps other than that in which their regiments, detachments, or companies are serving, except those detailed by orders from department head-quarters, as nurses in general hospitals and hospital steamers, and clerks in staff departments, are hereby relieved from such detached service, and will report to their respective commands for duty.

Army corps commanders will see that this order is carried into immediate execution.

II. Company and regimental commanders will furnish to the officer in charge of men of their respective commands, absent in hospitals or at parole camps, proper descriptive lists and accounts of pay and clothing, to enable them to draw their pay. Such descriptive lists must contain the name, rank, description, where born, occupation, when, where, and by whom enrolled or enlisted, when, where, by whom, and for what period mustered, by what paymaster, and to what time last paid, the bounty paid and amount still due, and the amount due, to or from him, for clothing, with the proper remarks showing his military history, &c. Descriptive lists showing less than this are valueless. Hereafter, no enlisted man will be sent from his company or regiment without such descriptive list as is herein required being furnished to the proper officer in charge, and any neglect to comply with this order will subject the offender to trial by court-martial and dismissal from the service.

It will be the duty of all officers of the Inspector-General's Department to properly inspect and report any neglect of duty in this particular.

III. Army corps commanders will announce in general orders the acting assistant inspectors-general of districts, divisions, and brigades within their respective corps, and will authorize them to make inspections and recommend the disposal of unserviceable property, in accordance with army regulations and orders.

So much of paragraph third of General Orders, No. 30, current series, from these head-quarters, as requires the acting assistant inspectors-general of districts, divisions, and brigades, to report direct to the Assistant Inspector-General at department head-quarters, is revoked, and all reports required by army regulations and existing orders will be forwarded through the proper military channels.

IV. So much of General Orders, No. 49, current series, from these head-quarters, as establishes the rates of transportation and subsistence of commissioned officers traveling on steamboats within this department, is hereby revoked, and in lieu thereof is substituted the rates of military transportation and subsistence established by Colonel Lewis B. Parsons, Assist-

ant-Quartermaster and General Superintendent of Transportation at St. Louis, Missouri, August 1, 1863, viz.:

TO OR FROM ST. LOUIS TO THE FOLLOWING PLACES.

Cairo to Columbus . .	$4	Vicksburg	$16
Memphis	10	Port Hudson . . .	18
Helena	12	New Orleans . . .	20

And to or from all intermediate points at like rates in proportion to distance transported.

Enlisted men will be entitled to travel as cabin passengers, when they desire it, at same rates.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

Before he left the Department of the Tennessee, he regulated the military jurisdiction over the conquered region around Vicksburg.

The administration of the city was excellent, and the numerous secessionists still remaining there were kept on their good behavior in dread of "exile," as they considered the operation of sending them to their friends within the rebel lines. The following officers composed the military command:—District Commander, Major-General Jas. B. McPherson; Post Commander, Major-General John A. Logan; District Provost-Marshal, Lieutenant-Colonel James Wilson; Post Provost-Marshal, Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell. As a reward for special bravery, General Grant instituted the "Insignia of Honor" for the Seventeenth Corps. The design of the medals was a blending of the crescent, a star, and a shield; the base being formed of the crescent, to the two extremities of which was fixed the star, while pendant from its lower point was suspended a shield. Upon the crescent, the words "Vicksburg, July 4, 1863." The object in the presentation of these badges was, to reward the meritorious members of the Seventeenth Corps for conspicuous valor on the field of battle or endurance in the march. This famous corps, since its organization, had been foremost in duty and deeds of glory throughout the entire campaign against Vicksburg, and no better method could have been adopted to continue in the future the same excellent spirit of emulation for which

it had always been celebrated, both on the part of officers and men.

After the repulse of the forces at Chickamauga in front of Chattanooga, important movements of troops commenced from General Grant's department toward that place. All of General Sherman's Fifteenth Army Corps, excepting General Tuttle's division, was transported from Vicksburg to the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. On Saturday, October 10th, General Osterhaus's division entered Iuka. No considerable body of rebels was encountered anywhere on the march between Iuka and Corinth. The rebel cavalry were seen hovering on the Union flank and front continually, although they gave but little trouble or uneasiness. A reconnoissance was made on October 11th by two regiments of infantry, a section of artillery, and one company of cavalry, and revealed a battalion of cavalry at the crossing of Bear Creek, five miles east of Iuka.

In the mean time, it was known by the rebels that General Sherman was at Memphis, and intended to pass over the Memphis and Charleston Railroad to Chattanooga. A body of rebel cavalry and infantry therefore concentrated at Wyeth, a small village on the Tallahatchie, where were located the head-quarters of Colonel Chalmers. This force was further increased by the addition of a number of conscripts. Having thus gathered all the numbers they could in the country, Chalmers found himself at the head of about four thousand men of all kinds and five pieces of artillery. With this command he moved north, and on the morning of October 11th made his appearance upon the railroad, several miles beyond Colliersville. The regular passenger train, though in his power, the enemy allowed to pass, but as soon as that had run by, working parties were thrown upon the track, which was torn up in several places, and the ties stacked upon the road and fired. These fires proved a fortunate circumstance, as, soon after, General Sherman and staff, accompanied by his body guard, a battalion of the Thirteenth Regulars, approached the place on an extra train. Discovering the fires, the troops on board prepared for an attack, though

they did not disembark, and the entire party ran up to the station. As they were passing a certain point, as was expected, the enemy fired upon the train, particularly into the passenger car, wounding several persons. Having run to the stockade, the enemy closed in upon the Union troops, and commenced a fire from all directions. In order to cover the transit of the United States troops from the train to the stockade, the regulars made a charge out of the cars and directly upon the enemy, who fled in all directions in a perfect panic. The entire force then succeeded in taking refuge within the stockade, and acted entirely on the defensive.

Before General Sherman arrived, the garrison had engaged the enemy in a desperate conflict, and at the time of his appearance they had been overwhelmed and driven within the fortifications of the place. The fight continued but a short time after the opportune arrival of the regulars, though, while it did, the General took an active part among the men. His presence fired their enthusiasm and stimulated their courage.

Immediately upon the receipt of information that the enemy was in this neighborhood, a strong body of infantry re-enforcements was ordered from Memphis to the scene of operations. At the same time the cavalry, encamped at Germantown, were ordered to mount and move out. A force also demonstrated from the east.

On October 21st, the Union forces moving eastward from Corinth met with resistance near Cherokee Station, eighty-nine miles from Tuscumbia. General Osterhaus was in the advance, and had not moved far when he encountered two brigades of rebel cavalry, estimated at from four to six thousand. The fight lasted an hour, when the rebels were defeated.

General Sherman, finding that to advance along the railroad would only lead to continual fighting and delay, kept a small force moving by that direction, while he marched the main body north of the Tennessee River, and thus reached Chattanooga without any serious opposition, as the rebels had concentrated their forces to resist his advance by the route south of that stream.

General Grant moved up the Mississippi to Cairo, making a short visit to the military posts along that river. He telegraphed his arrival at each of these places to the head-quarters of the General-in-Chief at Washington, and the Secretary of War started to meet him on the route. When General Grant arrived at Indianapolis, he found that a telegram was there awaiting him at the dépôt, requesting him to delay his further journey until the arrival of that official. It was not long before they met, and as soon as the Secretary of War and the General had passed the usual compliments between gentlemen on their first personal acquaintance, the former handed the latter the following order:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, *October* 16, 1863.

By direction of the President of the United States, the Departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee will constitute the Military Division of the Mississippi. Major-General U. S. Grant, United States army, is placed in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, with his head-quarters in the field.

Major-General W. S. Rosecrans, U. S. Volunteers, is relieved from the command of the Department and Army of the Cumberland. Major-General G. H. Thomas is hereby assigned to that command.

By order of the Secretary of War.

E. D. TOWNSEND, A. A.-G.

The party then proceeded, with their special attendants, to Louisville, where their arrival created intense excitement. They found a wondering crowd gathered in the hall of the Galt House to catch a glimpse of the hero of Vicksburg. Numerous were the exclamations of wonder as General Grant made his appearance. There seemed to have been an impression that the General was above the ordinary stature of men.

"I thought he was a large man," said a native. "He would be considered a small chance of a fighter if he lived in Kentucky."

The medium-sized frame of the General formed a strange contrast to the huge figures of the Kentuckians who swarmed to behold him.

During the afternoon, he indulged in a ride on horseback around the town. He was still unable to walk without his cane and crutch.

The condition of the region of country over which General Grant was now to exercise superintendence was such as to require immediate action; and he at once assumed his new command, and announced it in a very unpretending order:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, *October* 18, 1863.

In compliance with General Orders, No. 337, of date Washington, D. C., October 16, 1863, the undersigned hereby assumes command of the "Military Division of the Mississippi, embracing the Departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee."

The head-quarters of the Military Division of the Mississippi will be in the field, where all reports and returns required by army regulations and existing orders will be made.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

The new command was one of the most stupendous ever held by a general, below the grade of a general-in-chief, in this or any other nation. It covered a larger area, and controlled a greater number of troops, than had previously been held and massed under one man. The military division of the Mississippi embraced the central zone of operations, and the nature of the territory belonging thereto rendered it absolutely essential that one mind should direct its movements. The necessity for proper co-operation alone made this imperative.

General Grant now had under his direction four of the largest armies in the field. His own army, with which he won the victories in and around Vicksburg, and throughout Mississippi; the "Army of the Cumberland;" the "Army of the Ohio," and General Hooker's Grand Division. Under him was a perfect galaxy of Marshals. His army commanders were Generals Sherman, Thomas, Burnside, and Hooker. (General Foster's column was afterward added.) His corps commanders were as follows:—

The Fourth Army Corps, General Granger; the Ninth Army Corps, General Potter; the Eleventh Army Corps, General Howard; the Twelfth Army Corps, General Slo-

cum; the Fourteenth Army Corps, General Palmer; the Fifteenth Army Corps, General J. A. Logan; the Sixteenth Army Corps, General Hurlbut; the Seventeenth Army Corps, General McPherson; and the Twenty-third Army Corps, General Manson.

His division and brigade leaders were not inferior, while the regiments were of the best fighting material in the world.

The country embraced within the limits of this new command included the States of Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Northern Alabama, and Northwestern Georgia. One glance at the map will therefore show what comprised General Grant's Military Division of the Mississippi.

The opposing forces were not less grand in their constitution. General Bragg's army embraced his own veteran troops, and to that army were added Longstreet's and Hill's Corps from the Virginia rebel army. General Pemberton's army, which were said to be exchanged, were with Bragg. Joe Johnston had a co-operating force of thirty thousand men, in addition to which there was a small rebel force in Mississippi, consisting of one brigade of infantry at Newton Station, on the Southern Road, and a cavalry division of from five thousand to six thousand, operating between Jackson and the Big Black, under General S. D. Lee.

The position of affairs will be seen at a glance. It must, however, not be forgotten that General Grant had under him the troops that had been sorely defeated at Chickamauga, and were at that time shut up in Chattanooga by a besieging force of the rebels. The enemy believed that they had this force securely in a trap, and when they heard of the change in the command they began to make light of it. One of their journalists remarked that the Union authorities had removed a hero (Rosecrans), and placed two fools (Grant and Thomas) in command. The President is reported to have said, that "if one fool like Grant can do as much work, and win as profitable victories as he, he had no objection to two of them, as they would surely wipe out the rebellion."

General Grant arrived in Nashville on the morning of October 21st. He was during the same evening introduced to the people by the Military Governor, but refused to make a speech. Having secured his communications, and ordered the regauging of the railroads, so that one continuous line of communication should exist between the Ohio River and Chattanooga, General Grant took his departure for that place, where he arrived on October 23d.

The sad state of things in Chattanooga, after the new command, did not last long.

General Grant, soon after his arrival, was riding with Quartermaster-General Meigs along the highways, bordered with carcasses and skeletons, when they passed the decaying body of a gigantic mule. "Ah, General," said Grant, with affected sadness, "there lies a dead soldier of the Quartermaster's Department." "Yes, General," responded Meigs, with equal gravity; "in him you see 'the ruling passion strong in death' exemplified; for the old veteran has already assumed the *offensive*."

Thus, like moonlight across black storm-clouds, break the humor and wit of great minds upon the grim aspect of war.

After the battles of Chickamauga, the post on Lookout Mountain was abandoned by the Union troops, and was immediately taken possession of by the rebels. From this point they were enabled to shell the supply trains moving along the valley route toward Chattanooga from Bridgeport, compelling our army to take supplies along the mountain roads.

To reopen the valley route was General Grant's primary and most important design. He, therefore, while at Nashville, communicated his plans to General Hooker, and when he arrived at Chattanooga, with the assistance of his chief-engineer, Brigadier-General W. F. Smith, at once set about the work.

A letter, written October 26th, communicated the gratifying result:—

"The reoccupation of Lookout and the reopening of the 'Southern line' to Bridgeport have for some time been the chief aim of strategists in this department. A move-

ment of Major-General Hooker's troops from opposite Bridgeport, along the south bank of the Tennessee, through Shellmound and Whiteside, commenced a week ago. A large additional force, under Major-General Palmer—spared from the army without weakening our lines—joined Hooker on the march up Lookout Valley, and the combined forces effected a junction with Brigadier-General Hazen's command last night near the foot of Lookout. The valley route to Bridgeport is now ours, and I am led to believe that movements in progress will give us possession of the mountain itself, and perhaps force an evacuation by Bragg's whole army ere many weeks are gone."

About this time, Jeff. Davis visited the fortress on the lofty summit, which seemed to defy attack. His vulture eye swept the circle of the magnificent view, covering a part of four States. And we may believe, with something like the exultation of Satan when he showed the Messiah the kingdoms of the earth, he remarked to General Pemberton, when his gaze came back to General Grant's army, in the distance, working like beavers on their fortifications:

"I have them now, in just the trap I set for them."

To which Lieutenant-General Pemberton, who was sitting on horseback beside him, replied, "Mr. Davis, you are commander-in-chief, and you are here. You think the enemy are in a trap, and can be captured by vigorous assault. I have been blamed for not having ordered a general attack on the enemy when they were drawing around me their lines of circumvallation at Vicksburg. Do you now order an attack upon those troops down there below us, and I will set you my life that not one man of the attacking column will ever come back across that valley, except as a prisoner."

The brilliant success of these operations relieved Chattanooga of the prospective danger of starvation, and General Grant found time to prepare for his movements upon the enemy in his front. Stores of all kinds began to make their way into storehouse, and daily parades and drills took place in front of the works, within view of the

rebel pickets and sentries. Every thing had settled down into its quiet routine, and even the generals appeared at their ease.

General Grant, who had almost recovered his strength, occupied a delightful Chattanooga residence, and, with his briar-wood pipe, walked to and fro up the streets of the town, unattended, many times unobserved, but at all times observing. Quartermaster-General Meigs had taken to a wall tent, from a regard for the fitness of things. His head-quarters were in the field, and soldiers in the field inhabit tents. Generals Thomas and Gordon Granger were workers, preparing their grand machine for the next campaign, their consultations often extending far into the night.

But in the midst of this quiet lay a slumbering volcano.

General Grant had determined he would have no enemies around him to report his movements to the rebels or to interfere with his plans; therefore, previous to his making any advance upon the rebel positions, he issued the following order:—

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE FIELD, CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *Nov.* 5, 1863.

The habit of raiding parties of rebel cavalry visiting towns, villages, and farms where there are no Federal forces, and pillaging Union families, having become prevalent, department commanders will take immediate steps to stop the evil, or make the loss by such raids fall upon secessionists and secession sympathizers in the neighborhood where such acts are committed. For every act of violence to the person of an unarmed Union citizen, a secessionist will be arrested and held as hostage for the delivery of the offender. For every dollar's worth of property taken from such citizens, or destroyed by raiders, an assessment will be made upon secessionists of the neighborhood, and collected by the nearest military forces, under the supervision of the commander thereof, and the amount thus collected paid over to the sufferers. When such assessments cannot be collected in money, property useful to the Government may be taken at a fair valuation, and the amount paid in money by a disbursing officer of the Government, who will take such property upon his returns. Wealthy secession citizens will be assessed in money and provisions for the support of Union refugees who have been and may be driven from their homes and into our lines by the acts of those with whom secession citizens are in sympathy. All collections and payments under this order will be made through disbursing

officers of the Government, whose accounts must show all money and property received under it, and how disposed of.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

This order he carried out to the letter when the opportunity offered.

About the middle of November the head of General Sherman's column arrived at Chattanooga and formed a junction with the forces under General Thomas, on the right of the main army.

Shortly before the time that General Sherman joined General Grant, the rebel General Longstreet made several attempts to flank the Union position several miles to the eastward of Chattanooga, with the intention of advancing into Tennessee and capturing Knoxville. The advanced forces of the Army of Eastern Tennessee had heretofore resisted Longstreet's movement at the crossing of the Little Tennessee River; but after General Burnside had communicated with General Grant, Longstreet was allowed to advance upon Knoxville, the Union troops impeding his march as much as possible, and drawing him on with a show of resistance. The feint was well planned and finely carried out.

On the 14th of November, General Longstreet, after crossing the Little Tennessee River, was attacked by a force of General Burnside's troops, who drove the rebel advance guard back upon their reserves, which were stationed at about a mile north of the river bank. They then retreated, while the rebels crossed their whole force and moved toward Marysville. Our forces then fell back upon Lenoir, as if to hold the railroad at that place. Three times the rebels assaulted that position on November 15th without success; but the next morning the Union troops evacuated it and retreated to Campbell's Station. Here they again made a stand, and a fight ensued, lasting from before noon until dark. This detention of the rebels enabled us to secure our trains, which were sent within the defenses of Knoxville. Our troops once more fell back, stopped and repeated their resistance to the enemy, and after a fight again retreated in good order, until, on

the 19th of November, Longstreet's forces were before the city of Knoxville, which they began to invest—Burnside being safely within the works.

General Grant was advised of the position of affairs, and, with his "we have them now where we want them," he prepared to move on the enemy.

A plan was formed, by the commanding General, to raise the siege of Chattanooga and get possession of Lookout Mountain. This plan was submitted to his general officers, and finally adopted. An examination of the enemy's line showed that he had deliberately exposed himself to great danger. He had allowed a large portion of his army to go into East Tennessee, and he extended the remainder of his forces into lines almost as thin as a spider's thread. His exterior line upon Mission Ridge was nearly seven miles in extent, while his inner lines of rifle-pits and similar defenses running through the valleys were not less than five miles long. There were upon the line two points of importance to him; the first, Missionary Ridge, being the key to his position, and Lookout Mountain, an elevation valuable to Bragg as a barrier to the Union troops. It was supposed the enemy would defend the former with vigor, as the latter could be held by a small force. General Grant was of the opinion, that, by attacking his flanks vigorously, forcing him to keep his line lengthened, and thus weakened, it would give a favorable opportunity to test the strength of the center. It was therefore decided that General Sherman, with three divisions of his own army, General Davis, of Palmer's corps, should move north of the river, to a point opposite the mouth of the Chickamauga, and at an early hour on the following morning throw a pontoon bridge across the Tennessee, and, under cover of artillery, cross and carry the heights of Missionary Ridge as far, at least, as Tunnel Hill. On the left rebel flank, General Hooker was to operate with three divisions, his primary object being to hold the rebels there, but authorized, in case of an opportunity presenting itself, to take possession of Lookout Mountain. In the center, General Thomas was ordered to hold Granger and Palmer's corps well in hand, to await an op-

portunity to strike at the center, whenever in the opinion of General Grant the auspicious moment presented itself. General O. O. Howard's corps was to be moved to the north side of the river, so as to aid either Sherman or the center. But subsequently, at the suggestion of General Thomas, Howard was crossed into Chattanooga, and his corps held as a movable column in reserve. Such was the general plan of operations, subject, of course, to such modifications as the movements of the enemy might necessitate.

This plan was to have been put in execution on Saturday, November 21st, almost immediately after General Grant had ascertained that Longstreet was before Knoxville; but General Sherman failed to get into position on Friday, his delay being caused by heavy rains, and the partial destruction of the pontoon bridges by rafts floated down the river by the rebels. Indeed, he was prevented from getting up until the night of Monday, and only reported himself ready for work on Tuesday morning.

The 23d of November came. It was Monday morning. The previous day, prayer and praise had been heard in camp. The chaplains, and other Christian workers for the spiritual good of the soldiers, had kindly spoken to them of the glorious "Captain of our salvation." The faces of brave men had been wet with tears, as they thought of home and the loved ones there. Many letters had been written with the feeling that they might be the last messages of affection from the field of conflict.

The orders passed from General Grant's head-quarters to advance toward the Ridge, alive with vigilant enemies. The pre-eminent *strategy* of the Leader was apparent in the very method of opening the struggle. The columns marched from their works as if on parade. Banners were borne, and bands played, and the whole aspect of the embattled host was that of ordinary review. The deceived foe looked down with comparative indifference, from hights five hundred feet above. But onward toward the rifle-pits, and to an advanced position, our forces pressed, till too late for the enemy to send to their camps for re-enforcements.

Tuesday morning, November 24th, was gloomy, threatening rain, and until quite late our forces remained inactive. On the center, Granger's and Palmer's corps maintained the silence of the night just past, and only a few guns from Fort Wood disturbed the rebel center. The day was chosen for operations on the flanks, and for that purpose Hooker and Sherman began to move quite early.

General Wood's splendid reconnoissance to learn the enemy's movements and exact position, and the occupation of Orchard Knob, was the principal work of the day.

Before sundown General Sherman had possession of three hills in semicircular form around Tunnel Hill, the end of Mission Ridge, between which and his position the railroad runs in a narrow valley. The enemy were intrenched on Tunnel Hill. During all this day General Hooker's columns had been engaged. The hero's work was to move upon the rocky sides of old Lookout Mountain, bristling with the arms of the foe. The rebels occupied the west slope and the front or spur of the mountain, whose top is formed of perpendicular rocks about thirty feet high. By two paths the dizzy hight could be reached. One of these was through a gap, south of the river, held by the enemy; the other by the Summertown Road, winding up the east side of the mountain, scaling the palisades by a steep and narrow cut. To get this road was General Hooker's bold design. At eight o'clock in the morning his columns disappeared from the valley into the forests at the summit's base. Soon the head of the column pressed against the palisades stretching down the slope. He immediately formed in three parallel lines and advanced upon the enemy's rear. The surprise was complete and bewildering. The rebels escaping upward were met with a fire from our skirmishers, who had already made the ascent. Met in flank and rear, they at length gave way, and retired to their breastworks on the east side of the mountain.

It was now that the fruits of the strange movement of Hooker began to develop themselves. The Union line had moved around the spur of the mountain and on the east side with such rapidity, that the enemy stationed at

the foot of the hill and along the river had no time to escape, and our troops began to secure them by hundreds. Every jutting rock, every thicket of undergrowth, and many a hollow tree, on examination, disclosed their secrets in the shape of prisoners. Each regiment engaged seemed to have secured enough to have filled its ranks, and the provost-marshal, who appeared to take charge of them, soon found his hands full. The number thus captured, General Hooker estimated on the spot at two thousand, but on counting them it was found the exact number secured was only one thousand three hundred and sixty.

Sending two regiments to hold the road which crosses the spur of the mountain from the east, General Hooker advanced the rest of his forces to the front line. It was no place to maneuver columns. Each man and company fought upon his and its "own hook." From Chattanooga nothing was visible save the misty smoke which enveloped and hid the mountain. But beneath this the combatants saw each other, and here they continued to fight with desperation until four o'clock, when there came a tide in Hooker's fortune which he did not fail to take at the flood.

The skirmish line was enabled, under cover of the trees which grew along that part of the ridge, to advance much nearer the rebel line than those in the immediate front of the enemy and the open field. It was also upon the flank of the position; and the weakness of the enemy having compelled him to contract his left, a lodgment was found very near their rifle-pits. General Hooker, upon being informed of this, at four o'clock ordered a charge of the line, and through a heavy and rapid fire, kept up for five long minutes—and minutes are sometimes very long—the men dashed forward upon, over, and into the abandoned pits. The enemy had seen the long line of steel that glittered even amid the rain which was pouring upon them, and they couldn't stand that. They also saw troops upon their left flank, and, filled with that holy horror which old soldiers have for "flank movements," they couldn't stand that. They fell back, abandoning works, artillery, and position, but still holding the important Summertown Road.

But the enemy, though flanked and overpowered, did not appear disposed to leave us in quiet possession of his works and guns. He hastily re-formed his lines and prepared to assault in turn. The Unionists had hardly occupied the captured position, or been able to remove the captured guns, before the enemy returned to the attack. He pressed forward with great vigor, and gained ground very rapidly at first, but found in his way the same obstacle of the open field, while he did not have the advantage of superior numbers. As soon as it came to close work, his rapidly advancing lines were halted very suddenly by the terrible fire which was now poured in upon him. He continued, however, to fire rapidly, and with some execution upon our line, but would have been ultimately repulsed without other assistance, had not a very serious obstacle presented itself.

Men in line of battle very soon expend their ammunition. In a skirmishing engagement, like that they were then having, they dispose of it even more rapidly. We were nearly out of ammunition, and the commanding officer had serious fears he would have to relinquish possession of the works if his cartridge-boxes were not soon replenished. General Hooker, anticipating this, had sent for ammunition at an early hour after getting possession of the road across the spur of the mountain; but the difficulties of the uncertain pontoon bridges had prevented his getting any. He again asked for it, and this time it came, and at the opportune moment. The men were beginning to fall out of line occasionally, entirely out of ammunition; for when a man puts his hand behind him, and into his cartridge-box, to find no cartridges there, a good deal of his confidence, if not courage, oozes out at the ends of his fingers, with which he thought to grasp the death-dealing messenger. The line was beginning to be thinned by men who had fired their sixty rounds, when the ammunition which General Thomas had sent sprang across Chattanooga Creek. The enemy had begun to perceive his advantage and to push forward, when this ammunition marched up the hill. The enemy had even ventured upon a shout of assured victory, when this ammunition deployed into line

and double-quicked across the open field, and sprang into the vacated places. There were one hundred and twenty thousand rounds of it, strapped upon the backs of as good men as had stayed with Thomas at Chickamauga, and in ten minutes after it reached the works it had repulsed the enemy! The re-enforcements which so opportunely arrived consisted of a brigade of the Fourteenth Corps, and upon it devolved the remainder of the labor of the day. It was dark by the time the enemy were repulsed, and those who stayed in Chattanooga describe this fight as the most magnificent view of the grand panorama of war which we have just witnessed. It was just beginning to be dark enough to see the flash of the muskets, and still light enough to distinguish the general outline of the contending masses. The mountain was lit up by the fires of the men in the second line, and the flash of musketry and artillery. An unearthly noise rose from the mountain, as if the old monster were groaning with the punishment the pigmy combatants inflicted upon him as well as upon each other. And during it all, the great guns on the summit continued, as in rage, to bellow defiance at the smaller guns of Moccasin Point, which, with lighter tone, and more rapidly, as if mocking the imbecility of their giant enemy, continued to fire till the day roared itself into darkness.

The enemy fell back after his repulse to a point covering the Summertown ascent to the summit of the mountain, and for the remainder of the night confined himself to the defense of that defile and to the evacuation of the mountain.

Subsequently, about midnight, the enemy, to cover his retreat, made an assault upon the Union lines, but, though they did some execution, they were handsomely repulsed.

General Hooker made a great reputation by this attack with the men of the Army of the Cumberland. As his lines would advance after night, the men could see his fires springing up and locating his new line. As each line became developed by these fires, those on the mountain could plainly distinguish the cheers of their comrades below. One of the expressions used by a private who

was watching the fires from Orchard Knob has already grown into the dignity of a camp proverb. On seeing the line of camp-fires advanced to Carlin's house, and beyond the rifle-pits of the enemy, a soldier in General Wood's command sprang up from his reclining position on Orchard Knob, and exclaimed: "Look at old Hooker! Don't he fight for 'keeps?'"

The sequel of the fight—the morning's handsome epilogue to the night's drama—is already known. Hooker found the enemy gone, and the assault of Lookout Mountain had not been in vain.

The following is General Grant's modest dispatch with regard to the operations of the second day:—

CHATTANOOGA, *November* 24—6 P. M.

Major-General H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief, Washington, D. C.

The fighting to-day progressed favorably.

General Sherman carried the end of Missionary Ridge, and his right is now at the tunnel, and his left at Chickamauga Creek.

The troops from Lookout Valley carried the point of the mountain, and now hold the eastern slope and point high up.

I cannot yet tell the amount of casualties, but our loss is not heavy.

General Hooker reports two thousand prisoners taken, besides which a small number have fallen into our hands from Missionary Ridge.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

General Grant says nothing about himself in the struggle, although, notwithstanding his crippled condition, he kept the field under his eye almost constantly, within cannon shot of the enemy.

We add the rebel dispatch concerning the contest:—

MISSION RIDGE, *November* 24, 1863.

To General S. COOPER:

We have had a prolonged struggle for Lookout Mountain to-day, and sustained considerable loss in one division. Elsewhere the enemy has only maneuvered for position.

BRAXTON BRAGG, General.

The third day brought a repetition of the varying fortunes and awfully sublime scenes of warfare, unrivaled in the annals of the past.

Near Fort Buckner, the Union Brigade, under a rocky ridge which protected them from bullets, met a shower of stones hurled upon them from above.

Notwithstanding General Grant's accident at Carrollton, no better horseman drew the rein in either army. It was a common thing on this bloody field of Chattanooga, to see his steed, touched with the spur, dash off at a pace that left his staff stringing along behind, "like the tail of a kite." He went with the speed of the wind from one part of the hail-swept plain to another.

When our victorious troops had fairly routed the astonished Bragg on Missionary Ridge, a lady, whose residence was within his lines, in alarm said to him: "What are you going to do with me, general?" Replied the *bragging* rebel: "Lord, madam! the Yankees will never dare to come up here."

Relating the incident to our "boys," she added, blubbering: "And it was not fifteen minutes before you were all around here."

The sweep of General Hooker's column around the spur of Lookout, surprising the enemy, till he reached the dizzy hights and fought *above the clouds* of the misty day, was a day of heroism which alone would have made the struggle and his name immortal.

You have here the brief dispatches of the opposing generals:

CHATTANOOGA, *November* 25, 1863—7.15 P. M.

Major-General H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief:

Although the battle lasted from early dawn till dark this evening, I believe I am not premature in announcing a complete victory over Bragg.

Lookout Mountain top, all the rifle-pits in Chattanooga Valley, and Missionary Ridge entire, have been carried, and are now held by us.

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

CHICKAMAUGA, *November* 25, 1863.

General S. COOPER, Adjutant and Inspector-General:

After several unsuccessful assaults on our lines to-day, the enemy carried the left center about four o'clock. The whole left soon gave way in considerable disorder. The right maintained its ground, and repelled every attack. I am withdrawing all to this point. BRAXTON BRAGG.

Wrote Quartermaster-General Meigs to Secretary Stanton:

"Bragg's remaining troops left early in the night, and the battle of Chattanooga, after days of maneuvering and

fighting, was won. The strength of the rebellion in the center is broken. Burnside is relieved from danger in East Tennessee. Kentucky and Tennessee are rescued. Georgia and the Southeast are threatened in the rear, and another victory is added to the chapter of 'Unconditional Surrender Grant.'

"To-night the estimate of captures is several thousand prisoners and thirty pieces of artillery.

"Our loss for so great a victory is not severe.

"Bragg is firing the railroad as he retreats toward Dalton. Sherman is in hot pursuit.

"To-day I viewed the battle-field, which extends for six miles along Missionary Ridge, and for several miles on Lookout Mountain.

"Probably not so well-directed, so well-ordered a battle has taken place during the war. But one assault was repulsed; but that assault, by calling to that point the rebel reserves, prevented them repulsing any of the others.

"A few days since, Bragg sent to General Grant a flag of truce, advising him that it would be prudent to remove any non-combatants who might be still in Chattanooga. No reply has been returned; but the combatants having removed from the vicinity, it is probable that non-combatants can remain without imprudence."

A few days later General Averill made his great raid into Western Virginia. He started with three regiments of mounted infantry, one and a half of cavalry, and Ewing's battery; penetrating the enemy's country as far as Salem, an important station on the Virginia and Tennessee railroad. After destroying miles of the track, coiling up the telegraphic wires, burning dépôts of stores, and a hundred wagons, he was surrounded by the forces of six rebel generals. Taking a road, deemed by them impracticable, over the Alleghanies, he escaped with comparatively a small loss, and took two hundred prisoners.

Among the heroes who fell at Chattanooga, was Colonel O'Meara, of the Irish Legion. When General Grant heard that the body was coffined for its homeward journey, he hastened to the spot where it lay. Standing beside it, he said:

"Lift the coffin-lid, that I may take a last look at the gallant colonel of the Irish Legion."

"He was touched at the sight of one whom he had honored and publicly thanked before he had been two months in the Army of the Tennessee. O'Meara's defense of the trestlework, a few miles north of Holly Springs, Miss., when Van Dorn made a raid there in December, 1862, and which saved Grant's army from starvation, was never forgotten by the General. The spectators were moved at the sad and touching farewell of the Commander of the Department of the Mississippi from the corpse of a young Irish soldier, who had forfeited his life to the belief that 'the highest and best duty of all, native or foreign born, was to stand by the flag which is the hope of the exile, the emblem of philanthropy, and the ensign of the American people.'"

Of the great battles which took place in the vicinity of Chattanooga, no better account could be given than that which is to be found in the following official report of the Commanding General:—

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
IN FIELD, CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE, *December* 23, 1863.

Colonel J. G. KELTON, Assistant Adjutant-General, Washington, D. C.:

COLONEL:—In pursuance of General Orders No. 337, War Department, of date, Washington, October 16, 1863, delivered to me by the Secretary of War, at Louisville, Kentucky, on the 18th of the same month, I assumed command of the "Military Division of the Mississippi," comprising the Departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee, and telegraphed the order assuming command, together with the order of the War Department referred to, to Major-General A. E. Burnside, at Knoxville, and Major-General W. S. Rosecrans, at Chattanooga.

My action in telegraphing these orders to Chattanooga, in advance of my arrival there, was induced by information furnished me by the Secretary of War of the difficulties with which the Army of the Cumberland had to contend, in supplying itself over a long, mountainous, and almost impassable road, from Stephenson, Alabama, to Chattanooga, Tennessee, and his fears that General Rosecrans would fall back to the north side of the Tennessee River. To guard further against the possibility of the Secretary's fears, I also telegraphed to Major-General Thomas on the 19th of October, from Louisville, to hold Chattanooga at all hazards, and that I would be there as soon as possible. To which he replied on the same date, "I will hold the town till we starve."

Proceeding directly to Chattanooga, I arrived there on the 23d of October, and found that General Thomas had, immediately on being placed in command of the Department of the Cumberland, ordered the concentration of Major-General Hooker's command at Bridgeport, preparatory to securing the river and main wagon-road between that place and Brown's Ferry, immediately below Lookout Mountain. The next morning after my arrival at Chattanooga, in company with Thomas and Brigadier-General W. F. Smith, Chief Engineer, I made a reconnoissance of Brown's Ferry, and the hills on the south side of the river and at the mouth of Lookout Valley. After the reconnoissance, the plan agreed upon was for Hooker to cross at Bridgeport to the south side of the river, with all the force that could be spared from the railroad, and move on the main wagon-road, by way of Whitesides, to Wauhatchie, in Lookout Valley. Major-General J. M. Palmer was to proceed, by the only practicable route north of the river, from his position opposite Chattanooga to a point on the north bank of the Tennessee River and opposite Whitesides, then to cross to the south side, to hold the road passed over by Hooker. In the mean time, and before the enemy could be apprised of our intention, a force under the direction of Brigadier-General W. F. Smith, Chief Engineer, was to be thrown across the river at or near Brown's Ferry, to seize the range of hills at the mouth of Lookout Valley, covering the Brown's Ferry road, and orders were given accordingly.

It was known that the enemy held the north end of Lookout Valley with a brigade of troops, and the road leading around the foot of the mountain from their main camps in Chattanooga Valley to Lookout Valley. Holding these advantages, he would have had but little difficulty in concentrating a sufficient force to have defeated or driven Hooker back. To remedy this, the seizure of the range of hills at the mouth of Lookout Valley, and covering the Brown's Ferry road, was deemed of the highest importance. This, by the use of pontoon bridges at Chattanooga and Brown's Ferry, would secure to us, by the north bank of the river, across Moccasin Point, a shorter line by which to re-enforce our troops in Lookout Valley, than the narrow and tortuous road around the foot of Lookout Mountain afforded the enemy for re-enforcing his.

The force detailed for the expedition consisted of four thousand men, under command of General Smith, Chief Engineer; eighteen hundred of which, under Brigadier-General W. B. Hazen, in sixty pontoon boats, containing thirty armed men each, floated quietly from Chattanooga, past the enemy's pickets, to the foot of Lookout Mountain, on the night of the 27th of October, landed on the south side of the river at Brown's Ferry, surprised the enemy's pickets stationed there, and seized the hills covering the ferry, without the loss of a man killed, and but four or five wounded. The remainder of the force, together with the materials for a bridge, was moved by the north bank of the river across Moccasin Point to Brown's Ferry without attracting the attention of the enemy, and before day dawned the whole force was ferried to the south bank of the river, and the almost inaccessible hights, rising from Lookout Valley at its outlet to the

river and below the mouth of Lookout Creek, were secured. By ten o'clock A. M. an excellent pontoon bridge was laid across the river at Brown's Ferry, thus securing to us the end of the desired road nearest the enemy's forces, and a shorter line over which to pass troops, if a battle became inevitable. Positions were taken up by our troops from which they could not have been driven except by vastly superior forces, and then only with great loss to the enemy. Our artillery was placed in such a position as to completely command the roads leading from the enemy's main camps in Chattanooga Valley to Lookout Valley.

On the 28th, Hooker emerged into Lookout Valley at Wauhatchie, by the direct road from Bridgeport, by way of Whitesides to Chattanooga, with the Eleventh Army Corps, under Major-General Howard, and Geary's division of the Twelfth Army Corps, and proceeded to take up positions for the defense of the road from Whitesides, over which he had marched, and also the road leading from Brown's Ferry to Kelly's Ferry, throwing the left of Howard's corps forward to Brown's Ferry. The division that started, under command of Palmer, for Whitesides, reached its destination, and took up the position intended in the original plan of this movement. These movements, so successfully executed, secured to us two comparatively good lines by which to obtain supplies from the terminus of the railroad at Bridgeport, namely: the main wagon-road by way of Whitesides, Wauhatchie, and Brown's Ferry, distant but twenty-eight miles, and the Kelly's Ferry and Brown's Ferry roads, which, by the use of the river from Bridgeport to Kelly's Ferry, reduced the distance for wagoning to but eight miles.

Up to this period our forces at Chattanooga were practically invested, the enemy's lines extending from the Tennessee River above Chattanooga to the river at and below the point of Lookout Mountain below Chattanooga, with the south bank of the river picketed to near Bridgeport, his main force being fortified in Chattanooga Valley, at the foot of and on Mission Ridge and Lookout Mountain, and a brigade in Lookout Valley. True, we held possession of the country north of the river, but it was from sixty to seventy miles over the most impracticable roads to carry supplies. The artillery horses and mules had become so reduced by starvation that they could not have been relied on for moving any thing. An attempt at retreat must have been with men alone, and with only such supplies as they could carry. A retreat would have been almost certain annihilation, for the enemy, occupying positions within gunshot of and overlooking our very fortifications, would unquestionably have pursued our retreating forces. Already more than ten thousand animals had perished in supplying half rations to the troops by the long and tedious route from Stevenson and Bridgeport to Chattanooga, over Waldron's Ridge. They could not have been supplied another week.

The enemy was evidently fully apprised of our condition in Chattanooga, and of the necessity of our establishing a new and shorter line by which to obtain supplies, if we would maintain our position; and so fully was he impressed with the importance of keeping from us these lines—lost to him by surprise, and in a manner he little dreamed of—that, in order to regain

possession of them, a night attack was made by a portion of Longstreet's forces on a portion of Hooker's troops (Geary's division of the Twelfth Corps), the first night after Hooker's arrival in the valley. This attack failed, however, and Howard's corps, which was moving to the assistance of Geary, finding that it was not required by him, carried the remaining hights held by the enemy west of Lookout Creek. This gave us quiet possession of the lines of communication heretofore described, south of the Tennessee River. Of these operations I cannot speak more particularly, the sub-reports having been sent to Washington without passing through my hands.

By the use of two steamboats, one of which had been left at Chattanooga by the enemy, and fell into our hands, and one that had been built by us at Bridgeport and Kelly's Ferry, we were enabled to obtain supplies with but eight miles of wagoning. The capacity of the railroad and steamboats was not sufficient, however, to supply all the wants of the army, but actual suffering was prevented.

Ascertaining from scouts and deserters that Bragg was detaching Longstreet from the front, and moving him in the direction of Knoxville, Tennessee, evidently to attack Burnside, and feeling strongly the necessity of some move that would compel him to retain all his forces and recall those he had detached, directions were given for a movement against Mission Ridge, with a view to carrying it, and threatening the enemy's communication with Longstreet, of which I informed Burnside by telegraph on the 7th of November. After a thorough reconnoissance of the ground, however, it was deemed utterly impracticable to make the move until Sherman could get up, because of the inadequacy of our force, and the condition of the animals then at Chattanooga; and I was forced to leave Burnside for the present to contend against superior forces of the enemy until the arrival of Sherman, with his men and means of transportation. In the mean time, reconnoissances were made and plans matured for operations. Dispatches were sent to Sherman, informing him of the movement of Longstreet, and the necessity of his immediate presence at Chattanooga.

On the 14th of November, 1863, I telegraphed to Burnside as follows:—

"Your dispatch and Dana's just received. Being there, you can tell better how to resist Longstreet's attack than I can direct. With your showing, you had better give up Kingston at the last moment, and save the most productive part of your possessions. Every arrangement is now made to throw Sherman's force across the river, just at and below the mouth of Chickamauga Creek. As soon as it arrives, Thomas will attack on his left at the same time, and together it is expected to carry Mission Ridge, and from there push a force on to the railroad, between Cleveland and Dalton. Hooker will at the same time attack, and, if he can, carry Lookout Mountain. The enemy now seems to be looking for an attack on his left flank. This favors us. To further confirm this, Sherman's advance division will march direct from Whitesides to Trenton. The remainder of his force will pass over a new road just made from Whitesides to Kelly's Ferry, this

being concealed from the enemy, and leave him to suppose the whole force is going up Lookout Valley. Sherman's advance has only just reached Bridgeport. The rear will only reach there on the 16th. This will bring it to the 19th as the earliest day for making the combined movement, as desired. Inform me if you think you can sustain yourself until that time. I can hardly conceive of the enemy breaking through at Kingston, and pushing for Kentucky. If they should, however, a new problem would be left for solution. Thomas has ordered a division of cavalry to the vicinity of Sparta. I will ascertain if they have started, and inform you. It will be entirely out of the question to send you ten thousand men; not because they cannot be spared, but how could they be fed after they got one day east of here?

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

"To Major-General A. E. BURNSIDE."

On the 15th, having received from the General-in-chief a dispatch of date the 14th, in reference to Burnside's position, the danger of his abandonment of East Tennessee, unless immediate relief was afforded, and the terrible misfortune such a result would be to our arms, and also dispatches from Mr. C. A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, and Colonel Wilson of my staff, sent at the instance of General Burnside, informing me more fully of the condition of affairs, as detailed to them by him, I telegraphed him as follows:—

"CHATTANOOGA, *November* 15, 1863.

"I do not know how to impress on you the necessity of holding on to East Tennessee in strong enough terms. According to the dispatches of Mr. Dana and Colonel Wilson, it would seem that you should, if pressed to do it, hold on to Knoxville and that portion of the valley you will necessarily possess, holding to that point. Should Longstreet move his whole force across the Little Tennessee, an effort should be made to cut his pontoons on that stream, even if it sacrificed half the cavalry of the Ohio Army. By holding on, and placing Longstreet between the Little Tennessee and Knoxville, he should not be allowed to escape with an army capable of doing any thing this winter. I can hardly conceive the necessity of retreating from East Tennessee. If I did at all, it would be after losing most of the army, and then the necessity would suggest the route. I will not attempt to lay out a line of retreat. Kingston, looking at the map, I thought of more importance than any one point in East Tennessee. But, my attention being called more closely to it, I can see that it might be passed by, and Knoxville and the rich valley about it possessed, ignoring that place entirely. I should not think it advisable to concentrate a force near Little Tennessee to resist the crossing, if it would be in danger of capture, but I would harass and embarrass progress in every way possible, reflecting on the fact that the Army of the Ohio is not the only army to resist the onward progress of the enemy.

"U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

"To Major-General A. E. BURNSIDE."

Previous reconnoissances, made first by Brigadier-General W. F. Smith, Chief Engineer, and afterward by Generals Thomas, Sherman, and myself, in company with him, of the country opposite Chattanooga and north of the Tennessee River, extending as far east as the mouth of the South Chickamauga and the north end of Mission Ridge, so far as the same could be made from the north bank of the river without exciting suspicions on the part of the enemy, showed good roads from Brown's Ferry up the river and back of the first range of hills opposite Chattanooga, and out of view of the enemy's positions. Troops crossing the bridge at Brown's Ferry could be seen, and their numbers estimated by the enemy; but not seeing any thing further of them as they passed up in rear of these hills, he would necessarily be at a loss to know whether they were moving to Knoxville, or held on the north side of the river for future operations at Chattanooga. It also showed that the north end of Mission Ridge was imperfectly guarded, and that the banks of the river, from the mouth of South Chickamauga Creek westward to his main line in front of Chattanooga, were watched only by a small cavalry picket. This determined the plan of operations indicated in my dispatch of the 14th to Burnside.

Upon further consideration—the great object being to mass all the forces possible against one given point, namely, Mission Ridge, converging toward the north end of it—it was deemed best to change the original plan, so far as it contemplated Hooker's attack on Lookout Mountain, which would give us Howard's corps of his command to aid in this purpose; and on the 18th the following instructions were given Thomas:

"All preparations should be made for attacking the enemy's position on Mission Ridge by Saturday at daylight. Not being provided with a map giving names of roads, spurs of the mountain, and other places, such definite instructions can not be given as might be desirable. However, the general plan, you understand, is for Sherman, with the force brought with him strengthened by a division from your command, to effect a crossing of the Tennessee River just below the mouth of Chickamauga—his crossing to be protected by artillery from the hights on the north bank of the river (to be located by your Chief of Artillery), and to secure the hights from the northern extremity to about the railroad tunnel, before the enemy can concentrate against him. You will co-operate with Sherman. The troops in Chattanooga Valley should be well concentrated on your left flank, leaving only the necessary force to defend the fortifications on the right and center, and a movable column of one division in readiness to move wherever ordered. This division should show itself as threateningly as possible on the most practicable line for making an attack up the valley. Your effort then will be to form a junction with Sherman, making your advance well toward the northern end of Mission Ridge, and moving as near simultaneously with him as possible. The junction once formed, and the Ridge carried, communications will be at once established between the two armies, by roads on the south bank of the river. Further movements will then depend on those of the enemy. Lookout Valley, I think, will be easily held by Geary's division, and what troops you may still have then

belonging to the old Army of the Cumberland. Howard's corps can then be held in readiness to act either with you at Chattanooga or with Sherman. It should be marched on Friday night to a position on the north side of the river, not lower down than the first pontoon bridge, and then held in readiness for such orders as may become necessary. All these troops will be provided with two days' cooked rations in haversacks, and one hundred rounds of ammunition on the person of each infantry soldier. Special care should be taken by all officers to see that ammunition is not wasted or unnecessarily fired away. You will call on the Engineer Department for such preparations as you may deem necessary for carrying your infantry and artillery over the creek.

"U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

"To Major-General GEORGE H. THOMAS."

A copy of these instructions was furnished Sherman, with the following communication:

"Inclosed herewith I send you a copy of instructions to Major-General Thomas. You having been over the ground in person, and having heard the whole matter discussed, further instructions will not be necessary for you. It is particularly desirable that a force should be got through to the railroad between Cleveland and Dalton, and Longstreet thus cut off from communication with the South; but, being confronted by a large force here, strongly located, it is not easy to tell how this is to be effected, until the result of our first effort is known. I will add, however, what is not shown in my instructions to Thomas, that a brigade of cavalry has been ordered here, which, if it arrives in time, will be thrown across the Tennessee above Chickamauga, and may be able to make the trip to Cleveland, or thereabouts.

"U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

"To Major-General W. T. SHERMAN."

Sherman's forces were moved from Bridgeport by way of Whitesides—one division threatening the enemy's left flank, in the direction of Trenton—crossing at Brown's Ferry, up the north bank of the Tennessee, to near the mouth of South Chickamauga, where they were kept concealed from the enemy until they were ready to force a crossing. Pontoons for throwing a bridge across the river were built and placed in North Chickamauga, near its mouth, a few miles farther up, without attracting the attention of the enemy. It was expected we would be able to effect the crossing on the 21st of November; but, owing to heavy rains, Sherman was unable to get up until the afternoon of the 23d, and then only with General Morgan L. Smith's, John E. Smith's, and Hugh Ewing's divisions of the Fifteenth Corps, under command of Major-General Frank P. Blair, of his army. The pontoon bridge at Brown's Ferry having been broken by the drift consequent upon the rise in the river, and rafts sent down by the enemy, the other division—Osterhaus's—was detained on the south side, and was, on the night of the 23d, ordered, unless it could get across by 8 o'clock the

next morning, to report to Hooker, who was instructed, in this event, to attack Lookout Mountain, as contemplated in the original plan.

A deserter from the rebel army, who came into our lines on the night of the 22d of November, reported Bragg falling back. The following letter from Bragg, received by flag of truce, on the 20th, tended to confirm this report:

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF TENNESSEE,
"IN THE FIELD, *November* 20, 1863.

"Major-General U. S. GRANT, commanding United States Forces at Chattanooga:

"General:—As there may be still some non-combatants in Chattanooga, I deem it proper to notify you that prudence would dictate their early withdrawal.

"I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"BRAXTON BRAGG, General commanding."

Not being willing that he should get his army off in good order, Thomas was directed, early on the morning of the 23d, to ascertain the truth or falsity of this report, by driving in his pickets, and making him develop his lines. This he did with the troops stationed at Chattanooga, and Howard's corps (which had been brought into Chattanooga because of the apprehended danger to our pontoon bridges from the rise in the river, and the enemy's rafts), in the most gallant style, driving the enemy from his first line, securing to us what is known as "Indian Hill," or "Orchard Knoll," and the low range of hills south of it. These points were fortified during the night, and artillery put in position on them. The report of this deserter was evidently not intended to deceive, but he had mistaken Bragg's movements. It was afterward ascertained that one division of Buckner's corps had gone to join Longstreet, and a second division of the same corps had started, but was brought back in consequence of our attack.

On the night of the 23d of November, Sherman, with three divisions of his army, strengthened by Davis's division of Thomas's, which had been stationed along the north bank of the river, convenient to where the crossing was to be effected, was ready for operations. At an hour sufficiently early to secure the south bank of the river, just below the mouth of South Chickamauga, by dawn of day, the pontoons in North Chickamauga were loaded with thirty armed men each, who floated quietly past the enemy's pickets, landed, and captured all but one of the guard, twenty in number, before the enemy was aware of the presence of a foe. The steamboat *Dunbar*, with a barge in tow, after having finished ferrying across the river the horses procured from Sherman, with which to move Thomas's artillery, was sent up from Chattanooga to aid in crossing artillery and troops, and by daylight of the morning of the 26th of November eight thousand men were on the south side of the Tennessee, and fortified in rifle-trenches. By 12 o'clock M., the pontoon bridges across the Tennessee and Chickamauga were laid, and the remainder of Sherman's force crossed

over; and at half-past 3 P. M. the whole of the northern extremity of Mission Ridge, near the railroad tunnel, was in Sherman's possession. During the night he fortified the position thus secured, making it equal, if not superior in strength, to that held by the enemy.

By three o'clock of the same day, Colonel Long, with his brigade of cavalry, of Thomas's army, crossed to the south side of the Tennessee, and to the north of South Chickamauga Creek, and made a raid on the enemy's lines of communication. He burned Tyner's Station, with many stores, cut the railroad at Cleveland, captured near a hundred wagons and over two hundred prisoners. His own loss was small.

Hooker carried out the part assigned to him for this day equal to the most sanguine expectations. With Geary's division (Twelfth Corps), and two brigades of Stanley's division (Fourth Corps) of Thomas's army, and Osterhaus's division (Fifteenth Corps) of Sherman's army, he scaled the western slope of Lookout Mountain, drove the enemy from his rifle-pits on the northern extremity and slope of the mountain, capturing many prisoners, without serious loss.

Thomas having done on the 23d, with his troops in Chattanooga, what was intended for the 24th, bettered and strengthened his advanced positions during the day, and pushed the Eleventh Corps forward along the south bank of the Tennessee River across Citico Creek, one brigade of which, with Howard in person, reached Sherman just as he had completed the crossing of the river.

When Hooker emerged in sight of the northern extremity of Lookout Mountain, Carlin's brigade, of the Fourteenth Corps, was ordered to cross Chattanooga Creek, and form a junction with him. This was effected late in the evening, and after considerable fighting.

Thus, on the night of the 24th, our force maintained an unbroken line, with open communications from the north end of Lookout Mountain through Chattanooga Valley to the north end of Mission Ridge.

On the morning of the 25th, Hooker took possession of the mountain-top with a small force, and with the remainder of his command, in pursuance of orders, swept across Chattanooga Valley, now abandoned by the enemy, to Rossville. In this march he was detained four hours building a bridge across Chattanooga Creek. From Rossville he ascended Mission Ridge, and moved southward toward the center of that now shortened line.

Sherman's attack upon the enemy's most northern and most vital point was vigorously kept up all day. The assaulting column advanced to the very rifle-pits of the enemy, and held their position firmly and without wavering. The right of the assaulting column being exposed to the danger of being turned, two brigades were sent to its support. These advanced in the most gallant manner over an open field on the mountain-side to near the works of the enemy, and lay there partially covered from fire for some time. The right of these two brigades rested near the head of a ravine or gorge in the mountain-side, which the enemy took advantage of, and sent troops covered from view below them, and to their right rear. Being

unexpectedly fired into from this direction, they fell back across the open field below them, and re-formed in good order in the edge of the timber. The column which attacked them was speedily driven, to its intrenchments by the assaulting column proper.

Early on the morning of the 25th, the remainder of Howard's corps reported to Sherman, and constituted a part of his forces during that day's battle, the pursuit and subsequent advance for the relief of Knoxville.

Sherman's position not only threatened the right flank of the enemy, but—from his occupying a line across the mountain, and to the railroad bridge across Chickamauga Creek—his rear and stores at Chickamauga Station. This caused the enemy to mass heavily against him. This movement of his being plainly seen from the position I occupied on Orchard Knoll, Baird's division of the Fourteenth Corps was ordered to Sherman's support; but, receiving a note from Sherman informing me that he had all the force necessary, Baird was put in position on Thomas's left.

The appearance of Hooker's column was at this time anxiously looked for and momentarily expected, moving north of the Ridge, with his left in Chattanooga Valley, and his right east of the Ridge. His approach was intended as the signal for storming the Ridge in the center with strong columns; but the time necessarily consumed in the construction of the bridge near Chattanooga Creek detained him to a later hour than was expected. Being satisfied from the latest information from him that he must by this time be on his way from Rossville, though not yet in sight, and discovering that the enemy, in his desperation to defeat or resist the progress of Sherman, was weakening his center on Mission Ridge, determined me to order the advance at once. Thomas was accordingly directed to move forward his troops, constituting our center—Baird's division (Fourteenth Corps), Wood's and Sheridan's divisions (Fourth Corps), and Johnson's division (Fourteenth Corps), with a double line of skirmishers thrown out, followed in easy supporting distance by the whole force—and carry the rifle-pits at the foot of Mission Ridge, and, when carried, to re-form his lines in the rifle-pits and advance to the top of the Ridge.

These troops moved forward and drove the enemy from the rifle-pits at the base of the Ridge like bees from a hive—stopped but a moment until the whole were in line, and commenced the ascent of the mountain from right to left almost simultaneously, following closely the retreating enemy without further orders. They encountered a fearful volley of grape and canister from nearly thirty pieces of artillery, and musketry from well-filled rifle-pits on the summit of the Ridge. Not a waver, however, was seen in all that long line of brave men. Their progress was steadily onward until the summit was in their possession. In this charge the casualties were remarkably few for the fire encountered. I can account for this only on the theory that the enemy's surprise at the audacity of such a charge caused confusion, and purposeless aiming of their pieces.

The nearness of night, and the enemy still resisting the advance of Thomas's left, prevented a general pursuit that night, but Sheridan pushed forward to Mission Mills.

The resistance on Thomas's left being overcome, the enemy abandoned his position near the railroad tunnel in front of Sherman, and by 12 o'clock at night was in full retreat; and the whole of his strong positions on Lookout Mountain, Chattanooga Valley, and Mission Ridge were in our possession, together with a large number of prisoners, artillery, and small arms.

Thomas was directed to get Granger, with his corps, and detachments enough from other commands, including the force available at Kingston, to make 20,000 men, in readiness to go to the relief of Knoxville, upon the termination of the battle of Chattanooga; these troops to take with them four days' rations, and a steamboat, loaded with rations, to follow up the river.

On the evening of the 25th of November, orders were given to both Thomas and Sherman to pursue the enemy early the next morning with all their available force, except that under Granger, intended for the relief of Knoxville.

On the morning of the 26th, Sherman advanced by way of Chickamauga Station, and Thomas's forces, under Hooker and Palmer, moved on the Rossville road toward Grayville and Ringgold.

The advance of Thomas's forces reached Ringgold on the morning of the 27th, when they found the enemy in strong position in the gorge and on the crest of Taylor's Ridge, from which they dislodged him after a severe fight, in which we lost heavily in valuable officers and men, and continued the pursuit that day until near Tunnel Hill, a distance of twenty miles from Chattanooga.

Davis's division (Fourteenth Corps) of Sherman's column reached Ringgold about noon of the same day. Howard's corps was sent by Sherman to Red Clay, to destroy the railroad between Dalton and Cleveland, and thus cut off Bragg's communication with Longstreet, which was successfully accomplished.

Had it not been for the imperative necessity of relieving Burnside, I would have pursued the broken and demoralized retreating enemy as long as supplies could have been found in the country. But my advices were that Burnside's supplies could only last until the 3d of December. It was already getting late to afford the necessary relief. I determined, therefore, to pursue no farther. Hooker was directed to hold the position he then occupied until the night of the 30th, but to go no farther south at the expense of a fight. Sherman was directed to march to the railroad crossing of the Hiawassee, to protect Granger's flank until he was across that stream, and to prevent further re-enforcements being sent by that route into East Tennessee.

Returning from the front on the 28th, I found that Granger had not yet got off, nor would he have the number of men I had directed. Besides, he moved with reluctance and complaint. I therefore determined, notwithstanding the fact that two divisions of Sherman's forces had marched from Memphis, and had gone into battle immediately on their arrival at Chattanooga, to send him with his command; and orders in accordance therewith were sent him at Calhoun, to assume command of the troops

with Granger, in addition to those with him, and proceed with all possible dispatch to the relief of Burnside.

General Elliott had been ordered by Thomas, on the 26th of November, to proceed from Alexandria, Tennessee, to Knoxville, with his cavalry division, to aid in the relief of that place.

The approach of Sherman caused Longstreet to raise the siege of Knoxville and retreat eastward on the night of the 6th of December. Sherman succeeded in throwing his cavalry into Knoxville on the night of the 3d.

Sherman arrived in person at Knoxville on the 5th, and after a conference with Burnside in reference to "organizing a pursuing force large enough to overtake the enemy, and beat him or drive him out of the State," Burnside was of the opinion that the corps of Granger, in conjunction with his own command, was sufficient for that purpose, and on the 7th addressed to Sherman the following communication:

"KNOXVILLE, *December* 7, 1863.

"To Major-General SHERMAN:

"I desire to express to you and to your command my most hearty thanks and gratitude for your promptness in coming to our relief during the siege of Knoxville, and I am satisfied that your approach served to raise the siege. The emergency having passed, I do not deem, for the present, any other portion of your command but the corps of General Granger necessary for operation in this section; and inasmuch as General Grant has weakened the forces immediately with him in order to relieve us, thereby rendering portions of General Thomas's less secure, I deem it advisable that all the troops now here, except those commanded by General Granger, should return at once to within supporting distance of the forces operating against Bragg's army. In behalf of my command, I again desire to thank you and your command for the kindness you have done us.

"A. E. BURNSIDE, Major-General."

Leaving Granger's command at Knoxville, Sherman with the remainder of his forces returned by slow marches to Chattanooga.

I have not spoken more particularly of the result of the pursuit of the enemy, because the more detailed reports accompanying this do the subject justice. For the same reason I have not particularized the part taken by corps and division commanders.

To Brigadier-General W. F. Smith, Chief Engineer, I feel under more than ordinary obligations for the masterly manner in which he discharged the duties of his position, and desire that his services be fully appreciated by higher authorities.

The members of my staff discharged faithfully their respective duties, for which they have my warmest thanks.

Our losses in these battles were 757 killed, 4,529 wounded, and 330 missing; total, 5,616. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was probably less than ours, owing to the fact that he was protected by his intrenchments, while our men were without cover. At Knoxville, how-

ever, his loss was many times greater than ours, making his entire loss at the two places equal to, if not exceeding, ours. We captured 6,142 prisoners, of whom 239 were commissioned officers; 40 pieces of artillery, 69 artillery carriages and caissons, and 7,000 stand of small arms.

The Armies of the Cumberland and the Tennessee, for their energy and unsurpassed bravery in the three days' battle of Chattanooga and the pursuit of the enemy, their patient endurance in marching to the relief of Knoxville; and the Army of the Ohio, for its masterly defense of Knoxville, and repeated repulses of Longstreet's assaults upon that place, are deserving of the gratitude of their country.

I have the honor to be, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT,
Major-General U. S. Army.

General Grant, to visit the outposts of his department, left Chattanooga for Nashville December 18th.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE ENEMY RETREATING.—GENERAL GRANT RECEIVES THE RANK AND COMMAND OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL.

The Pursuit of the Enemy.—Reprisals and Skirmishes.—Battle at Ringgold.—Longstreet at Knoxville.—His Retreat.—Congratulations by the President.—Thanksgiving.—General Hardee succeeds Bragg.—General Grant's Health.—General Scott's Opinion of him.—Expressions of Popular Regard.—The Proposition and Discussion in Congress of the Rank of Lieutenant-General.—Mr Washburne's Speech.—The Bill Passed.—General Grant Appointed to the Command.

THE great struggle was over—the siege of Chattanooga was raised; but still the beaten rebels must not be allowed to gather their remnants together within any long day's march of the battle-field. A pursuit of their flying columns was ordered, and to Generals Sherman, Hooker, and Palmer was assigned the task of completing the rebel discomfiture.

The pursuing forces went forward in the clear morning of a splendid day, animated by the great victories of the recent conflict, falling upon the flank of the flying columns. At ten o'clock, Chickamauga Dépôt was reached, and found in flames. Although fifty thousand dollars' worth of property was destroyed, the amount of commissary stores which fell into our hands was large.

For three days the chase was marked with skirmishes, and picking up stragglers. At Pigeon Ridge the rebels made a stand, and opened their artillery. Our columns emerged from the woods into the open fields with flying banners, presenting a beautiful spectacle in the cloudless rays of the noon-day sun—with no enemy in sight. Charging up the hights, they soon sent the rebels on their path of retreat. General Sherman was in command.

Friday, November 27th, Hooker's column advanced along the Rossville road toward Ringgold, a small town of twenty-five hundred inhabitants, the county seat of

Catoosa county, Georgia, and is situated in front of Ringgold Gap, at the foot of White Oak Mountain Ridge. It is in the midst of wildly romantic scenery, although itself a dingy, dilapidated place in general appearance.

The decisive moment came at last. The grand movement was made. Slowly our men advanced, and slowly the rebels retired toward the gap and up the mountain slope. Our artillery, too, kept up a steady fire, almost immediately silencing that of the enemy. Osterhaus's division occupied the center, one brigade of Geary's was on the extreme left, and the other two on the extreme right. After much patient effort, we outflanked the rebels on the right and left of the hills, gained these, and drove the remaining rebels from the Gap, and held the latter position. In the final movements the rebels retreated in the most disorderly manner. We took about three hundred prisoners.

After the enemy were driven through and from the Gap, we established our lines in the next valley beyond. The enemy fell back to Tunnel Gap, situated in the succeeding ridge to that of White Oak.

After Sherman made a junction with Palmer, on Friday morning, the Eleventh Army Corps, under command of Major-General Howard, was sent off to the left to take Parker's Gap, this being situated on the enemy's right, and the second gap from Ringgold Gap in the same ridge. The position was taken and occupied without opposition, the enemy's scouting parties falling back without firing. During the battle of Ringgold, the Eleventh Corps was in a position almost in the enemy's rear, and we could at any time have turned their right flank.

A portion of the Eleventh Corps pressed on to the line of the Dalton and Cleveland Railroad, reaching Red Clay Station about dark.

The object in destroying the railroad line at Red Clay was to prevent Longstreet from using it to make a junction with Bragg. Another point was, that if the cavalry failed of accomplishing its object at Cleveland, we would carry out the design at Red Clay.

General Grant had his head-quarters in the town

of Ringgold on November 28. The General was much pleased with the success of his plans, spoke freely on the subject, and was of opinion that this campaign had been successful to an almost extraordinary degree, and had been fruitful in results of the most unqualifiedly gratifying character. It was decided not to pursue the enemy farther, as more important operations were afoot.

The rebels retreated as far as Dalton, Georgia, and finding the Union troops did not pursue farther than Ringgold, there turned and made a stand.

General Grant, by taking possession of Red Clay, Cleveland, and Chattanooga, thus breaking the rebel railroad triangle, the corners of which rest on Dalton, Cleveland, and Chattanooga, compressed the principal artery of the heart of the rebel Confederacy, and smote it in its most vital part.

General Longstreet learned the reason why he was allowed to besiege Knoxville. The news of Hooker's mountain climbing, and of Yankee flags on Missionary Ridge, dispelled his dream of success. The proud rebel was exasperated, and determined to save his name from sharing the disgrace of Chattanooga. He therefore, on November 29, 1863, made an assault upon Fort Sanders and the other works around Knoxville. The assault proved a failure, and, long before he could recover from the effects of the repulse, he found our columns were gathering around him, and, if he did not soon withdraw, he would be encircled by them.

General Foster's column was advancing from the north, and General Granger's, with other forces under General Sherman, from Chattanooga. This movement caused the withdrawal of troops from the pursuit of the rebels beyond Ringgold, Georgia.

General Sherman's cavalry arrived at Knoxville on December 3, and on the next night General Longstreet raised the siege of that place, retreating eastward toward Virginia, pursued by both Foster's and Sherman's cavalry.

December 7, it was telegraphed to Washington that Knoxville had been relieved and re-enforced by Granger's

corps, and that Longstreet was retreating. On the same day President Lincoln issued the following proclamation of thanksgiving:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *December* 7, 1863.

Reliable information being received that the insurgent force is retreating from East Tennessee, under circumstances rendering it probable that the Union forces cannot hereafter be dislodged from that important position, and esteeming this to be of high national consequence, I recommend that all loyal people do, on receipt of this information, assemble at their places of worship, and render special homage and gratitude to Almighty God for this great advancement of the national cause.

A. LINCOLN.

The President also sent a dispatch to Major-General Grant:—

WASHINGTON, *December* 8.

Major-General GRANT:

Understanding that your lodgment at Chattanooga and Knoxville is now secure, I wish to tender you and all under your command my more than thanks—my profoundest gratitude for the skill, courage, and perseverance with which you and they, over so great difficulties, have effected that important object. God bless you all!

A. LINCOLN.

The above was embodied in an order by General Grant, and so read to every regiment in his command.

In reference to this brief but decisive campaign, General Halleck added the following supplementary remarks to his annual report:—

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *December* 6, 1863.

In compliance with your instructions, I submit the following summary of the operations of General Grant's army since my report of the 15th ultimo:—

It appears from the official reports which have been received here, that our loss in the operations of the 27th, 28th, and 29th of October, in reopening communications on the south side of the Tennessee River, from Chattanooga to Bridgeport, was seventy-six killed, three hundred and thirty-nine wounded, and twenty-two missing; total, four hundred and thirty-seven. The estimated loss of the enemy was over fifteen hundred.

As soon as General Grant could get up his supplies, he prepared to advance upon the enemy, who had become weakened by the detachment of Longstreet's command against Knoxville. General Sherman's army moved up the north side of the Tennessee River, and during the nights of

the 23d and 24th of November established pontoon bridges, and crossed to the south side, between Citico Creek and Chickamauga. On the afternoon of the 23d, General Thomas's forces attacked the enemy's rifle-pits between Chattanooga and Citico Creek. The battle was renewed on the 24th along the whole line. Sherman carried the eastern end of Missionary Ridge up to the tunnel, and Thomas repelled every attempt of the enemy to regain the position which he had lost at the center; while Hooker's force in Lookout Valley crossed the mountain and drove the enemy from its northern slope.

On the 25th, the whole of Mission Ridge, from Rossville to the Chickamauga, was, after a desperate struggle, most gallantly carried by our troops, and the enemy was completely routed.

Considering the strength of the rebel position, and the difficulty of storming his intrenchments, the battle of Chattanooga must be considered the most remarkable in history. Not only did the officers and men exhibit great skill and daring in their operations on the field, but the highest praise is due to the commanding general, for his admirable dispositions for dislodging the enemy from a position apparently impregnable. Moreover, by turning his right flank, and throwing him back upon Ringgold and Dalton, Sherman's forces were interposed between Bragg and Longstreet so as to prevent any possibility of their forming a junction.

Our loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, is reported at about four thousand. We captured over six thousand prisoners, besides the wounded left in our hands, forty pieces of artillery, five or six thousand small arms, and a large train. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded is not known.

While Generals Thomas and Hooker pushed Bragg's army back into Georgia, General Sherman, with his own and General Granger's forces, was sent into East Tennessee, to prevent the return of Longstreet, and to relieve General Burnside, who was then besieged in Knoxville. We have reliable information that General Sherman has successfully accomplished his object, and that Longstreet is in full retreat toward Virginia. But no details have been received with regard to Sherman's operations since he crossed the Hiwassee, nor of Burnside's defense of Knoxville. It is only known that every attack of the enemy on that place was successfully repulsed.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

H. W. Halleck, General-in-Chief.

Honorable E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War.

On December 5, 1863, General Burnside, the commander at Knoxville, issued a congratulatory order to his troops in reference to the raising of the siege, which had lasted about three weeks.

While Washington was all excitement over the magnificent results of Grant's campaign, General Scott said to an official, with whom the old veteran fell into a very unreserved talk, that General Grant's operations displayed

more military skill than any other general had exhibited on our side; and he was the more surprised and mystified at it, as he could only remember him in the Mexican war as a young lieutenant of undoubted courage, but giving no promise whatever of any thing beyond ordinary abilities.

The providential men for the hour of trial were not those who first attracted the popular admiration, nor was the course of mighty events according to the order of human wisdom.

General Bragg was removed from his command for his defeat at Chattanooga, and was succeeded by General Hardee. When this change was announced at General Grant's head-quarters, he quietly remarked: "He is my choice." He was still suffering so seriously from his fall at New Orleans, at this time, that his thin and stooping form awakened fears for his recovery; while he gave no other signs of weakness or weariness.

It was reported from Chattanooga on December 7th, that General Grant had captured, from the commencement of the war up to that date, no less than four hundred and seventy-two cannon and ninety thousand prisoners, with small arms innumerable.

The following remarks are reported to have been written by Colonel Ely S. Parker—Indian Sachem and Chief of the Tonawanda tribe and Seneca Nation of Indians, and who became a member of General Grant's staff—in relation to the conduct of the commanding general during the battles around Chattanooga:

"I need not describe to you the recent battle of Chattanooga. The papers have given every possible detail concerning it. I may only say that I saw it all, and was in the five days' fight. Of General Grant's staff only one was wounded, a Lieutenant Towner, Assistant Chief of Artillery, whose parents formerly lived at Batavia, New York, but now of Chicago. It has been a matter of universal wonder in this army that General Grant himself was not killed, and that no more accidents occurred to his staff, for the General was always in the front (his staff with him, of course), and perfectly heedless of the storm of hissing bullets and screaming shell flying around him.

His apparent want of sensibility does not arise from heedlessness, heartlessness, or vain military affectation, but from a sense of the responsibility resting upon him when in battle. When at Ringgold, we rode for half a mile in the face of the enemy, under an incessant fire of cannon and musketry; nor did we ride fast, but upon an ordinary trot; and not once do I believe did it enter the General's mind that he was in danger. I was by his side and watched him closely. In riding that distance we were going to the front, and I could see that he was studying the positions of the two armies, and, of course, planning how to defeat the enemy, who was here making a most desperate stand, and was slaughtering our men fearfully. After defeating and driving the enemy here, we returned to Chattanooga.

"Another feature in General Grant's personal movements is, that he requires no escort beyond his staff, so regardless of danger is he. Roads are almost useless to him, for he takes short cuts through fields and woods, and will swim his horse through almost any stream that obstructs his way. Nor does it make any difference to him whether he has daylight for his movements, for he will ride from breakfast until two o'clock in the morning, and that too without eating. The next day he will repeat it, until he finishes his work. Now, such things come hard upon the staff, but they have learned how to bear it."

The intelligence of General Grant's victorious mountain campaign in Tennessee and Georgia was announced in Washington on the day of the first assembling of the United States Congress for 1863–4. Mr. Washburne, the representative for Galena, in the House, immediately gave notice of the introduction of two bills, one "to revive the grade of Lieutenant-General of the army," and the other "to provide that a medal be struck for General Grant, and that a vote of thanks be given him and the officers of his army."

It did not require either any very acute mental penetration, or a knowledge of the intimate relations of Congressman Washburne with General Grant, to understand the meaning and bearing of the above bill for the revival of

the grade of Lieutenant-General. The object was, the elevation of Major-General Grant to that position.

It was not the intention of those who desired the further promotion of General Grant to take him away from his command, and substitute him for the General-in-Chief. It was their conviction that he would be most useful in the field, but exercise, at the same time, from the field, the functions of a General-in-Chief.

Mr. Washburne's motion relative to the joint thanks of Congress and the gold medal did not require long deliberation. The members of both Houses felt that General Grant deserved the thanks of the nation; and when that resolution was brought up, it was passed by both Congress and Senate without opposition, and received the President's signature within ten days of its introduction. It then became the first law of the session of 1863–4.

The following is a copy of the official document:—

LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Passed at the First Session of the Thirty-eighth Congress.

[Public Resolution No. 1.]

Joint Resolution of thanks to Major-General Ulysses S. Grant and the officers and soldiers who have fought under his command during this rebellion; and providing that the President of the United States shall cause a medal to be struck, to be presented to Major-General Grant in the name of the people of the United States of America.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the thanks of Congress be and they hereby are presented to Major-General Ulysses S. Grant, and through him to the officers and soldiers who have fought under his command during this rebellion, for their gallantry and good conduct in the battles in which they have been engaged; and that the President of the United States be requested to cause a gold medal to be struck, with suitable emblems, devices, and inscriptions, to be presented to Major-General Grant.

Sec. 2. And be it further resolved, That, when the said medal shall have been struck, the President shall cause a copy of this joint resolution to be engrossed on parchment, and shall transmit the same, together with the said medal, to Major-General Grant, to be presented to him in the name of the people of the United States of America.

Sec. 3. And be it further resolved, That a sufficient sum of money to

carry this resolution into effect is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SCHUYLER COLFAX,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
H. HAMLIN,
Vice-President of the United States and
President of the Senate.

Approved December 17, 1863.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The designs were at once made for the medal. The one by Leutze was selected by the committee having the matter in charge: "The obverse of the medal was to consist of a profile likeness of the hero, surrounded by a wreath of laurels; his name and the year of his victories inscribed upon it, and the whole surrounded by a galaxy of stars. The design for the reverse was original, appropriate, and beautiful. It was the figure of Fame seated in a graceful attitude on the American eagle, which, with outspread wings, seems preparing for flight. In her right hand she held the symbolical trump, and in her left a scroll, on which were inscribed the names of the gallant chief's various battles, viz.: Corinth, Vicksburg, Mississippi River, and Chattanooga. On her head was a helmet, ornamented in Indian fashion, with feathers radiating from it. In front of the eagle, its breast resting against it, was the emblematical shield of the United States. Just underneath this group, their stems crossing each other, were single sprigs of the pine and the palm, typical of the North and South. Above the figure of Fame, in a curved line, the motto, 'Proclaim Liberty throughout the Land.' The edge was surrounded, like the obverse, with a circle of stars, of a style peculiar to the Byzantine period, and rarely seen except in illuminated MSS. of that age. These stars were more in number than the existing States—of course, including those of the South—thereby suggesting further additions in the future to the Union."

Other honors were paid him by societies electing him honorary life member.

We select a few instances of this hearty appreciation.

At the anniversary of the Missionary Society of the Cincinnati Conference, held in 1863, that body elected

General Grant an honorary member. Rev. J. F. Marlay communicated the fact to the General, and the following is his reply:

CHATTANOOGA, *December* 7, 1863.

Rev. F. MARLAY, Secretary of Society:

DEAR SIR:—Through you permit me to express my thanks to the society of which you are the honored secretary, for the compliment they have seen fit to pay me by electing me one of its members.

I accept the election as a token of earnest support, by members of the Methodist Missionary Society of the Cincinnati Conference, to the cause of our country in this hour of trial.

I have the honor to be, very truly, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General U. S. A.

The following interesting correspondence explains itself:

MORRISTOWN, *December* 9, 1863.

To Major-General U. S. GRANT:

DEAR SIR:—I have the pleasure of informing you that the church of which I am pastor, the Methodist Episcopal Church of this town, highly appreciating your services for your country, and rejoicing in the victories which God has wrought out through you and your noble army, and praying that you may be spared to see the end of this accursed rebellion, have contributed one hundred and fifty dollars ($150) to constitute you a life director of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Will you please direct where we shall send your Certificate? May God Almighty bless and keep you, and continue to crown your arms with victory and triumph!

With sincere admiration and respect,

I am, dear General, yours truly,

LEWIS R. DUNN,

Pastor of the M. E. Church, Morristown, N. J.

HEAD-QUARTERS MIL. DIST. OF THE MISS.,
CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *December*, 16, 1863.

To the Rev. LEWIS R. DUNN,

Pastor of M. E. Church, Morristown, N. J.:

SIR:—In reply to your letter of December 19th, to Major-General U. S. Grant, he directs me to express his gratitude to the Christian people of Morristown, for their prayerful remembrance of him before the throne of the Most High, and to thank them, through you, for the honor conferred upon him. Be good enough to send his Certificate of Membership to Mrs. U. S. Grant, Louisville, Kentucky.

Very respectfully, your ob't serv't,

J. H. WILSON, Brigadier-General.

On the thirteenth day of January, 1864, the following

resolution, moved by Mr. Reed, was adopted by the Legislature of the State of New York:

Resolved, That the thanks of the people of this State be tendered to General Grant and his Army for their glorious victories in the valley of the Mississippi, and the still more glorious victory at Mission Ridge and Lookout Mountain, and that a certified copy of this resolution be forwarded to General Grant.

The Legislature of the State of Ohio also presented him with a vote of thanks.

A handsome pair of revolvers from Colt's arm manufacturing establishment was presented to General Grant:

The handles are of black horn, beautifully polished, and the barrels, magazines, and other steel parts are elaborately inlaid with pure gold, which is beaten into a design previously cut out of the steel. The other ornaments, guard, &c., are of solid gold. The pair are inclosed in a handsome rosewood box, lined with velvet, and accompanied by all the tools, &c., belonging to them—the cartridge-boxes, &c., being manufactured of silver. These pistols equal any pair that has ever left the establishment.

The bill introduced by Mr. Washburne for the revival of the grade of Lieutenant-General of the United States Army, having in the due course of business been read and referred to the Military Committee of the House of Congress, was slightly amended, and came up on February 1st, 1864, for final action of that portion of the law-making power.

The amended bill introduced was thus worded:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the grade of Lieutenant-General be, and the same is hereby, revived in the Army of the United States of America; and the President is hereby authorized, whenever he shall deem it expedient, to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a commander of the army, to be selected, during war, from among those officers in the military service of the United States, not below the grade of Major-General, most distinguished for courage, skill, and ability; and who, being commissioned

as Lieutenant-General, shall be authorized, under the direction of the President, to command the armies of the United States.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That the Lieutenant-General appointed as hereinbefore provided shall be entitled to the pay, allowances, and staff specified in the fifth section of the act approved May 28th, 1798; and also the allowances described in the sixth section of the act approved August 23d, 1842, granting additional rations to certain officers: Provided, That nothing in this bill contained shall be construed in any way to affect the rank, pay, or allowances of Winfield Scott, lieutenant-general by brevet, now on the retired list of the army.

Mr. Farnsworth opened the debate by a recommendation that the bill should be passed that morning.

Mr. Garfield, formerly chief of staff to General Rosecrans, having opposed the motion,

Mr. Farnsworth addressed the House as follows:

Mr. Speaker, the argument of my colleague of the Committee on Military Affairs, who has just taken his seat, is a twofold argument. I understand his first argument to be, that the war has not progressed far enough, and that we have not given our generals in the field a sufficient term of trial, to enable the President to select with proper judgment a man upon whom to confer the rank of lieutenant-general.

His second argument is, that the General toward whom this legislation is directed is so great and so successful a general, that it would be dangerous to take him from the field and put him in command of the entire Army of the United States.

In answer to the first branch of the gentleman's argument, I have only this to say: we are now very near to the close of the third year of this war, and while it is true that many generals in the army may be up to-day and down to-morrow, and that their fortunes fluctuate, it is not true of the general to whom this legislation applies. His star has been steadily rising. He has been growing greater and greater day by day, rising from an obscure position, scarcely known out of the county in which he resided. By his masterly ability he now stands, without saying any

thing to the disparagement of other generals, head and shoulders over every other general in the Army of the United States. He has been tried, tried long enough; and if his star were to go down to-morrow, he has still done enough to entitle him to this prize.

After some further debate, Mr. Ross submitted the following amendment, to be added to the act:

And that we respectfully recommend the appointment of Major-General U. S. Grant for the position of lieutenant-general.

On this amendment a spirited debate ensued in favor of General Grant, when Mr. Washburne took the floor and made an eloquent speech in commendation of General Grant, and in favor of the bill.

After a few brief remarks from other members, Mr. Ross's amendment was carried, by 117 votes against 19. The bill so amended was finally passed, and sent to the Senate for their action.

Owing to some disagreements in the Senate, the bill went to a committee of conference, in which it was amended, making the appointment of Lieutenant-General to be during the pleasure of the President, and on the 1st of March, 1864, President Lincoln approved the bill, and on the next day sent in to the Senate his message, appointing, as Lieutenant-General of the armies of the United States, Major-General Ulysses S. Grant. The nomination was unanimously confirmed by the Senate.

Shortly after the battles of Chattanooga, General Grant was sitting in his head-quarters at Nashville, with his feet comfortably stretched before the fire, while he enjoyed himself with puffing and chewing his cigar, with that completeness of repose which strangers to his habits have called a dullness of facial expression. Quartermaster-General Meigs sat near him, while General W. F. Smith, who had but a short time before made himself quite a reputation with Grant, by the skillful operations in Lookout Valley, in October, 1863, paced the floor, apparently absorbed in thought. Meigs, noticing this, broke the silence, which had lasted for several minutes, by asking:

"What are you thinking about, 'Baldy'?"

On receiving no reply from the absorbed officer, he turned to Grant, and remarked with a laugh:

"Baldy is studying strategy."

Grant removed his cigar from his lips, and said, with a serious air: "I don't believe in strategy, in the popular understanding of the term. I use it to get up just as close to the enemy as practicable, with as little loss as possible."

"And what then?" asked Meigs.

"Then? 'Up, Guards, and at 'em!'" replied the General, with more than usual spirit; then again lapsing into his accustomed taciturnity.

CHAPTER XX.

A NEW CAMPAIGN.—NEW HONORS.

A new Campaign.—Congressional Action.—Deserters from the Enemy.—Loyal Citizens protected.—Army Supplies received.—General Grant inspects his Department at St Louis.—Popular Demonstrations of Admiration.—Characteristics.—General Grant is notified of his appointment to the Rank of Lieutenant-General.—Interesting Correspondence with Sherman on the subject.—His Tour of Inspection.—Enters upon his new Duties.

WHILE these scenes were transpiring in Congress, and "all was quiet on the Potomac," General Grant was maturing plans for a more brilliant campaign. He forwarded to Washington his views of the mode of conducting it, to insure the earliest and most complete suppression of the rebellion. The recommendation of a concerted movement of all our armies under one policy, and, so far as practicable, under one direction, was the principal feature of General Grant's project.

Congress was ready to forward General Grant's plans, and Senator Howe, of Wisconsin, offered the following joint resolution on the 7th of January, 1864, under the plea of releasing the prisoners within the rebel lines:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

SEC. 1. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and requested to call out and arm one million of volunteers, to serve for the period of ninety days unless sooner discharged, and to be employed to carry food and freedom to every captive held in rebel prisons, and to plant the flag of the United States upon every prison they occupy.

SEC. 2. That the President be requested to assign Major-General Ulysses S. Grant to the command of the forces raised under this call, together with such of the forces now in the field as may be joined with them; and he

is hereby authorized to detail for the subordinate commands, in the forces to be raised under the authority of these resolutions, such officers or privates now in the field as he may deem best qualified therefor; or he may assign to such commands any person or persons who may volunteer under the same authority; provided, however, that any officer or private, now in the military service of the United States, who may be detailed to any such command by authority hereby, shall receive no additional pay for such substituted service; and no volunteer, under the same authority, who shall be detailed to any such command, shall receive more pay than the pay of a private.

Many of the rebel troops, despairing of the establishment of a Southern Confeneracy, and seeing that whenever General Grant moved, victory was his constant attendant, began to desert from their ranks and come within the Union lines. To prevent them from being retaken and summarily punished by the rebel authorities, the Commanding General issued an order for their disposition and protection.

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE FIELD, CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *December* 12, 1863.

To obtain uniformity in the disposition of deserters from the Confederate armies coming within this military division, the following order is published:

I. All deserters from the enemy coming within our lines will be conducted to the commander of division or detached brigade who shall be nearest the place of surrender.

II. If such commander is satisfied that the deserters desire to quit the Confederate service, he may permit them to go to their homes, if within our lines, on taking the following oath:

THE OATH.

"I do solemnly swear, in the presence of the Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Union of States thereunder; and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress passed during the existing rebellion with reference to slaves, so long and so far as not yet repealed, modified, or held void by Congress or by decision of the Supreme Court; and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all proclamations of the President made during the existing rebellion having

reference to slaves, so long and so far as not modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court: so help me God.

"Sworn and subscribed to before me at ——, this — day of ——, 186–."

III. Deserters from the enemy will at once be disarmed, and their arms turned over to the nearest Ordnance Officer, who will account for them.

IV. Passes and rations may be given to deserters to carry them to their homes, and free passes over military railroads and on steamboats in Government employ.

V. Employment at fair wages will, when practicable, be given to deserters by officers of the Quartermaster and Engineer Departments.

To avoid the danger of re-capture of such deserters by the enemy, they will be exempt from the military service in the armies of the United States.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

He also ordered that "no encouragement will be given to traders or army followers, who have left their homes to avoid enrollment or the draft, and to speculate upon the soldiers' pay; and this class of persons will not be tolerated in the armies of the Military Division of the Mississippi."

Protection was extended to the property of loyal citizens residing within the rebellious States, and provision made for the proper seizure of the effects of rebels forfeited to the United States under the special act of Congress passed for that purpose.

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE FIELD, CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *December* 13, 1863.

All Quartermasters within the Military Division of the Mississippi who now have, or may hereafter receive, moneys for rents accruing from abandoned property, or property known to belong to secessionists within this Military Division, are hereby directed to pay such moneys into the hands of the nearest Treasury Agent, taking his receipt therefor, excepting such sums out of said moneys so collected as may be requisite to pay the necessary expenses of collection, and the taxes due the United States upon the same.

Any property now held by any Quartermaster, and upon which rents are collected by him, shall, when satisfactorily proven to belong to loyal citizens, be restored to the possession of the owners, together with all moneys collected for rents upon the same, excepting only such sums as may be required to pay the necessary expenses of collection, and the taxes due to the United States upon the same.

Department and Corps Commanders and Commandants of Military Posts and Stations within this Military Division are hereby required and

directed, whenever called upon by proper authority, to promptly afford all necessary assistance in enforcing the collection of the taxes due upon all property within this command.

Corps Commanders within this Military Division are directed to immediately seize, or cause to be seized, all County Records and documents showing titles and claims to property within the revolted States in their respective districts, and hold the same until they can be delivered to an authorized Tax Commissioner of the United States.

Where property is used by the Government without paying rent, the collection of taxes on it will be suspended until further orders.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

This was followed by another:—

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI, IN THE FIELD, CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *December* 16, 1863.

1. All seizures of private buildings will be made by the Quartermaster's Department, on the order of the commanding officer. The buildings of disloyal persons alone will be taken to furnish officers with quarters, and the need for public offices and storehouses must be supplied in preference.

2. When the urgent exigencies of the service require it, the buildings of loyal persons may be taken for storehouses and offices, but only after all suitable buildings belonging to disloyal persons have been seized.

3. In the seizure of buildings, the owner will be allowed to retain all movables except the means of heating.

4. All officers will remain in the immediate vicinity of their commands, and if having a less command than a division or a post, when the command is in tents they will occupy tents themselves.

5. Commanding officers are prohibited from quartering troops in houses without the special written authority of the General commanding the Corps or Department to which they belong.

6. In furnishing quarters to officers not serving with troops, the Quartermaster's Department will be governed by existing regulations.

7. Ten days after the receipt and distribution of this order, Corps Commanders will cause an inspection of their commands to be made by their Assistant Inspectors-General, and will arrest and prefer charges against every officer who may be occupying quarters not assigned to him by the Quartermaster's Department, or in violation of paragraph 4 of this order.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

Grant's thoughtful care of the troops was expressed in a brief notice, sent December 22, 1863, from the office of the Chief Quartermaster at Louisville, Kentucky, to get the supplies for his army:

All requisitions made by Captain J. A. Potter, Assistant Quartermaster United States Army, for military supplies, will be immediately and promptly filled.

In case of delay or refusal on the part of any railroad, Captain Potter is authorized to take such means as may be necessary to enforce compliance.

By order of Major-General U. S. GRANT.

We find a letter from General Grant to the wife of General I. F. Quinby, which we quote:

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., *December* 13, 1863

MY DEAR MADAM:—The letter of my old friend and classmate, your husband, requesting a lock of my hair, if the article is not growing scarce from age—I presume he means to be put in an ornament (by the most delicate of hands no doubt), and sold at the bazaar, for the benefit of disabled soldiers and their families—is just received.

I am glad to say that the stock is yet abundant as ever, though time or other cause is beginning to intersperse here and there a reminder that winters have passed.

The object for which this little requisite is made is so praiseworthy that I cannot refuse it, even though I do, by granting it, expose the fact to the ladies of Rochester, that I am no longer a boy. Hoping that the citizens of your city may spend a happy week, commencing to-morrow, and that this fair may remunerate most abundantly,

I remain, very truly yours,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

General Grant, to visit the outposts of his department, left Chattanooga for Nashville. He embarked, December 18th, on the noble and fast-sailing Government steam-packet *Point Rock*, for Nashville and Louisville. General Sherman accompanied him.

The commander stayed no longer at Nashville than was necessary to secure active work on the railroad communications with Chattanooga, and in a few days his departure was announced for Knoxville. He had heard that the communications with that post had been much cut up and endangered, and, after a brief stay, left the State capital for that city.

Desirous of ascertaining the condition of the roads between that place and Louisville, by way of Cumberland Gap, he resolved to make a personal examination of that line of travel.

A dispatch will indicate the hardships endured and his reception along the route :—

"General U. S. Grant arrived January 11th at Louisville, having just completed a six days' campaign against Jack Frost. He and his staff left Knoxville on the 5th instant, and crossed the country by way of Cumberland Gap, Barboursville, Big Hill, Richmond, and Lexington, to this city, having to encounter the coldest weather and deepest snow known there for thirty years. The trip was a most terrible one—the officers having to walk a great part of the way, driving their nearly frozen animals before them. The descent of the Gap and of Big Hill is represented to have been not only difficult but dangerous, and had an army been compelled at this time to cross those mountains, the task would not have been much less terrible than Macdonald's passage of the Spleigen. General Grant had a much easier and shorter route to Nashville by way of Chattanooga; but he chose this difficult and dangerous one solely from a desire to see for himself the capabilities of the country and route for supplying General Foster's army. It is this personal attention to important details and his aggressive style of warfare which is the secret of General Grant's great success. This difficult journey, undertaken at this time, is indicative of the indomitable energy of the man.

"At Lexington, Kentucky, General Grant met with a spontaneous reception from the citizens. The town was crowded with the country visitors, and nothing would satisfy them but a speech. The General, however, contented himself with making his appearance. The people insisted on his getting upon a chair that he might be seen to better advantage, and, half pushed by General Leslie Coombs, General Grant mounted the improvised rostrum. General Coombs then introduced him in a neat little speech, in which he said that 'General Grant had told him in confidence—and he would not repeat it—that he never had made a speech, knew nothing about speech-making, and had no disposition to learn.' After satisfying the curiosity of the people, but without ever having opened his mouth, General Grant dismounted from his chair and retired, amid the cheers of the assemblage.

"His arrival at the Galt House was not generally known, and few, who had not looked at the books, suspected that the little man in faded blue overcoat, with heavy red whiskers, and keen bright eyes, the hero of the two rebel Gibraltars of Vicksburg and Chattanooga, stood before them. This people have been so used to and surfeited with brilliantly dressed and cleanly shaven staff officers, with every pretense star or double star that has flitted across this horizon, that they never dreamed of recognizing in the blue overcoated men who figured in the scene with him the admirable and hard-working staff officers who have aided in no little degree to General Grant's success. General Grant was accompanied by General Wilson, Colonel Duff, Colonel T. S. Bowers, and others of his staff. The party are to leave in the morning train for Nashville, where General Grant establishes his head-quarters for the present."

On the 12th of January, 1864, a telegram announced that railroad communication was opened between Louisville and Chattanooga. A private letter from Chattanooga states that when the first train of cars from Bridgeport arrived at the military post, the fact caused the greatest rejoicing throughout the whole army, and that our soldiers, who had for so many months been on short rations, were soon reveling in plenty.

"Only those thoroughly informed of the vast amount of labor required to get the road in order will appreciate the victory won by our soldiers and mechanics. The heavy force that was employed in building the bridge over the Tennessee River and Falling Waters was next used to put the road in perfect order from Nashville to Bridgeport. This road had been in a wretched condition. The track had been constantly giving way, and the trains have been badly damaged by accidents. The utmost energy was displayed to make this road first-class, and equip it so that not only can our army at Chattanooga be thoroughly supplied, but provisions and ammunition, pork, bread, salt, cartridges, clothing—the necessaries of life for a great army—be accumulated for the spring's campaign. The road swarmed with laborers from end to end, until this

was accomplished. With a good road, the furloughed soldiers can be sent home promptly, and the trains returned ponderous with military indispensables. It was no less important to General Grant than the reorganization and reenforcement of his army, that the railroad should be efficient. It would be vain to gather the manly strength of the nation at Chattanooga, if we could not send to that point that which is needed to provide the men for the present, and give them a dépôt of supplies for the future. Therefore, we regard the construction of the road to Chattanooga as a significant victory. It meant as much in the direction of overcoming the rebellion, as if we had gained another battle in East Tennessee or Northern Georgia."

On the 13th of January General Grant was in Nashville, having made the circuit of his department in the most inclement season of the year.

A Washington correspondent sent the following paragraph to a prominent daily paper during February, 1864:

"An officer just in from General Grant's head-quarters states that all through the country to the rear of the Union lines a Union officer, in his uniform, can ride unmolested to any portions of Mississippi, Tennessee, and Alabama, halting at farm-houses along the road for such refreshments and shelter as he may desire."

What evidence of the superiority of management of the department is set forth in the short paragraph.

General Grant appears to have been acting from the beginning of his first campaign upon a fixed principle—to take away from the rebels whatever they declare themselves least able to spare. In January, 1862, it was rumored that the rebel capital would presently be removed to Nashville. Grant determined to be beforehand with Davis, moved upon the works of Fort Donelson, and after very unhandsomely capturing the garrison, with General Buckner, took possession of Nashville.

Next, Mr. Davis announced to all the world that the fate of the Confederacy depended upon the fate of Vicksburg. Hereupon Grant moved down and captured that place.

East Tennessee was next declared to be absolutely

necessary to the safety of the rebel cause. The untiring Grant no sooner heard this than he sent Sherman to Knoxville to drive off Longstreet, and leisurely drove Bragg away from Chattanooga.

At Memphis, January 25th, General Sherman said: "I was at West Point with General Grant. The General is not a man of remarkable learning, but he is one of the bravest I ever saw. He smokes his cigar with coolness in the midst of flying shot. He has no fear, because he is an honest man. I like Grant. I do not say he is a hero; I do not believe in heroes; but I know he is a gentleman, and a good man."

The last days of January saw the chief on a new and touching journey. A child lay sick at St. Louis, and the warrior was lost in the father. His family attracted the interest of his manly heart and his steps.

His arrival in that city was discovered by visitors, who saw the book of the hotel where he had put up. The entry was simply as follows:—

"U. S. Grant, Chattanooga."

That entry, modest and simple as it was, spoke volumes; for, hidden under those seven letters that composed his name and initials, lay unseen the titles of "Major-General of the United States Army," "Conqueror of Vicksburg and Chattanooga," "Grand Commander of the Military Division of the Mississippi." It did not require to be written, for it was all embraced in "U. S. Grant."

As soon as it became known that General Grant was really in St. Louis—it had been doubted by many that so great a general could have entered their city without a brilliant escort, or his advent being heralded by a flourish of trumpets and rolling of drums—the citizens prepared to give him a reception worthy of his deeds. No occasion had occurred since the commencement of the war in which St. Louis had more cheerfully united to do honor to one worthy of the gratitude of all.

An invitation to a public dinner was tendered to General Grant by the citizens of St. Louis.

General Grant accepted the invitation, and forwarded a characteristic reply :—

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, *January* 27, 1864.

Colonel JOHN O'FALLON, Hon. JOHN HOW, and citizens of St. Louis :

GENTLEMEN :—Your highly complimentary invitation "to meet old acquaintances and make new ones," at a dinner to be given by citizens of St. Louis, is just received.

I will state that I have only visited St. Louis on this occasion to see a sick child. Finding, however, that he has passed the crisis of his disease, and is pronounced out of danger by his physicians, I accept the invitation. My stay in this city will be short—probably not beyond the 1st proximo. On to-morrow I shall be engaged. Any other day of my stay here, and any place selected by the citizens of St. Louis, it will be agreeable for me to meet them.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General U. S. A.

During that day (January 27) General Grant paid a visit to the City University, where he passed some two hours in reviewing the arrangements and listening to the recitation of the students of this institution.

The same evening he attended the St. Louis theater with his family, and was the cynosure of the eyes of all around him during the whole of the performance. After the fall of the curtain upon the play of Richelieu, cheers were proposed and heartily given for the "famous military chieftain." The General rose from his box, bowing his acknowledgments, and in response to calls was understood to say that he had never made a speech in his life, and never expected to. Asking to be excused, he resumed his seat amid a shower of cheers. The orchestra struck up "Hail Columbia," followed by "Yankee Doodle," and altogether the incident was a very pleasant one.

On Friday evening the old friends of the modest Lieutenant Grant of former times, the neighbors of Farmer Grant, the cordwood dealer of Carondelet, and the admirers of General Grant, the redeemer of the Mississippi Valley, sat down in the dining-hall of the Lindell Hotel, St. Louis, to a grand dinner given in his honor. A stranger, unacquainted with the object of the gathering, entering the dining-hall during the dinner, would never have selected,

from the guests there assembled, the quiet, modest, unassuming man at the upper end of the room as the victorious hero of the Southwest.

A St. Louis journal said of the reception and appearance of General Grant on this occasion :—

"The guests assembled in the corridors and parlors of the hotel at half-past six o'clock. Much curiosity was exhibited to see General Grant; and when he made his appearance, arm-in-arm with Judge Treat, all were eager to go forward and be presented to him. He went through the protracted ceremony of shaking hands with the crowd, and passing a word or two with each, with far less of pretentious and pompous deportment than many of those who sought his acquaintance. He is a small man, about five feet eight inches high, with a well-knit frame, brown hair and whiskers, both cropped close, and a manner as utterly destitute of style as could be conceived. His sharp nose, heavy lower jaw, and firm-set lips, are the only features wherein one would suspect lurked the qualities that drove the Western armies like a resistless avalanche down the Mississippi and over the Southwest, in that career of consecutive victories that broke the power of rebellion, even while it was boasting of triumphs at the East.

"The curiosity of the company centered mainly upon General Grant, to honor whom the demonstration was specially intended. As he lodged in the hotel, any thing like an ostentatious arrival or reception was, of course, out of the question. General Grant had a visibly mild, modest manner, and received the cordial greetings tendered him with evident embarrassment. The lady inmates of the house took possession of an adjoining parlor, through the open door of which they could see the General; and several of his most ardent admirers among the fair spectators took the opportunity of his near proximity to the door in question to obtain an introduction."

There were three elegant tables spread lengthwise in the hall, provided abundantly from the larder of the hotel. In the center of the one on the north side were seated the president of the committee of citizens, Judge Samuel Treat, with General Grant next on his right, followed by General

Schofield, Colonel Leighton, Colonel Marcy, and Lieutenant-Governor Hall. Next on his left sat General Rosecrans, General Osterhaus, and Mr. F. Dent, father-in-law of the guest of the evening. Mr. Dent is a white-haired, florid, fine-looking gentleman, about sixty-five years old. He resided in St. Louis County, on the Gravois road. Immediately opposite Judge Treat, at the same table, sat Judge Lord, of the Land Court, flanked on the left by Major Dunn, C. B. Hubbell, Colonel Merrill, and G. Hoeber; and on the right by Colonel Callender, Colonel Myers, Colonel Haines, and Major C. P. E. Johnson.

At the center of the south table were seated Honorable Wayman Crow, with General McNeil, General Fisk, General Brown, General Totten, and General Gray. The remaining guests, to the number of two hundred, occupied the other seats at the tables. The hall, superb in the ceiling and wall colorings which embellished it, was further decorated by the spirited drapings of the national flag from each of the arched windows, and presented a magnificent appearance.

At thetoast of "Our distinguished guest, Major-General Grant," the band played with great spirit the air "Hail to the Chief."

General Grant arose, amid a perfect storm of applause; but, true to his resolution never to make a speech, he simply said:

"Gentlemen:—In response, it will be impossible for me to do more than to thank you."

At the toast of "The City of St. Louis," the following preamble and resolutions, passed by the City Council, an hour or two before the time fixed for the dinner, were read:—

COUNCIL CHAMBER, CITY OF ST. LOUIS, *January* 29, 1864.

Whereas, Major-General U. S. Grant has, since our last meeting, suddenly and unexpectedly arrived among us, and the opportunity not having presented itself, whereby the city authorities and this body could testify their great esteem, regard, and indebtedness due his modest, unswerving energies, swayed neither by the mighty successes which have crowned his genius and efforts in behalf of the Government, nor the machinations of politicians—evidences of the true patriot and soldier; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the thanks of the Common Council of the city of St.

Louis are eminently due, and are hereby respectfully tendered, to Major-General U. S. Grant, in behalf of the city of St. Louis.

Resolved, That his Honor the Mayor be respectfully requested to give his official approval to this preamble and resolutions, and cause the seal of the city to be affixed, and the same presented to Major-General U. S. Grant.

Shortly before the dinner-party broke up, this punning sentiment was given :—

"Major-General Grant—he is emphatically U. S. Grant, for he has given US and the U. S. an earnest of those victories which will finally rescue this nation from the rebellion and its cause—American slavery."

Loud applause greeted the reading of the pleasant allusion.

During the same evening, the General was honored by the enthusiastic populace with a serenade. His appearance on the balcony was greeted with the most flattering applause. In response to calls for a speech, he took off his hat, and, amid profound silence, he said:

"Gentlemen :—I thank you for this honor. I cannot make a speech. It is something I have never done, and never intend to do, and I beg you will excuse me."

Loud cheers followed this brief address, at the conclusion of which the General replaced his hat, took a cigar from his pocket, lit it, and stood on the balcony in the presence of the crowd, puffing his Havana, and watching the rockets as they ascended and burst in the air.

"Speech! speech!" vociferated the multitude, and several gentlemen near him urged the General to say something to satisfy the people, but he declined. Judge Lord, of the Land Court, appeared very enthusiastic, and, placing his hand on General Grant's shoulder, said : "Tell them you can fight for them, but can't talk to them—do tell them that!"

"I must get some one else to say that for me," replied the General; but the multitude continuing to cry out, "Speech! speech!" he leaned over the railing, blew a wreath of smoke from his lips, and said :—

"Gentlemen :—Making speeches is not my business. I never did it in my life, and never will. I thank you, how-

ever, for your attendance here." And with that the General retired.

At the request of a number of ladies, the noted visitor agreed to stay in the city until the end of the month, as the citizens of St. Louis were organizing a Great Western Sanitary Commission Fair. A letter from him was read at a meeting held on Monday evening, February 1, 1864:—

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, *January* 31, 1864.

Dr. W. G. ELIOT, GEORGE PARTRIDGE, and others, Western Sanitary Commission:

GENTLEMEN:—Your letter of yesterday, requesting my presence at a general meeting of the loyal citizens of St. Louis on Monday evening, to make preparations for a "Grand Mississippi Valley Fair," for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers of the Western Army, is before me. I regret that my already protracted stay in the city will prevent any longer delay from my public duties. I regret this, as it would afford me the greatest pleasure to advance, in any manner, the interests of a commission that has already done so much for the suffering soldiers of our Western armies. The gratuitous offerings of our loyal citizens at home, through the agency of sanitary commissions, to our brave soldiers in the field, have been to them the most encouraging and gratifying evidence that, while they are risking life and health for the suppression of this most wicked rebellion, their friends, who cannot assist them with musket and sword, are with them in sympathy and heart. The Western Sanitary Commission have distributed many tons of stores to the armies under my command. Their voluntary offerings have made glad the hearts of many thousands of wounded and sick soldiers, who otherwise would have been subjected to severe privations. Knowing the benefits already conferred on the army by the Western Sanitary Commission, I hope for them a full and enthusiastic meeting to-night, and a fair to follow which will bring together many old friends who have been kept apart for the last three years, and unite them again in one common cause—that of their country and peace.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General U. S. A.

Before the close of the meeting the General was elected an honorary member of the Commission.

The unassuming and unselfish nature of General Grant, like that of Washington and Lincoln, is the crowning and most attractive aspect of the chieftain's character. It was expressed in every act. When at this period his name was mentioned in connection with the next Presidential

campaign, he said, emphatically, "Let us first settle the war, and it will be time enough then to talk upon that subject!" Again, when rallied upon the apparent determination of a prominent paper to bring him into the arena, he quietly remarked: "I aspire only to one political office. When this war is over, I mean to run for mayor of Galena; and, if elected, I intend to have the side-walk fixed up between my house and the dépôt."

The appointment of General Grant to the Lieutenant-Generalship of the United States Armies, instead of elating, only gave a new occasion for the development of his nobility of character.

On the 4th of March, at Nashville, Major-General Grant received telegraphic orders to report in person at Washington. Congress had passed an act authorizing the appointment of a Lieutenant-General to command the Armies of the United States, and the President had nominated General Grant for the appointment. Before starting on his journey, Grant seized his pen, and in the very moment of his greatest elevation, filled with generosity toward those others to whose exertions he modestly chose to ascribe his own deserved reward, hastily wrote these touching lines:—

DEAR SHERMAN:—The bill reviving the grade of Lieutenant-General in the army has become a law, and my name has been sent to the Senate for the place. I now receive orders to report to Washington immediately in person, which indicates a confirmation, or a likelihood of confirmation.

I start in the morning to comply with the order.

Whilst I have been eminently successful in this war, in at least gaining the confidence of the public, no one feels more than I how much of this success is due to the energy, skill, and the harmonious putting forth of that energy and skill, of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying subordinate positions under me.

There are many officers to whom these remarks are applicable to a greater or less degree, proportionate to their ability as soldiers; but what I want is to express my thanks to you and McPherson, as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success.

How far your advice and assistance have been of help to me, you know. How far your execution of whatever has been given you to do entitles you to the reward I am receiving, you cannot know as well as I.

I feel all the gratitude this letter would express, giving it the most flattering construction.

The word *you* I use in the plural, intending it for McPherson also. I should write to him, and will some day; but, starting in the morning, I do not know that I will find time just now.

Your friend,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S REPLY.

Sherman received this letter near Memphis, on the 10th of March, and immediately replied:—

DEAR GENERAL:—I have your more than kind and characteristic letter of the 4th instant. I will send a copy to General McPherson at once.

You do yourself injustice and us too much honor in assigning to us too large a share of the merits which have led to your high advancement. I know you approve the friendship I have ever professed to you, and will permit me to continue, as heretofore, to manifest it on all proper occasions.

You are now Washington's legitimate successor, and occupy a position of almost dangerous elevation; but if you can continue, as heretofore, to be yourself, simple, honest, and unpretending, you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends, and the homage of millions of human beings, that will award you a large share in securing to them and their descendants a government of law and stability.

I repeat, you do General McPherson and myself too much honor. At Belmont you manifested your traits—neither of us being near. At Donelson, also, you illustrated your whole character. I was not near, and General McPherson in too subordinate a capacity to influence you.

Until you had won Donelson, I confess I was almost cowed by the terrible array of anarchical elements that presented themselves at every point; but that admitted a ray of light I have followed since.

I believe you are as brave, patriotic, and just as the great prototype, Washington—as unselfish, kind-hearted, and honest as a man should be—but the chief characteristic is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in the Saviour.

This faith gave you victory at Shiloh and Vicksburg. Also, when you have completed your preparations, you go into battle without hesitation, as at Chattanooga—no doubts—no reverses; and I tell you, it was this that made us act with confidence. I knew, wherever I was, that you thought of me, and if I got in a tight place you would help me out, if alive.

My only point of doubts was in your knowledge of grand strategy, and of books of science and history; but, I confess, your common sense seems to have supplied all these.

Now, as to the future. Don't stay in Washington. Come West; take to yourself the whole Mississippi Valley. Let us make it dead sure—and I

tell you the Atlantic slopes and the Pacific shores will follow its destiny, as sure as the limbs of a tree live or die with the main trunk. We have done much, but still much remains. Time and time's influences are with us. We could almost afford to sit still and let these influences work.

Here lies the seat of the coming empire; and from the West, when our task is done, we will make short work of Charleston and Richmond, and the impoverished coast of the Atlantic. Your sincere friend.

On the 6th of March, 1864, he visited the departmental offices at Louisville, Kentucky, to see that every thing was in working order; and then started East, taking with him his son, a lad thirteen years of age. He arrived at Cincinnati the next morning, where he paid a flying visit to his father, Jesse R. Grant, Esq., residing at Covington, opposite that city, after which he proceeded to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Leaving on the morning of March 8th, he arrived at Baltimore about noon, where he was met at the dépôt of the Northern Central Railroad by soldiers and citizens. The General, as usual, plainly clad, seemed anxious to avoid parade. Many, however, on seeing him, pressed up to shake hands, and gave vent to their feelings by enthusiastic shouts of welcome. To this greeting he remarked that, "beyond all things, he was determined to avoid political demonstrations; his business was with war, while it existed, and his duty was to crush the spirit of treason and save the nation from destruction. When these things were accomplished, as he hoped and believed they surely would be, then it would be time enough for those whose tastes were toward partisanship to indulge themselves."

General Grant left Baltimore by the next train, and arrived in Washington at about five o'clock on the evening of March 8, 1864. He at once proceeded to Willard's Hotel, and went to his room. A little later, unattended by either staff or escort, he quietly walked into the long dining-room of the hotel, and took his seat. There were several hundred persons present, and the ranking officer of the whole United States Army sat down in the midst of them in his rusty uniform, attracting but little notice. His quietude was but short-lived; he had but half finished his dinner, when one of the visitors at the table inquired of a

neighbor who the strange major-general was. Looking up, the party questioned recognized the newly arrived officer, whom he had known in Galena, and answered:

"Why, that is Lieutenant-General Grant."

The magic name was quickly whispered about, and a battery of ladies' eyes was speedily opened upon him. He betrayed embarrassment, when suddenly a member of Congress arose and announced that "the hero of Vicksburg was among them," and proposed his health. Instantly all the guests were on their feet, and the response was deafening cheers. More embarrassed than before, the General merely bowed and resumed his seat; but his dinner was constantly interrupted by the rush of the guests to gain an introduction to him.

Late in the evening, General Grant visited the White House, where the President was holding a public reception. He entered the reception-room unannounced. He was recognized and greeted by Mr. Lincoln with great cordiality. The noted visitor then became the principal figure, and, attended by the Secretaries of War and State, modestly received the congratulations of the crowd, after which he escorted Mrs. Lincoln round the East Room, and retired. He afterward remarked, it was "his warmest campaign during the whole war."

The City Councils of Washington also tendered him the hospitalities and freedom of the city, together with a cordial welcome. This was embodied in a series of resolutions, handsomely written, and presented to him by the Mayor.

At one o'clock in the afternoon of March 9, 1864, General Grant was formally presented by President Lincoln with his commission as Lieutenant-General. The ceremony took place in the presence of the Cabinet, the General-in-Chief, the members of General Grant's staff, that officer's son, the President's private secretary, and Representative Lovejoy. When the General entered the room the President rose and said:

"General Grant:—The nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what still remains to be accomplished in the existing great struggle,

are now presented with this commission, constituting you Lieutenant-General in the Army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you, also, a corresponding responsibility. As the country herein trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need to add, that with what I here speak for the nation, goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

To which General Grant replied as follows :—

"MR. PRESIDENT :—I accept the commission, with gratitude for the high honor conferred. With the aid of the noble armies that have fought on so many fields for our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations. I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me, and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

At the conclusion of these brief speeches, the President introduced the General to all the members of the Cabinet; after which the company were seated, and about half an hour was spent in pleasant social conversation.

General Grant, the next day, visited the Army of the Potomac, in company with General Meade, and, on his return to the national capital, immediately made preparations for his departure. He left Washington, with his staff, on the evening of March 11th, for the West.

The day after, the following order was promulgated :—

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, *March* 12, 1864.

The President of the United States orders as follows:

I. Major-General Halleck is, at his own request, relieved from duty as General-in-Chief of the Army, and Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant is assigned to the command of the Armies of the United States. The headquarters of the Army will be in Washington, and also with Lieutenant-General Grant in the field.

II. Major-General Halleck is assigned to duty in Washington, as Chief of Staff of the Army, under the direction of the Secretary of War and the Lieutenant-General commanding. His orders will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

III. Major-General W. T. Sherman is assigned to the command of the military division of the Mississippi, composed of the Departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Arkansas.

IV. Major-General J. B. McPherson is assigned to the command of the Department and Army of the Tennessee.

V. In relieving Major-General Halleck from duty as General-in-Chief, the President desires to express his approbation and thanks for the zealous manner in which the arduous and responsible duties of that position have been performed.

By order of the Secretary of War.

E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant-General.

No military order of this war was more satisfactory than this, appointing Lieutenant-General Grant to the command of the Armies of the United States. Not the least agreeable feature of it was the announcement of headquarters in Washington with General Grant in the field. He was still to lead in person, and the name which was the omen of success to his soldiers was still to be their rallying cry in battle.

CHAPTER XXI.

GENERAL GRANT AND THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.—ITS LEADING GENERALS.

A Ball-room on the Battle-field.—General Grant's idea of such Warlike Preparations.—A Fancy Officer.—The Pause and Crisis.—The Opening Campaign and its Field.—Incidents.—Sketch of Major-General George Gordon Meade.—Major-General Philip Henry Sheridan.

A FEW days before the anniversary of Washington's birthday, near General Warren's head-quarters, an immense ball-room, erected at no small expense, had been thronged with dancers. We shall not soon lose the impression the unfinished building made on our mind, when, a few weeks before, for the first time we saw it. A *ball-room* on a battle-field! But the ladies from a distance were delighted with the soldierly frolic, and approached General Grant on the subject, expressing the hope that there would be another in the Army of the Potomac.

He coolly listened, and then assured them that, if another were attempted, he should stop it by special order. It was no time or place for music and dancing, excepting the martial airs and firm step of the warriors, many of whom were soon to fall in the strife.

The same day the ball came off, the President had issued an order for preparations in every department of the army for an early advance. For this grand action General Grant was ready. It suited his ideas of carrying on the war. He soon revealed his purpose to move on Richmond. It was not the capital mainly he wanted; but to crush or fatally cripple the well-disciplined, formidable army under the splendid leadership of General Lee, was the serious work he resolved to undertake. Notwithstanding the repeated failures before, the losses and retreats of the noble Army of the Potomac, the victor of the West was willing to try his strength against the accomplished commander of "the flower of Southern chivalry" in the East. But one condi-

tion was demanded by him, and granted—the entire control of the army for one hundred days. That is, for that period the campaign should be his own; he would assume the high responsibility of its success, with no interference from Washington, however well or wisely intended. This arrangement gave unity of plan and harmony in action. He soon visited the able and gallant General Meade, the hero of Gettysburg, at his head-quarters, and inspired new confidence and hope in officers and troops. Strict discipline was enforced. The speculators and hangers-on in the field began to disappear. *Fancy* soldiering was made contemptible, as it ought to be. A pleasant story related of General Grant illustrates his course in regard to it.

While he was looking over his new field, near Culpeper Court-House, his head-quarters, in a drizzling rain, attended only by his orderly, a carriage approached him. It was drawn by a pair of fine horses, and attendants escorted it. When near him, the driver reined up, the door was opened, and out sprang a dashing officer. He inquired if that dripping, unostentatious man was General Grant. The latter replied in the affirmative. The officer added, that he wished to see the General on business.

"Come, walk with me," answered General Grant.

There was no other way to do. Into the mud went the polished boots; and, unprotected from the rain, the gay uniform was worn, till, like a peacock after a tempest has beaten down its plumage and besprinkled it with dirt, the officer stole back to the carriage with soaked, saturated apparel, and drooping feather. The parting counsel of his commander, to set an example of a more becoming style of living, was thus enforced by a baptism into the new order of things which he was not likely to forget.

The nation, inspirited by the grand successes of the Lieutenant-General, held breath in view of the great and decisive crisis reached. Three years of bloody war, which it was supposed *three months* would close, had left their mournful record. The strain to supply "the sinews of war" had been increasing every year. Men and money had been given lavishly. Great victories had been won. Still, the army which we first confronted on the "sacred

soil of Virginia," and the capital of the growingly desperate "Confederacy," were apparently stronger than ever. It was no vainglorious nor ordinary act to step forth into such a condition of affairs, the master-spirit of the vast and momentous issue.

But the time of renewed and costly activity had come. God's finger had, it seemed, designated the man for the hour and the work.

We find another good story, which sounds like the General. A visitor to the army called upon him, one morning, and found the General sitting in his tent, smoking and talking to one of his staff officers. The stranger approached the chieftain, and inquired of him as follows:

"General, if you flank Lee, and get between him and Richmond, will you not uncover Washington, and leave it a prey to the enemy?"

General Grant, discharging a cloud of smoke from his mouth, indifferently replied: "Yes, I reckon so."

The stranger, encouraged by a reply, propounded question No. 2: "General, do you not think Lee can detach sufficient force from his army to re-enforce Beauregard and overwhelm Butler?"

"Not a doubt of it," replied the General.

Becoming fortified by his success, the stranger propounded question No. 3, as follows: "General, is there not danger that General Johnston may come up and re-enforce Lee, so that the latter will swing round and cut off your communications, and seize your supplies?"

"Very likely," was the cool reply of the General, and he knocked the ashes from the end of his cigar.

The stranger, horrified at the awful fate about to befall General Grant and his army, made his exit, and hastened to Washington to communicate the news.

A Galena neighbor, who visited New York about this time, seemed utterly confounded with the sudden growth of his neighbor the tanner. He couldn't account for it, for he was not a marked man in his home, and nobody supposed him a great man. He seldom talked, asked no advice, gave none to any one, but always did what he agreed to, and at the time.

A hundred and seventeen miles from Washington lay Richmond, the capital of the "Old Dominion," and of the new Confederacy of slaveholders. Its population, ordinarily, did not exceed sixty thousand. The situation is pleasant, on the James River. As a war center, it became a great hospital and Sodom. The sick and wounded in body, and the corrupt in heart, were the ruling majority in the high place of treason, second only to Charleston in this distinction. Under the accomplished engineer, Beauregard, who, since the first year of the conflict, had multiplied defences, exhausting his skill and resources, it presents circles and angles of fortifications perhaps unsurpassed by any city in the world. Below Richmond was Fort Darling; and on the same side, to guard an approach, was Petersburg, also strongly fortified and garrisoned. Between the National capital and Richmond, Lee's veteran army was waiting for Generals Grant and Meade to move. The former had the general direction of the grand campaign, while General Meade was commander of the Potomac Army. Culpepper Court-House, ten miles north of the Rapidan, between it and the Rappahannock, and about seventy-five miles from Washington, was the head-quarters of General Grant. Ten miles on the other or south side of the river, at Orange Court-House, was the Confederate host. The two vast armies were, therefore, twenty miles apart. Their pickets came to the banks of the stream, and sometimes joked across it, and passed papers and tobacco to each other.

General Lee for several months had been anticipating another attempt to cut the way to Richmond, whose Libby prison—worse than death to our captive heroes—had awakened the strongest indignation at the North. "And why had we failed?" was a not unfrequent question; and Congress took up the refrain. Jealousy, rivalry, and inordinate ambition doubtless had much to do with our misfortunes; but the great fault did not lie there. It was mainly in the peculiar geographical and topographical configuration of the country. A military writer, whose attention was attracted to this subject at this time, wrote:

"Two armies of equal numbers, and commanded with

equal ability, being opposed to each other, their movements and achievements must be entirely determined by the nature of the theater of operations. Perhaps never in the history of warfare has the character of the ground exerted more influence on campaigns than that of the portion of Virginia which lies between Washington and Richmond. On the right of our army are chains of mountains, which enable the rebels to conceal any flanking movement they may undertake; while the valleys afford to them the means for an easy and uninterrupted passage to the Potomac above Washington, and one almost entirely secure from attacks in their rear. On our front is a succession of rivers, presenting great natural obstacles to our advance, and at the same time easily defensible; to make flanking movements by ascending them is to open our rear to attacks from Fredericksburg, and to cross below the rebel army leaves the railroad a prey to guerrillas. The country is, moreover, masked in every direction by dense forests, rendering any thing like a surprise in force impracticable. A few rebel scouts may at all times easily detect and thwart such a movement. Such are the natural features of the country."

On the 24th of March, 1864, a reorganization of the Army of the Potomac was effected. The number of army corps was reduced to three; the Second, under command of Major-General Winfield S. Hancock; the Fifth, under command of Major-General G. W. Warren; and the sixth, under command of General Sedgwick. On the 4th of April, 1864, Major-General Sheridan was placed in command of the cavalry corps. Division officers were also reassigned.

A partial reorganization was also effected in the Army of the Southwest. By direction of the President, under date of April 4th, 1864, the Eleventh and Twelfth corps were consolidated and placed under command of Major-General Hooker, and the new corps was called the Twentieth.

The Lieutenant-General, accompanied by several of his staff officers, made a tour of survey of all our forces in Virginia, General W. F. Smith accompanying him in his visit to Butler's command.

The month of April was one of general preparation for the grandest military campaign of modern times. Throughout the loyal North the notes of mustering for the decisive conflict were heard. Recruits poured into the Potomac Army, of which General Grant said to General Ogilby: "This is a very fine army; and these men, I am told, have fought with great courage and bravery. I think, however, that the Army of the Potomac has never fought its battles through"—words of wisdom soon to be verified under his leadership. And of the first commander he added, on another occasion: "General McClellan failed not so much from a lack of military ability as from a species of intoxication, resulting from his too rapid promotion and the flattery of politicians. He degenerated from a leader into a follower."

General Grant did not propose to hurl his battalions against those of Lee, protected by strong intrenchments, but move round to the eastward, to get past the right wing, between the enemy and Richmond, compelling the rebel chief either to come out of his own den and try to stop his adversary, or fall back on his capital.

The Lieutenant-General went from the secret cabinet councils at Washington to the military posts, to inspect them, and secure a readiness complete as possible for the advance toward Richmond.

Blooming May found General Sherman initiating operations on a large scale against Johnston in Northern Georgia. General Banks had been ordered to protect the gunboats on the Red River; General Steele was taking care of Price in Arkansas; and General Butler was securely intrenched on the right bank of the James River, at Bermuda Hundred, ready to strike when and where he was least expected.

Over all, from the Atlantic coast at Chesapeake Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, and westward to the haunts of the Indians, extended the rule and tremendous responsibility of General Grant.

The entire confidence existing between the President and General Grant will appear in these additional letters:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *April* 30, 1864.

Lieutenant-General GRANT:

Not expecting to see you before the spring campaign opens, I wish to express, in this way, my entire satisfaction with what you have done up to this time, so far as I understand it. The particulars of your plans I neither know nor seek to know.

You are vigilant and self-reliant; and, pleased with this, I wish not to obtrude any restraints or constraints upon you. While I am very anxious that any great disaster or capture of our men in great numbers shall be avoided, I know that these points are less likely to escape your attention than they would be mine. If there be any thing wanting which is within my power to give, do not fail to let me know it. And now, with a brave army and a just cause, may God sustain you.

Yours very truly, A. LINCOLN.

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES UNITED STATES,
CULPEPPER C. H., VIRGINIA, *May* 1, 1864.

The PRESIDENT:

Your very kind letter of yesterday is just received. The confidence you express for the future, and satisfaction for the past, in my military administration, is acknowledged with pride. It shall be my earnest endeavor that you and the country shall not be disappointed. From my first entrance into the voluntary service of the country to the present day, I have never had cause of complaint, have never expressed or implied a complaint against the Administration or the Secretary of War, for throwing any embarrassment in the way of my vigorously prosecuting what appeared to be my duty. Indeed, since the promotion which placed me in command of all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility and importance of success, I have been astonished at the readiness with which every thing asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked.

Should my success be less than I desire and expect, the least I can say is, the fault is not with you.

Very truly, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

At this momentous pause in the battle-work of the armies, it will lend interest to the great campaigns which succeeded it, to glance at the personal and public history of the leading chieftains in command of the battalions.

Next to General Grant, the leader of the Potomac Army, stood

MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE GORDON MEADE.

He was born at Cadiz, Spain, where his father, Richard Warsaw Meade, was Consul and Navy Agent at the time, on the 31st of December, 1815.

While yet an infant, his parents removed to Philadelphia. In early boyhood he was sent to Georgetown, D. C., to be the pupil of Mr. Salmon P. Chase, since Secretary of the Treasury, but then a successful teacher. A few years later he entered the Military Academy at Mount Airy, near Philadelphia, from which he went to West Point as a Cadet in September, 1831.

Graduating July 1st, 1835, he entered the army, brevet second lieutenant of the Third Artillery, and was ordered to Florida. He was a brave, successful young soldier, and escaped the memorable "Dade Massacre" in consequence of an attack of illness at the time of the terrible tragedy.

In December, 1835, he was created full second lieutenant, and less than a year later resigned his commission to engage in the duties of civil engineer. His excellent qualifications for the profession were called for in the survey of the Northeastern Boundary Line, under the charge of Colonel James D. Graham.

May 19th, 1842, he received the appointment of second lieutenant of the topographical engineers.

When war was declared with Mexico, he entered the service with a new interest, and became a member of General Taylor's staff, winning the highest commendations from superior officers for his gallantry at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, and Saltillo. In the remarkable siege of Monterey he was brevetted first lieutenant.

After the declaration of peace, he was actively employed on river and harbor improvements, and in the construction of light-houses, principally in Delaware Bay; but upon hostilities being again threatened in Florida, he relinquished these peaceable pursuits and again took the field with his old commander, General Zachary Taylor. He remained in Florida about six months.

After the close of the Florida war, he superintended the building of light-houses in Delaware Bay, and off the coast of Florida.

August, 1851, he was made first lieutenant, and five years from May of that year was promoted to the captaincy, and ordered to Detroit, Michigan, to engage in the national

survey of the great chain of Northwestern lakes; and soon after was in command of the important enterprise. Esteemed and flattered by the people of the city at which he made his head-quarters, the fruits of his skillful services which remain, in charts and reports, and received the warmest approval at Washington, commemorate permanently his able and honorable career in the West. Here the Rebellion found him in 1861.

Ordered to the National capital in August, he was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers on the 31st of that month, and assigned to the command of the Second Brigade of Pennsylvania Reserve Corps—the splendid organization furnished by the wise forecast of the Keystone State, and commanded by General McCall. He entered on his new duties September, 1861, drilling his troops for the stern work before them.

He led them to Manassas the next spring, and, after the battle of Hanover Court-House, joined the host of McClellan on the Peninsula.

June 19th, 1862, he was promoted to the rank of Major in the regular army.

General Meade steadily won the admiration of the army and the people for his unquestioned bravery and military accomplishments. He did well, and all that a chief could do, at Mechanicsville and Gaines's Mills.

In the evening after the latter battle the Reserves crossed the Chickahominy, advancing the next night to White Oak Creek, and thence to New Market Cross-roads, where the rebels came upon the supply-trains, whose immense caravan was moving toward James River. General Meade, whose brigade was on the right, was in the thickest of the fight—like Grant, lighting his cigar in a tempest of shot and shell.

Amid the terrible slaughter, General Meade was pierced by two balls, one entering his arm and the other his hip. The wounds were not mortal, as at first believed to be, and after spending a month at his home in Philadelphia, he returned to the army at Harrison's Landing, August 13th, 1862, and, after the evacuation of the Peninsula, joined General Pope. Then followed the heroic work of both

commander and troops in the Pope campaign, in the fight at South Mountain, and at Antietam.

General Meade received a slight contusion from a spent grape-shot, and had two horses killed under him.

After General Hooker was wounded, General Meade was placed temporarily in command of his corps, which position he held until the return of General Reynolds from Pennsylvania, when he reassumed command of the Reserve Corps.

When the Army of the Potomac again crossed the Potomac, in the latter part of October, 1862, General Meade accompanied it, and on the 29th of the following month (November) was rewarded for his repeated acts of gallantry by an appointment as major-general of volunteers, an honorable promotion for which he had been earnestly recommended by General Hooker.

General Meade's force was among the first to cross the river in the battle of Fredericksburg, and carried the colors of the Republic into the very intrenchments of the enemy, taking back, when compelled for want of re-enforcements to retire, several hundred prisoners.

December 25, 1862, he was appointed to the command of the Fifth Army Corps, and feelingly bade farewell to his noble Reserves.

When General Hooker succeeded General Burnside, January, 1863, General Meade led his Fifth Corps grandly in the desperate struggle of Chancellorsville, covering the retreat where the commander of the Potomac Army ordered it. Before the dawn of Sunday, June 28, General Meade was aroused in his tent, at Frederick, Maryland, by a messenger from General Halleck, with the commission to succeed General Hooker in the command of the Potomac Army.

Rising from his bed, he soon had the following order written, a perfect one of the kind:—

HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, *June* 28, 1863.

By direction of the President of the United States, I do hereby assume command of the Army of the Potomac. As a soldier, in obeying this order —an order totally unexpected and unsolicited—I have no promises or pledges to make. The country looks to this army to relieve it from the devastation and disgrace of a hostile invasion. Whatever fatigues and sac-

rifices we may be called upon to undergo, let us have in view constantly the magnitude of the interests involved, and let each man determine to do his duty, leaving to an all-controlling Providence the decision of the contest. It is with just diffidence that I relieve in the command of this army an eminent and accomplished soldier, whose name must ever appear conspicuous in the history of its achievements; but I rely upon the hearty support of my companions in arms to assist me in the discharge of the duties of the important trust which has been confided to me.

GEORGE G. MEADE, Major-General commanding.

S. F. BARSTOW, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Two days later the following circular was issued:—

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, *June* 30, 1863.

The commanding General requests that, previous to the engagement soon expected with the enemy, corps and all other commanding officers address their troops, explaining to them the immense issues involved in the struggle. The enemy is now on our soil. The whole country looks anxiously to this army to deliver it from the presence of the foe. Our failure to do so will leave us no such welcome as the swelling of millions of hearts with pride and joy at our success would give to every soldier of the army. Homes, firesides, and domestic altars are involved. The army has fought well heretofore. It is believed that it will fight more desperately and bravely than ever, if it is addressed in fitting terms. Corps and other commanders are authorized to order the instant death of any soldier who fails to do his duty at this hour.

By command of Major-General MEADE.

S. WILLIAMS, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Then came the fearfully dark days of General Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, and bloody, glorious Gettysburg, July 1st, 2d, and 3d. Pennsylvania was rescued from the invader, and Baltimore and the Federal capital were saved; and to the brave defenders, with their skillful leader, who, under the direction of the God of battles, had accomplished these results, were accorded the thanks and laudations of a rescued people.

He realized to the fullest extent the magnitude and importance of the task imposed upon him, and the successful issue of the three days' conflict at Gettysburg proved the wisdom of the selection, and the superior ability of the brave man who planned and fought the battle."

General Lee's escape with his army, under the circumstances—the strength of the foe, the want of a just estimate of it, and the opinion of the subordinate commanders being

adverse to immediate pursuit—exonerates General Meade from all blame, in the regretted flight of the routed legions of treason, to fight again.

August 28, 1863, an interesting scene illustrated the popularity of the hero of Gettysburg. The officers of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps presented him with a splendid sword and a pair of golden spurs. On the scabbard of the former was this inscription :—

"Mechanicsville, Gaines's Hill, Newmarket Cross-roads, Malvern Hill, Bull Run (second), South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg."

Near the hilt, inlaid in blue enamel and gold, with precious diamonds, were the initials of General Meade, "G. G. M.," and the handle of the weapon was encircled with a row of opals, amethysts, rubies, and other precious jewels. Invitations were extended to Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania, and a number of gentlemen prominent in civil and military life, who were also present. General S. Wylie Crawford, the gallant commander of the Reserves, was designated as the most suitable person to present the well-deserved tribute, and ably fulfilled the pleasant duty in the following words :—

"General :—I stand before you to-day, sir, the representative of the officers of that division who once called you its chief.

"Impelled by a desire to perpetuate the memory of your connection with them; desirous, too, to manifest to you the affection and esteem they bear you, they ask the acceptance, to-day, of this testimonial, which shall mark it forever. Accept it, sir, from them, and here, in the presence of him who conceived the idea of this division—and who, I trust, a faithful people will return to the position he so worthily occupies—not as a reward, not as a recompense for your care for them, but as the exponent of those feelings of their hearts whose value cannot be expressed in words. Transmit it to those who bear your name, and let it ever express to you and them that devoted attachment and regard that the officers of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps shall never cease to feel for you."

General Meade replied in a speech of considerable

length, reviewing the brilliant history of the Reserves, amid the repeated cheers of the enthusiastic assemblage.

October 9th, the opposing armies confronted each other along the banks of the Rapidan, and a battle was fought at Bristoe Station, Warren leading the Second Corps bravely, and beating back Lee from his attempt to seize the Hights of Centerville, and also fall on the flank of the Potomac Army.

In early November there were successful engagements on the Rappahannock, and later in the month the affairs at Locust Grove and Mine Run, in all of which General Meade maintained his character as a leader of the first rank in the vast operations of the Union army.

January, 1864, he visited Philadelphia, and was welcomed with every demonstration of admiring gratitude by his fellow-citizens. Congress added the expression of national thanks for his heroism and high achievements.

February 29th, he was appointed brigadier-general in the regular army, dating July 3d, 1863—the great day of victory at Gettysburg.

The grand campaign under Lieutenant-General Grant followed, during which General Meade held both his command and his hold upon the confidence of the nation. This will appear in the history of the presiding genius of the triumphant year which gave the country the rebel capital.

The excellent wife of the brave general is the daughter of Honorable John Sergeant, of Philadelphia, the present home of the nation's defender in its greatest hour of peril.

Philip Henry Sheridan

Was born in Massachusetts, in 1836, according to the records in the War Department at Washington.

His father removed to Perry County, Ohio, when "Phil" was a child; a region then almost a wilderness. He early showed a fondness for horses.

At five years of age, he was playing near his home, when some lads came along and amused themselves with the wide-awake boy. A horse was feeding quietly in an adjacent lot.

"Phil, would you like a ride?" they said to him.

"Yes, give me one."

In a few moments the boy was on the animal's back. The sudden and unceremonious mounting of the young rider started the steed, and away he ran.

"Whoa! whoa!" sang out the mischievous lads, but in vain. Over the fence he sprang, and once on the highway, it was a Gilpin ride. "Phil" clung to the mane, while the sobered authors of the race turned pale with the apprehension of a tragical end to it, expecting to see him dashed to the earth and killed. But out of sight horse and rider vanished, and miles soon lay between the two parties, when the horse suddenly turned into the shed of a tavern where its owner had frequently stopped in his travel. Men came out, and recognizing the horse, questioned the boy. One of the curious company, after securing the foaming animal, without saddle or bridle, and the unterrified "Phil," inquired:

"Who learned you to ride?"

"Nobody," answered the boy.

"Did no one teach you how to sit on a horse?" asked another.

"Oh, yes! Bill Seymour told me to hold on with my knees, and I did."

"Wasn't you frightened?"

"Nary a bit; I wanted to go on further, but the horse wouldn't go."

"Ain't you sore, boy?"

"Kinder, but I'll be better to-morrow, and then I'll ride back home."

"That boy," said the questioner, "has pluck enough to make an Indian hunter."

The following morning "Phil" *was* lame and sore: still, he wanted to go home. The surprised and interested people kept the little fellow to nurse him before he undertook the return trip. Meanwhile the owner of the horse, on his account and in behalf of the family, made his appearance. He had learned along the way the course of the young Gilpin. He expressed astonishment that he was not thrown, as the horse was vicious, and had unsaddled excellent horsemen.

Soon as he was old enough to earn a livelihood, he went to Zanesville, Ohio, and for a time drove a water-cart. Through the influence of a brother, and the kindly interest which the bright, independent boy awakened in the Congressman of the District, he was appointed cadet in the United States Military Academy at West Point, and was admitted therein July, 1848. He graduated in the summer of 1853, having suffered somewhat in his standing from that combat-iveness which, as was remarked by one of the professors, was not the worst quality in the character of a soldier. McPherson, Schofield, Hood, and others of distinction, on both sides in the great Rebellion, were his classmates.

He, immediately after graduation, was ordered to Fort Duncan, Texas, where his regiment was stationed. He had various adventures with the Indians, and some hair-breadth escapes, one of which was in a most daring personal combat with an Apache chief, and so annoyed his commander, since a rebel general, that he sought and obtained an assignment with a full second lieutenancy in the Fourth Infantry Regiment, then in Oregon.

He subsequently returned to New York, to accompany recruits to the Pacific coast. While waiting for these, he spent a few months in the command of Fort Wood, New York harbor.

In July, 1855, Lieutenant Sheridan's troops were ready to move, and he sailed with them for California. He had scarcely touched the Pacific coast before he was chosen to command an escort for Lieutenant Williamson's expedition to a branch of the Columbia, whose object it was to survey the proposed route of a branch railroad of the great Pacific railway, connecting San Francisco with the Columbia River.

In the early autumn of that year, Lieutenant Sheridan was at Fort Vancouver, Washington Territory. Here Major Rains, since a general in the rebel army, planned an expedition against the Yokima (or, as it is also spelled, Yakima) Indians, who were troublesome to our people, and secured Lieutenant Sheridan's services. The danger of the enterprise just suited the energy and enthusiasm of the young officer. Turn to the map again, and you will

find Fort Vancouver, so named after the celebrated captain and discoverer, on the Columbia River, not far from Columbia City, and Yokima River north of it, flowing southeasterly into that father of Western waters.

April 28, 1856, occurred one of the severest encounters of the troops at the Cascades, on the Columbia, not very far from Fort Vancouver. The savages fought bravely, and Lieutenant Sheridan displayed that dashing and fearless courage which has so distinguished him in his more recent and splendid achievements. His gallantry attracted the special notice of his superior officer, and was mentioned flatteringly in general orders. The savages were defeated, and the threatened outbreak soon entirely suppressed. Not only for his bravery, but his kindly intercourse, was Sheridan admired by the Indians, and gained a powerful influence over them, unlike many officers, who have left only scorn and hate behind them upon the quick and unforgetful minds of the aborigines.

To the Yokimas, after their submission to Major Rains, was given a beautiful valley in the coast range of mountains, to be the "Yokima Reservation" and share, before the future tide of emigration rolling in upon the Pacific shores, the fate of all similar compromises with a doomed people. Lieutenant Sheridan was appointed to the command of this Indian domain, and won the confidence of his wild subjects, administering their affairs to their satisfaction and that of the Government. Lieutenant-General Scott made special mention of his meritorious conduct in the settlement of difficulties with the turbulent Yokimas. During that same year, 1857, he created a new military post at Yamhill, southwest of Fort Vancouver. Then followed three years of incessant marches, skirmishing, and forest encampment among the Indians of the mountains. Amid the grand and exciting scenery and scenes of Oregon he also suffered great deprivation, sometimes reduced to the diet of *grasshoppers*, caught in the open plains. He was passing through discipline for noble service of which he little dreamed in the future of his country.

While there, the Rebellion opened its fearful storm upon the Republic. He repaired, according to orders, in

the spring of 1861, to Washington, with a first lieutenant's commission, and, May 14th, was created captain in the Thirteenth Regiment of Regular Infantry. With the advent of autumn, he joined his regiment at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, and was appointed president of the board selected to audit the claims which arose under the administration of General Fremont in the West, a practical business affair, in which he maintained his characteristic urbanity, and showed ability for any service. This official position was followed by a call to more difficult responsibilities. He was appointed chief quartermaster and commissary of the army forming at the moment for operations in Southwestern Missouri.

In March, 1862, Captain Sheridan was appointed chief quartermaster of the Western Department, comprising the sixteen divisions of General Halleck's department, with the rank of major.

The call for good cavalry officers was so great that he was soon transferred to that service, as colonel of the Second Regiment of Michigan Volunteer Cavalry, and ordered to the field around Corinth, and attached to Elliott's force.

June 6th, he led a reconnoissance below Donaldson's Cross-roads. Here the well-known Forrest met Sheridan's troops, and a sharp engagement followed, in which he was victorious again over the desperate foe. On the 8th, commanding two regiments, he pursued the enemy through Baldwin, captured it, met the enemy and defeated him, and then, in accordance with orders, returned to Corinth. A few days later, June 12th, his command was formally enlarged to that of a brigade, consisting of the Second Iowa Cavalry in addition to his own regiment. He was prepared and impatient to make an onset upon the foe, equal in magnitude to the strength of his army. The coveted opportunity was at hand. He was ordered to Booneville, twenty miles in front of the main army, to cover its advance, and watch carefully the enemy before him.

July 1st, General Chalmers, leading nine regiments, in all six thousand men, attacked Colonel Sheridan with his two regiments.

Skirmishing became the order of the day, until the gallant colonel fell back upon his camp. It lay upon the margin of a dense swamp, where to flank him would be a difficult undertaking, and directly confronting his powerful foe with an inferior force, he could keep him at bay. The overwhelming numbers of the enemy began to threaten the Union brigade with isolation, by extending their lines around it. The peril suggested a fine stroke of strategy. Selecting ninety men, he sent them, armed with revolving carbines and sabers, along a curve of four miles around the enemy, with orders to fall on the rear at a given time, while he would attack the front at the same moment.

The bold, shrewd plan succeeded. While the Confederates were dreaming of coming victory, suddenly the crack of carbines startled "the rear-guard," and then another volley, till the revolving weapons had gone their rounds, when the bugle sounded a charge; and, fearlessly as a host of ten thousand, the ninety troopers dashed upon the six thousand. Entirely ignorant of the numbers advancing, the rebels were panic-smitten, and before a correction of the mistake was possible, Sheridan made his onset in front with his usual impetuosity, sweeping down upon the opposing ranks with the fury of a tornado from the forest. Routed and terrified, the foe fled in confusion. General Sheridan pursued him with rapid pace, over a track bordered with guns, knapsacks, coats, and whatever impeded his flight. This wild chase was kept up for twenty miles. The success was complete and brilliant.

General Grant appreciated the deed of valor, and in his report to the War Department expressed his admiration, commending Colonel Sheridan for promotion. Accordingly, a brigadier-general's commission, dated July 1st, 1862, was forwarded to the heroic officer. You will recollect that General Sheridan's head-quarters were at Booneville, Tishemingo County, Mississippi, bordering on Tennessee, and southerly from Corinth. Twenty-Mile Creek ran between him and the enemy, and to it the animals of the rebel army were sent for watering. This afforded Sheridan a chance for a cavalry dash now and then, capturing as many as three hundred of them at a time.

A few weeks afterward, in August, General Sheridan performed another of his daring movements. Attacked by Colonel Faulkner, not far from the town of Rienzi, a short and desperate struggle terminated in victory to the Union troopers, Sheridan pursuing the fugitives almost to the main column of the hostile force, and safely retracing his steps, with no small part of the attacking troops prisoners.

And now we come to grander scenes in the arena of conflict. Early in September, 1862, Grant learned that the rebel forces of the Southwest were making a general advance, under General Bragg, upon the Union positions in that region, having the Ohio River for the goal of mad ambition. It became necessary to re-enforce the Army of Ohio, then under the command of General Buell. Among the troops ordered to join him was General Sheridan's command, the Second Michigan Cavalry, which was at once enlarged by General Buell to that of the Third Division of the Army of the Ohio, in accordance with General Grant's expectation when he assigned to him the valiant officer. September 20th, Bragg was near Louisville, Kentucky, which was poorly prepared for an attack. It was General Sheridan's duty to defend the city. With prompt energy he took the hours of night for digging rifle-pits stretching from the railroad dépôt toward Portland, forming a strong defense against the enemy's approach, by securing the town against surprise. Here General Buell found Sheridan, September 25th, when he arrived there to organize the Army of the Ohio, to which heavy re-enforcements had been added. This new order of things placed General Sheridan at the head of the Eleventh Division, October 1st.

The Union forces entered upon offensive warfare, bearing steadily down upon the rebels, who, finding themselves thus confronted, began to retreat.

The decisive hour of a great conflict had come. Toward this clash of arms, the fierce and awful collision of mighty armies, their movements for weeks had been tending. Along the banks of Stone River the final preparation for deadly encounter went forward the last days of December. An army in battle array has its center or body, and its

wings stretching out on either side. General Sheridan's position was next to the center, in the right wing, or on its extreme left, where the first onslaught of the enemy would be made.

In the terrible battle of Stone River, Sheridan's position was on the extreme left of the right wing, joining the center. Of his valor, General Rosecrans spoke in the highest terms; his troops sustaining four successive shocks and repulsing the enemy four times, losing in the sanguinary strife the gallant Sill and Roberts.

When Sheridan had extricated his command from the forest, and got in line with the reserves, he rode up to Rosecrans, and, pointing to the remnant of his division, said, "Here is all that is left of us, General. Our cartridge-boxes contain nothing, and our guns are empty."

In his report of the struggle, General Rosecrans says: "He ought to be made a major-general for his services, and also for the good of the service."

The recommendation to higher duty and honors was heartily responded to by our noble President. The nomination of General Sheridan to a major-generalship was made and confirmed by the Senate the last day of the eventful year 1862.

In March, 1863, General Sheridan led a scouting expedition, reconnoitering the rebel position, and defeating them in several skirmishes.

The month of May was distinguished for two important results in the movements of the armies—the defeat of General Hooker at Chancellorsville, and the successful arrival of General Grant's army at Vicksburg, investing that stronghold of rebellion in the southwest.

June 23d, General Rosecrans set the army-front toward Chattanooga. His rendezvous, you recollect, was at Murfreesboro, and his grand object directly in view was to drive the rebels from Middle Tennessee. Their main base of supplies was at Chattanooga, which you will see by the map lies southeast of Murfreesboro, and near the Georgia boundary. Bragg's army lay intrenched north of Duck River, from Shelbyville to Wartrace, McMinnsville, Columbia, and Spring Hill. Between Murfreesboro and his lines

were rocky hights, through which were passes for the routes of travel, called Hoover's Gap, Liberty Gay, and Guy's Gap, all held by the rebels.

Sheridan was in General McCook's corps, which moved along the Shelbyville road, and was to advance on Liberty Gap, "one of the keys to the rebel position."

He was successful in his enterprise, and soon was in possession of Shelbyville.

General Sheridan, as announced by his chief, was conspicuous in the movements and the battles which removed the head-quarters of the army to Winchester, Tennessee. Flushed with the successes at Liberty Gap and Winchester, General Sheridan's troops, in view of an impending struggle, engaged with enthusiasm in the more prosy business of getting the whole army forward toward the Tennessee River—progress being retarded by rebuilding railroads and securing the necessary supplies.

In the fore part of September, the Army of the Cumberland crossed the Tennessee at different points.

General Sheridan's division passed safely over the river on their own bridge, August 31, and swept on toward Trenton, in Dade County, Georgia, and on the 5th of September encamped a few miles from that village. The following day the march was resumed. The rebels, finding that the cavalry were approaching, Sheridan having reached Stearns's Mills, on their flank, evacuated Chattanooga.

With great sacrifice of life, through the dauntless heroism of such men as Thomas, McCook, and Sheridan, Chattanooga was saved to the Union cause. It is startling to think how near we came to a complete and disastrous defeat. Major-General McCook, General Sheridan's corps commander, gives prominence to his heroic part in the terrible fight.

General Sheridan's next advancement was an enlarged command in General Granger's corps, under General Grant, to whom, October 17, General Halleck gave the "Departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee, constituting the Military Division of the Mississippi."

To the threats of General Bragg to bombard Chatta-

nooga, General Grant's reply was a general attack upon his enemy, weakened by the loss of twenty thousand men, led by Longstreet into East Tennessee to conquer it, November 23.

In the great conflict and victory, General Sheridan bore himself splendidly.

Stung with the breaking of his division at Chickamauga, Sheridan shouts: "Show the Fourth Corps that the men of the Old Twentieth are still alive, and can fight! Remember Chickamauga!" And they *did* fight.

In the thickest of the battle, he took a flask from an aid, and, filling a pewter cup, raised his cap to a rebel battery, saying, "How are you?" as he drank. Six guns were aimed at the daring horseman, but in vain. Soon after, his horse was killed under him.

In February he was again sent into East Tennessee, and drove out the rebels with great daring and heroic endurance.

In March, 1864, following the election of General Grant to the rank of lieutenant-general, General Sheridan was appointed to the command of the cavalry corps of the Potomac Army.

His first work was to protect the flanks of that army, when its grand advance was made, early in May, 1864.

On the 9th, he entered upon the perilous expedition to the rear of General Lee's army, cutting his way when his command were surrounded by the rebels.

After opening communication with Yorktown, and thence to Washington, he co-operated with the columns of the gallant Meade and his superior officer, in the movement toward the Chickahominy.

June 8, he started on his second cavalry expedition into the "heart of the rebel country." It was one of the most heroic, difficult, and successful enterprises of the kind in the annals of war.

During the month of July, he was engaged in cutting the railroads around Petersburg. With August, the rebels pushed out again for the rich fields of the Shenandoah Valley—making the third invasion of Maryland.

The skirmishes and battles, of which the marvelous

turning of defeat into victory at Winchester stands conspicuous in all the annals of warfare, that make up the history of Early's defeat and of the final triumph of the Union army, have a larger place in the record of the great Commander of the whole arena of national conflict for existence.

General Sheridan's great forte in command is the fiery enthusiasm with which he inspires the men—making them, like himself, insensible to danger, and resistless in valor. Grant, Sherman, and Thomas are great in strategy, and calm in execution. Sheridan has never failed in his plans, but has won his victories chiefly through this sublime heroism, on fire with martial daring and glory.

The fidelity of the staff-officer's sketch of the personal appearance and habits of General Sheridan is confirmed by all who knew him well: "In person (at least in repose) General Sheridan would not be called a handsome man. Sheridan is barely five feet six inches in hight. His body is stout, his lower limbs rather short. Deep and broad in the chest, compact and firm in muscle, active and vigorous in motion, there was not a pound of superfluous flesh on his body at the time we write. His face and head showed his Celtic origin. Head long, well balanced in shape, and covered with a full crop of close, curling, dark hair. His forehead moderately high, but quite broad; perceptives well developed, high cheek-bones, dark beard, closely covering a square lower jaw, and firm-lined mouth, clear dark eyes, which were of a most kindly character, completed the *tout ensemble* memory gives at the call. Always neat in person, and generally dressed in uniform, Captain Sheridan looked, as he was, a quiet, unassuming, but determined officer and gentleman, whose modesty would always have been a barrier to great renown, had not the golden gates of opportunity been unbarred for his passage."

Phil. H. Sheridan

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LEADING GENERALS IN THE CAMPAIGN.

Sketches of Major-General William Tecumseh Sherman.—Major-General George H. Thomas.—Major-General Hugh Judson Kilpatrick.—Major-General Oliver O. Howard.—Major-General James Birdseye McPherson.

NEXT in extent of command, and its importance in the vast field of strife, was the Department of the Mississippi, under the command of that gifted and splendid officer, Major-General Sherman, in whose rare company of subordinate chiefs were Thomas, Howard, Schofield, McPherson, and Kilpatrick.

Brief biographies of these brave men, at this period of rest and yet of preparation for the decisive campaign of the war, will gratify a rational curiosity, and add a personal interest to the narrative of the momentous times.

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN,

Whose ancestors came from England and settled in Stratford, Connecticut, in 1634, was born in Lancaster, Ohio, February 8, 1820. His father, an eminent jurist of that State, died in 1848, leaving the widow, an intelligent and devout woman, with eleven children. Honorable John Sherman, of the United States Senate, is a younger brother of William Tecumseh, whose Indian name was given him by his father, because he knew and admired the celebrated warrior after whom he called his son.

The Honorable Thomas Ewing, a resident of Lancaster, knew that his gifted and departed friend had not left the large family a fortune. It would therefore be no easy task to educate and start them in the world. And his errand then was to ask the mother to commit one of the boys to his home and care.

He said, with a playful earnestness, "I must have the

smartest of the lot; I will take no other, and you must select him for me." After a short consultation between the mother and eldest daughter, the choice fell upon "Cump." So it was decided that Mr. Ewing should take him to his house and educate him with his own children.

At the age of sixteen, Mr. Ewing, in his official position, had at his disposal the appointment of a cadet to the Military Academy at West Point, and determined to offer it to his "*protégé*." Tecumseh had a taste for military life, and gladly accepted the honor, entering the institution June, 1836.

In a letter, dated February 17, 1839, he writes:—

"Bill is very much elated at the idea of getting free of West Point next June. He does not intend remaining in the army more than one year, then to resign, and study law, probably. No doubt you admire his choice; but, to speak plainly and candidly, I would rather be a blacksmith. Indeed, the nearer we come to that dreadful epoch, graduation-day, the higher opinion I conceive of the duties and life of an officer of the United States Army, and the more confirmed in the wish of spending my life in the service of my country."

He graduated fifth in his class, June 30, 1840. The rebel General Beauregard was a classmate. Created second lieutenant in the Third Artillery, he repaired to Florida in the service of the regular army.

When Lieutenant Sherman reached the peninsula, the war there with the "exiles" and Seminoles had been in progress about five years.

In March, 1841, he went with his company to Fort Morgan, at the entrance of Mobile Bay.

Young Sherman was promoted to a first-lieutenancy November, 1841, and soon after, the war closed, followed by the removal of the "exiles" to the country beyond the State of Arkansas, where they joined the Creeks.

Lieutenant Sherman was next ordered to Fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's Island, in Charleston harbor. In this fortress he had an unexciting round of duty.

In 1845, he was for a time stationed at the arsenal in

Augusta, Georgia; and later, was member of a court-martial at Wilmington, North Carolina.

When war followed the dispute between the United States and the Mexican Government about the dividing line, in 1846, it was necessary to have troops in California. Lieutenant Sherman was dispatched with these to that thinly-settled Territory.

The war closed in the winter of 1848, and the treaty of peace was signed in February of that year. The life of a "regular" in the army became monotonous. Garrisons and surveys occupied the troops.

Captain Sherman was for a period connected with the commissary department of the army. Tired of the quiet and tameness of the service, in 1853 he resigned his commission, and retired to private life. That well-known and wealthy citizen of St. Louis, Mr. Lucas, proposed to establish a banking-house in San Francisco, under the name of "Lucas, Turner & Co.," at the head of which was placed Captain Sherman.

He was not unsuccessful in the banking-office; but it was not suited to his culture and taste, and he was without large capital. It is not strange, therefore, that when, in 1860, he was offered the presidency of the Louisiana State Military Academy at Alexandria, on a salary of five thousand dollars per annum, he should accept the honorable position.

Here the professor was directing his genius and attainments to carry out the wishes of the founders of the school, when the first ominous sounds of rebellion followed the election of Abraham Lincoln.

He knew the Southern feeling well. The intercourse with the people of the Cotton States, from the association at West Point with their sons to that hour, convinced him of what we at the North were slow to believe, that they were determined to have their own way or fight. His clear judgment and forecast caught the signal of revolution in the stormy councils and secession resolutions which succeeded the political revolution. The evil spirit of rebellion was in the very atmosphere about him. There was hot blood, even in the recitation-rooms of the Academy. The

year 1860 closed over a purpose which had slowly but steadily matured, to leave the institution in which he had just begun to feel at home, and was fully qualified to manage. It had cost him anxious thought. But far in advance, as he has been ever since, in his views of the true issue—the men and the measures we must meet—he was sure a sanguinary struggle was at hand. It saddened his heart, but nerved his strong hand to grasp the starry banner and enter the arena of carnage and victory.

Thus decided in his convictions and loyalty, he did not wait for the thunder of cannon around Fort Sumter. He wrote the following manly, strong, and patriotic letter, which tells its own glorious story:—

January 8, 1861.

Governor THOMAS O. MOORE, Baton Rouge, Louisiana:

SIR:—As I occupy a *quasi*-military position under this State, I deem it proper to acquaint you that I accepted such position when Louisiana was a State in the Union, and when the motto of the seminary was inserted in marble over the main door, "By the liberality of the General Government of the United States. The Union: *Esto Perpetua.*"

Recent events foreshadow a great change, and it becomes all men to choose. If Louisiana withdraws from the Federal Union, I prefer to maintain my allegiance to the old Constitution as long as a fragment of it survives, and my longer stay here would be wrong in every sense of the word. In that event, I beg you will send or appoint some authorized agent to take charge of the arms and munitions of war here belonging to the State, or direct me what disposition should be made of them.

And furthermore, as President of the Board of Supervisors, I beg you to take immediate steps to relieve me as superintendent the moment the State determines to secede; for on no earthly account will I do any act, or think any thought, hostile to or in defiance of the old Government of the United States.

With great respect, &c.,

(Signed) W. T. SHERMAN.

The resignation was accepted. The professor turned his back upon his cadets and upon Louisiana, till he should return under the torn and blackened flag of conquest. Repairing to St. Louis, he had no employment for his brain or hands. But he was ready for any honest work. Mr. Lucas, one of the millionaires of the city, offered him the office of superintendent of a street railroad, on a salary of two thousand dollars a year. He at once entered upon

its duties, without a regret that he had abandoned the halls of military science and a larger reward for his labor.

With the next spring came the bombardment of Fort Sumter.

Our railroad superintendent at St. Louis thought that all observant people must see that a terrible conflict had begun, and, like Grant in Galena, left his office to offer his services to the Government, and his life, if that should be the sacrifice, included in their acceptance. He hastened to the nation's capital. Soon after reaching Washington he called on Secretary Cameron.

"Mr. Secretary, civil war is imminent, and we are unprepared for it. I have come to offer my services to the country in the struggle before us."

"I think," replied Mr. Cameron, "the ebullition of feeling will soon subside, we shall not need many troops."

Indeed, the Secretary was quite surprised, if not annoyed, at the earnestness of Captain Sherman. He next sought an interview with the President, and made a similar statement and offer to him. The good President was inclined to take the whole thing as a joke. After listening to the serious enthusiasm expressed in the strong appeal, he replied, pleasantly: "We shall not need many more like you; the whole affair will soon blow over."

He left the Chief Magistrate of a republic whose very existence he knew was assailed, with a shadow of disappointment on his brave, loyal spirit—not for himself, but for the cause near his heart. Friends then advised him to go to Ohio and superintend the organization of three-months men there. He declared "it would be as wise to undertake to extinguish the flames of a burning building with a squirt gun, as to put down the rebellion with three-months troops."

To talk of any thing less than a gigantic war was to him absurd. But he was then nearly alone in his just estimate of the struggle.

The appointment of Captain Sherman to an important command was discussed and urged by those who knew him best. Said the gallant Sherman: "I do not wish a prominent place; this is to be a long and bloody war."

June 13th, 1861, General McDowell, who appreciated Sherman, appointed him Colonel of the Thirteenth Infantry of the regular army, to date from May 14th of that year.

July 21st was fought the bloody battle of Bull Run. Writes Colonel Bowman, the friend of Colonel Sherman :—

"Sherman led his brigade directly up the Warrenton road, and held his ground till the general order came to retreat.

"'It was Sherman's brigade,' says Burnside, 'that arrived at about twelve and a half o'clock, and by a most deadly fire assisted in breaking the enemy's lines.' So much for soldierly promptness and strict obedience to orders. From the vigor with which Sherman fought his brigade, the loss in his four regiments was one hundred and five killed, two hundred and two wounded, two hundred and ninety-three wounded or missing, with six killed and three wounded in the battery, making a total of six hundred and nine, the whole division losing eight hundred and fifty-nine. The loss of the army, excluding prisoners and stragglers, was computed thus: killed, four hundred and seventy-nine; wounded, eleven hundred and eleven; total killed and wounded, fifteen hundred and ninety. When the conduct of Sherman had become known, the Ohio delegation in Congress unanimously urged his immediate promotion. This was easily effected, and on the 3d of August, 1861, he was confirmed a brigadier-general of volunteers."

Colonel Sherman's brigade was the only one which retired from the field in order, making a stand at the bridge on the track to Washington, to dispute bravely "the right of way," should the enemy pursue our panic-stricken forces toward the capital.

General Buckner was at Bowling Green, looking toward Louisville, where he said he should pass the winter. General Sherman was sent to join General Anderson, and moved his force to Muldraugh's Hills. Buckner had burned the bridge; the Home Guards were withdrawn; and the enemy's troops numbered twenty-five thousand. To retire to Elizabethtown with the five thousand

Union soldiers was the best that General Sherman could do.

At this crisis General Anderson resigned his command on account of ill health, and the mantle of authority fell on General Sherman; no very desirable honor at that time, for "most of the fighting young men of Kentucky had gone to join the rebels. The non-combatants were divided in sentiment, and most of them far from friendly. He lacked men, and most of those he had were poorly armed. He lacked, also, means of transportation and munitions of war; and if the rebel generals had known his actual condition, they could have captured or driven his forces across the Ohio in less than ten days. He applied earnestly and persistently for re-enforcements, and, at the same time, took every possible precaution to conceal his weakness from the enemy, as well as from the loyal public. At that time newspaper reporters were not always discreet, and often obtained and published the very facts that should have been concealed. He issued a stringent order excluding all reporters and correspondents from his lines. This brought down upon him the indignation of the press. More unfortunately still, he failed to impress the Secretary of War with the necessities of his position and the importance of holding it. On the 3d of November he telegraphed to General McClellan the condition of affairs, with the number of his several forces, showing them to be everywhere, except at one single point, outnumbered, and concluded his dispatch with the emphatic remark, 'Our forces are too small to do good, and too large to be sacrificed.'

In reply, General McClellan asks, "How long could McCook keep Buckner out of Louisville, holding the railroad, with power to destroy it inch by inch?"—giving no hint of a purpose to send re-enforcements, but looking to the probable abandonment of Kentucky. Previous to this, General Sherman had had an interview with Secretary Cameron, in presence of Adjutant-General Thomas, at Lexington, Kentucky, and fully explained to him the situation of his command, and also of the armies opposed to him; and, on being asked what force was necessary for a

successful forward movement in his department, answered, "Two hundred thousand men." By the 1st of November, Adjutant-General Thomas's official report of this conversation, in all its details, was published in most of the newspapers of the country, giving the enemy full knowledge of many important facts relating to General Sherman's department. He was too weak to defend his lines; and the enemy knew it. He had no hope of re-enforcements, and, withal, was evidently in discredit with the War Department, as being too apprehensive of the power, strength, and resources of the enemy. He, therefore, felt he could not successfully conduct the campaign, and asked to be relieved. He was succeeded by General Buell, who was at once re-enforced, and enabled to hold his defensive positions until Grant, the following spring, should advance down the Mississippi and up the Cumberland.

General Sherman was now set down as "crazy," and quietly retired to the command of Benton Barracks, near St. Louis. The evidence of his insanity was his answer to the Secretary of War—that to make a successful advance against the enemy, then strongly posted at all strategic points from the Mississippi to Cumberland Gap, would require an army two hundred thousand strong! The answer was the inspiration or the judgment of a military genius; but to the mind of Mr. Secretary Cameron it was the prophecy of a false wizard.

Meantime, General Halleck succeeded to the command of the Department of the West, and General Sherman was not long allowed to remain in charge of a recruiting-rendezvous at St. Louis. When General Grant moved on Fort Donelson, Sherman was intrusted with the forwarding to him of re-enforcements and supplies from Paducah. General Grant subsequently acknowledged himself "greatly indebted for his promptness" in discharging that duty. After the capture of that stronghold, General Sherman was put in command of the fifth division of Grant's army at Pittsburg Landing.

Then followed the battle of Shiloh, the occupation of Corinth and of Vicksburg, which have been already given in detail.

General Sherman could not be idle when there was a chance to strike the foe. More than a hundred miles from Vicksburg, his head-quarters after its surrender, was the town of Meridian, where important railroads have their junction, and around which lay rich corn and cotton-fields.

To this town General Sherman determined to lead his battalions. To do it, he must cut loose from his base of supplies, and traverse an enemy's country—one of his first experiments in this kind of warfare.

It was a most daring adventure, but just like the brave commander who conceived it. Comprehending the gigantic revolt, and the vital points of the Confederacy, he has had but one view of the means to suppress the infamous rebellion. Had his plan been adopted, the war might have been ended now. Large armies, bold and rapid movements into the home of secession, sparing nothing that affords it any nourishment, has been the war-creed of General Sherman. February found the campaign complete in preparation. On the 3d, the commander left the streets of Vicksburg, reining his steed toward Meridian.

Two days before, General W. S. Smith was to leave Memphis, Tennessee, with eight thousand cavalry, and join him at Meridian. The course of march was in part along the track in which the troops advanced on Vicksburg. The cavalcade of twenty thousand men, followed by miles of supply-wagons, crossed the Big Black River, moved along by Champion Hills and Clinton to Jackson. Here General McPherson, with the Sixteenth Corps, and General Hurlbut, with the Seventeenth Corps, who had taken different routes, met General Sherman, and were united to his army.

At Line Creek, resistance was offered, a short battle followed, and again the host moved forward, taking the towns of Quitman and Enterprise, on every hand spreading alarm.

February 13 he reached the Big Chunkey River. Meridian was the next point to be gained, when, with all his forces, he could push on, getting between General Johnston and Mobile, where Commodore Farragut was thundering

with his naval ordnance, and perhaps interfere very much with General Polk's army. Meanwhile military dépôts would disappear before the torch, and other havoc with supplies distract and cripple the foe. With such successes, it would not be difficult to hasten over the intervening ground, and hurl his legions against the city from the land side, thus finishing the work Commodore Farragut had so well commenced. At Meridian, February 13, one hundred and fifty miles from Vicksburg, he congratulated his troops in these words: —

"The General commanding conveys his congratulations and thanks to the officers and men composing this command, for their most successful accomplishment of one of the great problems of the war. Meridian, the great railway center of the Southwest, is now in our possession, and, by industry and hard work, can be rendered useless to the enemy, and deprive him of the chief source of supply to his armies. Secrecy in plan and rapidity of execution accomplish the best results of war; and the General commanding assures all, that, by following their leaders fearlessly and with confidence, they will in time reap the reward so dear to us all—a peace that will never again be disturbed in our country by a discontented minority."

But as General Grant's delay at Holly Springs, on account of its cowardly surrender, turned the first attack upon Vicksburg into a defeat, so, by the failure of General Smith to start from Memphis till the 13th of February, the further success of the expedition was made impossible. Still, the affair was a magnificent raid into the heart of "rebeldom," which spread terror along its way, and left the ruins of railroads, bridges, and storehouses behind, while securing animals and various material for the use of the Union army.

The great commander was now compelled to turn his column toward Vicksburg again, which he entered three weeks after his departure, having led his troops safely across hostile soil more than two hundred and fifty miles, surrounded by large armies. March 2d, General Sherman reached New Orleans in the gunboat *Diana*, and, when referring to his expedition, termed it "a big raid only."

Before he had rested his heroic men, a law which had been before Congress while he was marching was passed, creating the office of lieutenant-general, the President conferring the honor of it upon Major-General Grant. The same order of March 12th gave to General Sherman the command before held by the hero of Vicksburg, called the Department of the Mississippi, and including the smaller Departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee, with the Arkansas. Around him were to stand Generals McPherson, Hooker, Thomas, Hurlbut, Logan, Schofield, and Howard, the "Havelock of the army."

The grandest and most decisive campaigns of the war were now planned. The Army of the Potomac, commanded by General Meade, was again to start for Richmond, under the eyes of the Lieutenant-General; and the divisions of General Sherman were to take Atlanta, the former the "head, the latter the heart of the Confederacy."

It was a sublime crisis in the struggle. The two great heroes of the conflict had in their hands enterprises worthy of their genius, and which would hold the interest of the nation and of the world. For, if either of the bold movements succeeded, the other, it would seem, must; because, beyond the single victory were the vast results of the co-operating armies on the coast, from the mouth of the James River to Savannah. Immediately on receiving the notice of his appointment, in the middle of March, General Sherman began a tour of inspection, visiting Athens, Decatur, Huntsville, Chattanooga, Knoxville, and other places of military importance, carefully acquainting himself with the extent and resources of the new field of his command.

The remainder of the great chieftain's work will be recorded in its proper place from his own pen.

Major-General George H. Thomas.

Conspicuous among the loyal men of southern birth and associations, and pre-eminent in the field of successful heroism, has been General Thomas.

He was born in Southampton County, Virginia, of a wealthy and influential family, July 31, 1816. His father,

John Thomas, was of Welsh descent, and his mother, Elisabeth Rochelle, from an old Huguenot family.

After attendance upon the best schools in that portion of the Old Dominion around his home, he was awhile deputy clerk for his uncle, James Rochelle, succeeding him as county clerk, and student at law.

In the spring of 1836, he was appointed cadet in the United States Military Academy at West Point, and entered the following June. In 1840 he graduated twelfth in his class of forty-five, and on the 1st of the following month, July, was made second lieutenant in the Third Artillery. He joined his regiment in Florida in November, during the war with the Indians there; and, for "gallant conduct," was brevetted first lieutenant. In January, 1842, he was ordered to the New Orleans Barracks, from which, the next June, he was transferred with his regiment to Fort Moultrie, in Charleston Harbor. Company C was sent, in December, to Fort McHenry, Maryland. Lieutenant Thomas went with them. Six months later, he was promoted to a full lieutenancy, and the next year again at Fort Moultrie.

When the war with Mexico was anticipated, Lieutenant Thomas was ordered with Company E to Texas, July, 1845, reporting to General Zachary Taylor. He was with the Third and Fourth Regiments of infantry—the first United States troops that occupied the soil of Texas. After marching to the Rio Grande, he was with the garrison at Fort Brown; and when, on the 2d of May, the Mexicans invested it, heroically assisted in its defense, until the enemy retired on the 8th. Subsequently, he served in the advance-guard at Reynosa and Camargo. He distinguished himself in the fiercely-fought battle at Buena Vista, receiving the brevet rank of major, two days afterward, February 23. Among the first to enter, he was with the last to leave the Mexican territory, having under his charge, September, 1848, a commissary dépôt at Brazos Santiago. After six months leave of absence, in June, 1849, he rejoined his company at Fort Adams, Newport, Rhode Island, and on the 31st of July was brevetted captain of a company of the Third Artillery. The September

succeeding, he was ordered to Florida again, to aid in suppressing an outbreak there.

December, 1850, he started for Texas; but orders were countermanded at New Orleans, sending him to Fort Independence, Boston Harbor.

From this fortress, March 28th, 1851, he removed to West Point, appointed by the Government Instructor of Artillery and Cavalry. He remained at the academy three years, when, in December, 1853, he was promoted to a full captaincy. Soon he was on his way to California with a battalion assigned to Fort Yuma.

The next year, Congress having authorized four new regiments, Captain Thomas was appointed junior major in the Second Cavalry, and joined the regiment at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, in the summer of 1855.

May, 1856, he was again in Texas, and remained there four years, commanding the regiment; and in August, 1859, accompanied the Texas Reserve Indians to their new home in the Indian Territory.

During the autumn of 1859 and the summer of 1860, he was examining the head waters of the Canadian and Red Rivers, having one severe and victorious encounter with the Indians, in which he was wounded in the face.

In November, 1860, he had his second leave of absence in *twenty years*.

When the Rebellion startled the country, Colonel Thomas was ordered, in April, 1861, "to Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania, to remount his regiment, which had been betrayed and robbed of its outfit and equipment by Twiggs, in his infamous surrender of the entire department under his command, after he had received orders relieving him, and with indecent haste to anticipate the hourly expected arrival of his successor. In May, 1861, he took command of a brigade in the Department of Pennsylvania, under Major-General Patterson, afterwards the Department of the Shenandoah, under Major-General Banks, and continued to hold that position until the end of August. On the 17th of August he was appointed a brigadier-general of volunteers, and shortly afterward ordered to Kentucky to report to Brigadier-General Anderson, who gave him the

command of Camp Dick Robinson, with about six thousand new troops. On the 26th of October, a brigade sent out by him under Brigadier-General Schoepf defeated the enemy under Zollicoffer, in the battle of Wildcat. On the 18th of January, after a march of nineteen days, over nearly impassable roads, with part of the First Division of the Army of the Ohio, to which General Buell assigned him, he met the fierce attack of Zollicoffer, near Mill Spring, Kentucky, repulsed it, attacked in his turn, broke the enemy and pursued the disordered remnants to the Cumberland River, which they crossed during the night, abandoning all their artillery and baggage. In March, Thomas with his division, now forming the reserve of Buell's army, occupied Nashville, and in April joined the rest of that army after the battle of Shiloh, and moved with it and Grant's army on to Corinth. On the 25th of April, 1862, he was promoted to be a major-general of volunteers, and on the 1st of May his own division was transferred to the Army of the Tennessee, and he was assigned by General Halleck to command the five divisions, including Sherman's, constituting the right wing of the forces before Corinth. After the evacuation of that place, by Beauregard, Thomas returned to the Army of the Ohio, and was placed on duty as second in command of that army, during Bragg's invasion and the remarkable series of movements by which Buell maneuvered it out of Tennessee, through Kentucky back to Louisville. On the 1st of October, he was assigned to the command of the right wing of that army, and in that capacity took part in Buell's nominal pursuit of Bragg. On the 5th of November, 1862, he was assigned by General Rosecrans, who had just relieved Buell, to the command of a corps comprising his own Third Division, now under Rousseau, and Negley's division. At Stone River, on the 31st of December, 1863, when Bragg impetuously hurled his entire army against Rosecrans's right, and routed it, Thomas, with Rousseau's division unbroken, stood firm, held his ground, and aided in the selection of the new line, whose strength enabled Rosecrans to turn back the enemy's second attack on the following day. On the 20th of September, 1863, at the

battle of Chickamauga, when McCook and Crittenden on either flank yielded to the fury of the enemy's assault, and streamed back in such utter rout to Chattanooga, that even Rosecrans gave up the day as lost, and hastened thither in person to prepare a new line of defense, Thomas, with his corps, somewhat later augmented by Granger's division, stood like a lion at bay, and, resting his flanks upon the sides of the mountain gap, resisted and severely punished every attempt of Bragg, either to force his position in front, or to turn his flanks. Falling back in the night three miles, to a better position, he again formed line of battle, and waited all the day of the 21st for Bragg's expected attack, which never came. Having alone saved the Army of the Cumberland from destruction, Thomas was very justly selected as the successor of General Rosecrans, when, on the 19th of October, it was determined to relieve the latter. On the 27th of the same month, he was made a brigadier-general in the regular army. Faithful over all things, and free from all petty desires, when Sherman, his junior in years, in experience, in commission, and at no remote period his subordinate, was elevated to the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, Thomas yielded a ready acquiescence in the selection, and a thorough, efficient, and essential co-operation in all the plans of his new superior. It is characteristic of Thomas that, in the twenty-five years that have elapsed since his graduation, he has had but two short leaves of absence, one in 1848, and one in 1860, and has never been on favored duty of any kind. In his most marked traits, Thomas is the antithesis of Sherman, his habitual repose of mind and temper being, perhaps, only less strongly marked than Sherman's electric restlessness."

The fame of General Thomas, like the fair solidity of a finished column of granite, will attract the admiring but calm and untiring interest of mankind—a genuine, dignified, and abiding greatness.

Major-General Hugh Judson Kilpatrick

Was born in the home of an enterprising farmer in north-

ern New Jersey, in 1838. His mother was one of those women whose intellectual force and moral power indelibly impress and decidedly mould the character of her children.

Writes his friend and admirer, Surgeon Moore, of the Ninth Pennsylvania Cavalry :—

"As the child of their old age, his parents made every effort to afford him those advantages for an education which, at such a period, are so important; his brother and two sisters were already grown up. In person he was, in youth, small, but active, and fond of athletic sports. Providence tenderly watched over his early years, as if designing him to work out some important end in the service of his country. The boy is the man in miniature; so, early he manifested a disposition for a military life, and love of the 'bubble reputation.' His pulse quickened at the sound of martial music and the gleam of glancing arms.

"In his seventeenth year he took part in public meetings, became immersed in politics, was chosen a delegate to the State Convention, and proved himself one of the first orators in his native State, and indeed was found to possess those gifts to such a degree that, with a mind well cultivated and full of energy, great hopes might be entertained of his usefulness to the nation. Soon after this period, in 1855, having found that his congressional district was entitled to a representative at the Military Academy, he determined to secure the appointment. The person who had the power to grant this was the Hon. George Vail, Member of Congress from his district. This gentleman's term in Congress was near expiring, and his friends and party desired and intended to use great efforts for his re-election.

"The young subject of this memoir, with many others, was selected to make speeches throughout the district, and he spoke in every town and hamlet, and finally attracted the attention of his member of Congress, who, after the election, which was carried, conferred on Kilpatrick the much-coveted appointment. He entered the Academy June 20, 1856.

"The class numbered one hundred and four; of these, fifty graduated, and he the fifteenth in that number.

"He graduated at that important period when the South fired a hostile shot at the Stars and Stripes, long venerated and loved by a free nation.

"Kilpatrick was sitting in his room when this news reached the Point, creating the liveliest sensation. The influence of this young man, ardent, patriotic, and eloquent, was of great benefit to the country; inasmuch as by it a request was made, on the part of thirty-seven of the class out of fifty, to be permitted to graduate at once, and take the field.

"Kilpatrick and his friend and classmate, the late lamented Colonel Kingsbury, who afterward fell at Antietam, and Beaumont, a room-mate, drew up his petition, addressed to the President, and sent it to Washington. The request was granted and the class graduated. It was a great day at West Point. The acquaintances of the young men were there, proud to see their success, and happy too.

"The young graduate and the lady Alice, to whom he was engaged, were standing together at the hotel, when a classmate remarked:—'Kil. is going to the field, and may not return. Better get married now.' The advice was taken; the chaplain was at hand—admiring friends around; the mystic knot was tied, and the happy pair started for Washington that evening, with the prayers of all for their welfare."

From Fortress Monroe, where he was serving with Duryea's Zouaves as Captain, he led the advance with a part of these troops to the field of Big Bethel, where, June 11th, he was wounded by a grapeshot in the thigh, at the head of his braves; but, bathed in his own blood, he continued to charge upon the enemy till exhaustion compelled him to leave the field. This was his first battle, and gave promise of his subsequent career.

In the autumn of the same year he obtained the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Regiment of New York Cavalry, or Harris Light Cavalry. The next spring he was with the Army of the Potomac, in its march on Manassas; and when General Pope assumed the command, he swept down upon Stonewall Jackson's communi-

cations with Richmond. Under General Hooker the cavalry was first thoroughly organized, and began to change the scorn of the Southern chivalry, at our inefficiency in this arm of the service, to fear for the laurels of their own troopers.

At Brandy Station, May 9th, 1863, Kilpatrick behaved splendidly, charging like the incarnation of valor, his clear voice ringing over the tumult, and rallying his overborne troops when the day seemed lost; snatching victory from apparent defeat. For his daring and success, he was made Brigadier-General.

Under General Meade he was placed in command of Stahl's division of General Pleasanton's cavalry corps.

The "ill-considered raid" for the relief of the Union prisoners, with which the the lamented Colonel Dahlgren was also connected, was marked by the same dash and good fortune that had distinguished his adventures before.

When General Sherman was planning his great campaign through Georgia, he selected Kilpatrick, whose fine qualities he appreciated, for his cavalry leader; of whom he said in a letter to the yet youthful chief:—"The fact that to you, in a great measure, we owe the march of four strong infantry columns, with heavy trains and wagons, over three hundred miles through an enemy's country, without the loss of a single wagon, and without the annoyance of cavalry dashes on our flanks, is honor enough for any cavalry commander."

His brilliant and entirely satisfactory management of the cavalry of General Sherman's army will appear more in detail, in his "story of the march."

Major-General Oliver O. Howard

Was a native of Leeds, Me., where he saw the light on November 8th, 1830.

After the usual course of preparation for college, during which he displayed both the intellectual force and manliness of character which, with Christian principle, have entitled him to the high distinction he has attained, of being the "Havelock of the American army," he entered Bow-

doin College in 1846. After his graduation in 1850, he entered the United States Military Academy at West Point. When, in 1854, he completed his course of discipline there, the fourth in his class, he was assigned to the Ordnance Department, and ordered to Florida.

Subsequently, he was at Watervliet and Augusta Arsenals, in the same service. For several years before the rebellion, he was Assistant Professor of Mathematics in the Academy at West Point.

When hostilities commenced, he requested of the War Department leave to command a regiment from his own State, but was denied the privilege. He then tendered his resignation, which was accepted. But Maine wanted and soon called for her gifted son. Appointed to the command of the Third Maine Volunteers, he hastened to Washington, and shared in the first great battle of the Republic, at Bull Run. His heroism and unpretending worth made him conspicuous on that earliest occasion for the exhibition of great qualities on the bloody field, insuring for him a Brigadier's promotion, and the command of a brigade in General Casey's Provisional Division, then taking care of Washington.

December, 1861, he was assigned to General Sumner's command, making it the First Brigade of the distinguished division known as the First of the Second Army Corps, and accompanied General McClellan to the Peninsula. At Fair Oaks, while leading in splendid style a charge, on the 1st of June, which broke and held in check the enemy, he lost his right arm. We shall quote from the record of one who knew him in the field, and intelligently appreciated him:—

"Weak and fainting from hemorrhage, and the severe shock which his system had sustained, the next day he started for his home in Maine. He remained there only about two months, during which time he was not idle. Visiting various localities in his native State, he made patriotic appeals to the people to come forward and sustain the Government. Pale, emaciated, and with one sleeve tenantless, he stood up before them, the embodiment of all that is good, and true, and noble in manhood. He talked to

them as only one truly loyal can talk—as one largely endowed with that patriotism which is a heritage of New England blood. Modesty, sincerity, and earnestness characterized his addresses, and his fervent appeals drew hundreds of recruits around the National standard.

"Before he had recovered from his wound, and against the advice of his surgeon, he returned to the field, and took part in the second battle of Bull Run, commanding a brigade in the second division of the Second Corps. His own brigade was at this time temporarily commanded by General Cadwell. At the battle of Antietam, General Howard was still in command of the same brigade until General Sedgwick was wounded, when he assumed command of it at the battle of Fredericksburg, in December, 1862. In this sanguinary action, the troops of Howard's division were the first to effect a lodgment in the town, and the last to leave it."

November 29th, 1862, General Howard was commissioned major-general of volunteers, but remained at the head of the Second Division until the following April, when he was transferred to the command of the Eleventh Corps.

A month later was fought the battle of Chancellorsville, The corps failed to do the part expected from it, because of the inharmonious elements in subordinate commands, and so far as General Howard's responsibility was concerned, it arose from his brief acquaintance with them, and the necessity of leading the forces into the contest before he could possibly reorganize them under his own authority. Both he and his troops felt the dishonor, and determined to retrieve it when the occasion came. But the reproach was forgotten in the glory they won on the battle-days of Gettysburg. One noble heart was not disappointed in this result—Abraham Lincoln's confidence had never for a moment been shaken. He had said when a change in the command of the corps was urged, "Howard will bring it up to the work, only give him time." After the victorious struggle at Gettysburg, the President sent him an autograph letter of warmest thanks and Congress passed a vote of similar import. In September after the disastrous

battle of Chickamauga, in command of the Eleventh Corps, General Howard, with Slocum commanding the Twelfth, marched toward Chattanooga with General Hooker.

In all the operations of the army which followed, General Howard was conspicuous for able generalship and pure and lofty heroism.

Wrote the friend whose words have already been quoted:—

"It was here that Generals Sherman and Howard first met. Sherman's greeting was characteristic of the man—frank, cordial, and blunt; Howard's was quiet, modest, and dignified. Temperaments so widely contrasted could not but fraternize, so prone are men to be attracted by those qualities wherein others differ from themselves. From that day they became warm friends, and the confidence bestowed by Sherman on his more youthful Lieutenant increased to the end of the war.

"Immediately after these successes, Howard's corps accompanied Sherman to Knoxville, to relieve Burnside from perils similar to those which had environed Rosecrans at Chattanooga. It was a long march, in the month of December, and the troops suffered greatly from hardships endured.

"The siege of Knoxville being raised and Longstreet forced to retire, General Howard, with his corps, returned with Sherman to Chattanooga.

"When, early in the spring following, General Sherman organized his army for the grand campaign that had for its object the taking of Atlanta, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were consolidated, under Hooker, and became the Twentieth Corps. Howard was then assigned to the Fourth Corps, which he commanded with signal ability during the long and arduous campaign succeeding. Fighting was well-nigh continuous, during a period of one hundred days, embracing the entire summer months.

"The fidelity and Christian fortitude of General Howard were most conspicuous in this campaign. He prayed with his command, and fought with them, alternately. His unostentatious piety commanded the respect of all. Men

loved him because of his humility as a Christian and bravery as a soldier. His higher trust was in God, with whom he was wont to commune daily in the seclusion of his temporary quarters in the forest:

> "'* * * * Pure Sincerity
> Delights to kneel in solitude, and feels
> God's presence most where none but
> God upholds.'

"Profanity closed its lips in his presence, and gambling and drunkenness were abashed, and turned away to hide themselves at his approach.

"On one occasion, a wagon-master, whose teams were floundering through the bottomless mud of a Georgia swamp, became exasperated at the unavoidable delay, and indulged in such a torrent of profanity as can only be heard in the army or men of his class. General Howard quietly approached, unperceived by the offender, and was an unwilling listener to the blasphemous words. The wagon-master, on turning around, saw his general in close proximity, and made haste to apologize for his profane outburst, by saying: 'Excuse me, General, I did not know you were here.' The General, looking a reprimand, replied: 'I would prefer that you abstain from swearing from a higher and better motive than because of my presence.'

"The perils and fatigues of the campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta have never yet been written. During the heat of summer, in a semi-tropical climate, and through an all-bounding forest, but recently surrendered to civilization by the Cherokees, the army fought its way step by step against a force nearly equal, for a distance of one hundred and thirty miles. There was abundant need of Christian fortitude, and faith in God and the right. Many thousands who left Chattanooga with that patriot army, and penetrated the undeveloped region, now sleep in obscure graves in these pine solitudes. But God was there, as everywhere, and such as called on him prayerfully were heard and answered with sustaining power.

"These were among the dark days of the country—days when good men had need to pray as well as fight—

days when peace with a Union preserved seemed a long way off. But 'the night is long that never finds the day.' On the 2d of September, 1864, Hood's army having been defeated and put to rout, the Union forces under Sherman entered Atlanta in triumph.

"During a severe battle before Atlanta, on the 22d of July, the lamented General McPherson was killed. By his death, the command of the army of the Tennessee became vacant, and General Howard was by Sherman appointed to the position. It was a marked honor to confer upon one of the youngest major-generals in the service, and besides, it was setting at nought the prejudices of the Western men, by placing over them a general from the Potomac army. There were other generals in Sherman's command technically entitled to precedence over Howard, but their claims were ignored by the commander-in-chief for reasons satisfactory to himself. The Army of the Tennessee was composed exclusively of Western troops, with whom Howard had not been immediately identified; and the writer of this remembers with what anxiety the friends of General Howard contemplated the result of this apparent innovation. But, it may be said that the rank and file of the Union army have generally fought well under any leader, and when it has been otherwise, it has usually been owing to incompetency of officers placed over them.

"On the evening of July 27th, General Howard joined his new command, and on the morning of the 28th he formed them hastily in position, to repel an attack of the combined rebel army, led on by Hood in person. For eight hours, in full view of the spires and house-tops of Atlanta, the battle raged with impetuous fury. The rebel commander, finding it impossible to break through Howard's lines, withdrew within the fortifications of the city. After the battle had ceased, our newly-appointed army commander, small of stature and bereft of an arm, rode along his lines to congratulate his men on their stubborn and successful resistance of the attack. His officers and soldiers, elated by their victory, greeted him with unbounded enthusiasm and applause.

"During the twelve hours he had been in command,

he had secured their entire confidence. They had tried him and were satisfied."

The confidence and love won by General Howard increased to the last moment of service in the field; and his elevated Christian character, when the army disbanded, secured his appointment to the responsible post of chief in the Freedmen's Bureau.

His clear, well-poised intellect, purity of character, his kindness and godliness, invest him with a peculiar and almost solitary distinction in the annals of the war.

We shall never forget our first meeting with him, upon a Sabbath-school celebration, his first public appearance after his arm was amputated. He addressed the children in his own earnest, happy manner; the unhealed *stump* vainly attempting to respond, as of old, to the glowing thoughts, with its appropriate gesture. His noble purpose toward the South is expressed in his own language:—

"We must do what we can to overcome prejudice and opposition, by carrying with us the spirit of Christ into every nook and corner of the South, rejoicing over every foot of ground gained, and being never discouraged at contumacy and failure."

Such a man is worthy of all honor—and as Washington and Lincoln will be forever associated together—so will be Howard and Havelock among the less conspicuous Christian heroes of the world.

Major-General James Birdseye McPherson

Was a native of Sandusky County, Ohio. He was born November 14th, 1828, and entered the Military Academy at West Point, in June, 1849. He graduated at the head of the same class, with General Schofield, July 1st, 1853, brevet second lieutenant, and was assigned to the Corps of Engineers. At the close of his graduating furlough, he returned to West Point, and was a year assistant-instructor of practical engineering. In December, 1854, he was made first-lieutenant, and about the same time detailed as assistant-engineer of the defenses of New York harbor.

The first half of the year 1857, he had in charge the

building of Fort Delaware, on the Delaware River, and in December went to California, to superintend the construction of fortifications on Alcatraz Island, in the bay of San Francisco. The August following the commencement of the civil war, he was put in charge of the defenses of Boston Harbor, and on the 6th of that month promoted to a captaincy.

The twelfth of the November succeeding, by the request of General Halleck, Captain McPherson was made aid-de-camp, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was ordered to report at St. Louis, where he was assigned to engineer duty on the staff of the commander.

Later, he was chief-engineer on the staff of General Grant in the victorious movements against Forts Henry and Donelson. His bravery won for him the rank of brevet-major in the regular army, and, when the terrific battle of Shiloh was fought, gained additional promotion to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the regular service. In the siege of Corinth, he was chief of engineers on General Halleck's staff, with the rank of colonel. After the evacuation of that place, he was created brigadier-general, the appointment dating from November 15th, 1862.

He was general superintendent of railroads in the Department of Tennessee, and on General Grant's staff at the battle of Iuka.

He led troops in the fight, for the first time, while the rebel general Price was investing Corinth; cutting his way through their lines, he relieved the garrison, and rejoined the main force pursuing the enemy.

So clearly shone the martial genius of the youthful officer, that General Grant asked for a major-general's rank, which was conferred, October 8th, 1862. The next December, he was assigned to the command of the Seventeenth Army Corps. The fall of Vicksburg, in which General McPherson sustained his growing reputation for ability and heroism, was followed by his promotion to the rank of brigadier-general, United States Army, and the command of the conquered city.

His part in the battles connected with this grand achievement will appear in the future record of the Potomac army.

His exposure to the rebel guns, near Atlanta, and his untimely death, as it seems to us, the nation will never cease to regret and mourn.

The touching and fitting tribute of grateful love from General Grant is given in the correspondence of the chief with the grandmother of the slain hero, in another place.

Writes a military friend of the departed:—

"He was tall in person, being over six feet in height, well proportioned, and erect, easy, and agreeable in his manners, frank in conversation, accessible to all; gallant and dashing in action; regardless of danger; strictly honorable in all his dealings with men and with the Government.

"Schofield, young but matured, well poised, thoroughly scientific by education, thoroughly practical by contact with men, habituated to command; McPherson, in the full flower of his life, bold and enthusiastic, just emerging from a complete mastery of the science of defensive war into the wider field of the offensive, trained to command under the eye and by the example of Grant and Sherman; Thomas, the ripe growth of years and experience, of balanced and crystalized mind, strong and patient, steadfast and prudent, a true soldier, no genius, but a master of his profession; exhaustive in preparation, deliberate in action, ponderous and irresistible in execution. Such were the men upon whom, under the leadership of Sherman, the destiny of the campaign was to rest."

General McPherson was unquestionably among the great military characters brought out by the war. No one can tell us what he might have been; for his life went out in the storm of battle before it bloomed into ripest manhood—one of the heroes whose promise was the greatest, when the sword dropped from his gallant and dying hand.

Nor will the names of Logan, Hooker, Hancock, Slocum, Rosecrans, Burnside, Schofield, Hazen, Warren, McClernand, Terry, Sigel, and Sedgwick, the lion-hearted, be forgotten by a grateful country—a constellation around the central double stars, Grant and Sherman—without rival splendor in the firmament of fame arching the field of national conflict and victory.

History does not furnish a sublimer war-field for contemplation, than now lay before these great captains. Calmly, almost silently, the strong intellect and brave heart of the chief surveyed the vast territory, the embattled hosts confronting each other, and, without confusion of thought, or a shadow of doubt respecting the issue, laid his gigantic plans, and looked upward for the divine benediction upon them.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ARMY IN THE WILDERNESS.

The Order to March.—The Grand Advance.—The Wilderness.—The Meeting in Battle of the Hostile Armies.—The Fighting of Thursday, Friday, and Saturday.—The Midnight March.—The Enthusiastic Welcome of the Lieutenant-General by the troops.—Sabbath, May 7th.—The Death of Generals Sedgwick and Hays.—A Splendid Charge by Hancock's Troops.—Coolness of General Grant.—A Pause in the Race for Richmond.—Telegrams from the Seat of War.—The Struggle Renewed.—Severe Battle.—The Field.—The Fortunes of the Day.

THE order to march was issued to the Army of the Potomac, from General Meade's head-quarters, on the morning of May 3d, and by two o'clock P. M. was read to the whole army. The myriad tents disappeared like frost-work before the sun; the knapsacks were packed, the horses caparisoned, and the trains in motion.

General Gregg's cavalry division, accompanied by a portion of the canvas pontoon train, moved in the afternoon toward Richardsville, and were engaged until late at night repairing the roads to Ely's Ford. Soon after midnight that division moved to the ford named, to establish a crossing. About midnight the Third Cavalry Division, with another portion of the canvas pontoon train, left for Germania Ford, five or six miles above, there to establish another crossing; both efforts were successful.

The advance of the Second Corps, Major-General Hancock commanding, broke camp at midnight and moved down the Stevensburg and Richardsville road toward Ely's Ford. The entire corps were on the march before three o'clock in the morning, in the same direction, and effected a crossing soon after daylight.

The Fifth Corps, under Major-General Warren, commenced moving at midnight. The advance, consisting of two divisions of infantry and a portion of the artillery, passed through Stevensburg, closely followed by the

remainder of the corps; all marching toward Germania Ford.

The Fifth Corps was closely succeeded by the Sixth, under General Sedgwick, which quitted its camp at four o'clock, A. M. Both the Fifth and Sixth Corps crossed the Rapidan at Germania Ford.

General Sheridan, commanding the cavalry, encountered Stuart's rebel cavalry, and, after heavy fighting, drove the enemy back on Orange Court-House.

General Lee prepared during the night of the 4th for battle on the ensuing day.

On Thursday, May 5th, 1864, the Fifth and Sixth Corps were early in motion, and at about eight o'clock, A. M., the center of the Fifth Corps had reached the intersection of the pike and plank road leading from Fredericksburg to Orange Court-House, marked on the maps as "Wilderness." This desolate tract of land, about a dozen miles long, and five in width, is in Spottsylvania County, Virginia. It is an exceedingly broken table-land, irregular in its conformation, and so densely covered with dwarf timber and undergrowth as to render progress through it very difficult and laborious off the few roads and paths that penetrate it. This timber was so effectually an ally of the rebels—for they had taken care to take position near its edge, leaving us an open country at our back—that a whole division drawn up in line of battle might be invisible a few hundred feet off. The knotty character of the ground, in conjunction with this timber, also prevented us almost entirely from using our artillery, depriving us of our undoubted superiority in that arm. At the Wilderness, is the crossing or intersection of the pike and plank roads from Fredericksburg to Orange Court-House, in a general southwest direction. These roads are here reached by the roads from Culpepper and Brandy Station, via Germania Ford; and at Chancellorsville, four miles and a half eastward of the Wilderness, the pike is crossed exactly at a right angle by the road from Ely's Ford to Spottsylvania Court-House.

Thursday morning, the army in column was along the road to Germania Ford and the pike. The hours wore away,

and the battalions, wondering at the pause, sought such diversions to beguile the time of suspense as were within their reach and suited to their tastes. Officers unrolled maps, and consulted together over them. There were no sounds nor signals of battle.

Suddenly, aids from General Sheridan's horsemen, who had been pushing southeastward, come back with dispatches. General Meade, a tall, thin man, a litle stooping in the shoulders, breaks the seal, and reads. The next moment he turns to General Grant, remarking:

"They say that Lee intends to fight us here."

"Very well," coolly replies General Grant.

Then they step aside and talk. The Lieutenant-General smokes, and whittles in musing mood while he converses.

He now changes the direction of the *cutting* from him, and with quicker motion. He has matured his plan. Action will swiftly follow.

Like the collision of rushing engines will be the shock. Lee is determined to crush through, and break the equally resolute ranks of our unshrinking "boys."

Warren's column moved toward a hill near the Wilderness Tavern, and soon its summit was the head-quarters of the army.

Then came the falling shot, the rattle of picket-firing, and the louder report of the skirmish, followed in a brief period by the opening of general battle.

The rebels knew the ground, and suddenly charging upon a brigade of Griffin's division before it was fairly formed, captured two guns. After noon, the lion-hearted Sedgwick's battalions met the rebel tide of battle, and grandly checked its threatening progress.

On the left, the brave Hancock took charge of Longstreet, and showed how "Yankee hirelings" could fight. It was a day of blood, whose descending sun fell on unnumbered gaping wounds, and upon many glazing eyes, which were bright in the splendor of his rising.

General Grant was in the field, silent, cool, and confident of ultimate success.

Friday renewed the awful carnage, whose fiercest work was done by Hancock's corps. Back the superior forces

of Longstreet pressed him to his breastworks, then like the billow returning from the unyielding shore, the enemy were compelled to fall back, wasted by the unsuccessful onset. The rebel and the Union dead were piled together. Next, Sedgwick entered the arena of unsurpassed valor and death.

The twilight hour lulled the tumult of the fray, and nature seemed to breathe calmly again, relieved from the horrors of the human struggle for victory. But the deepening stillness was broken by unexpected volleys of musketry, followed by the yells rebels could only raise—and our right was turned—Generals Seymour and Slater were overborne, and the day seemed lost.

Providentially, Sedgwick was at hand, and, when the force of the first charge was spent, re-formed his corps, and beat the enemy backward from his breast works.

The terrors of the scene were hightened by a stampede of straggling soldiers, extending to the teamsters, until the wildest confusion spread for half an hour before order could be restored.

An hour before midnight, another desperate assault was made on Warren's corps, before which heroism itself was forced to give way.

Meanwhile, the trains uninterruptedly moved onward, and by the dawn nearly all had passed to the left of the right center. The wounded were also removed in the same direction.

Disaster, but not defeat, was the record of the memorable 6th of May. The enemy, determined at the outset not to let General Grant get through the Wilderness, was defeated in his design, and in every battle failed to crush or fatally cripple the Union army. The general result, in its bearing on future success, was a victory to the cause of the Republic.

In this day's engagement, Brigadier-General James S. Wadsworth, of New York, an able and noble officer, fell mortally wounded into the hands of the enemy; and, a few hours later, Brigadier-General Alexander Hays was killed. The entire Union loss for the two days' fighting, in killed,

wounded and missing, was fifteen thousand, and the rebel sacrifice certainly equal in number.

The rebel columns had turned the right flank of the Union army, and the fighting, with any prospect of success, was over there. Germania Ford was within the enemy's grasp, and, with the fearful slaughter, the gain upon his right seemed a small purchase with so much bloodshed. Still, it was a great fact, that the Potomac Army was not thrown backward from its grand object; nor had the onsets of the hostile battalions broken its lines.

General Grant's faith in the righteous cause, and its hastening success, was unshaken by the indecisive results; and during the night he calmly carried forward his flanking movement on Lee's position, by contracting his lines on the right, and extending his left to the south, threatening the enemy's communication with Richmond. A change of base was made to the Rappahannock and Fredericksburg. By these skillful movements, General Lee was unable to profit by his success on our right, while General Grant secured a similar, yet bloodless, victory over his antagonist.

The great rebel chieftain, though foiled and chagrined, "promptly accepted the gage of battle thus thrown down," and hastened to a strong position which had been prepared for the emergency, near Spottsylvania Court-House. Both armies were at this time so far out of the Wilderness that artillery could be employed with effect.

Saturday dawned, and General Grant was ready to fight; but no signs of conflict appeared along the rebel lines, beyond a little skirmishing during the morning; when, assured of the advance of the Confederate columns, he prepared for the chase. Anticipating the dodge, Grant had sent Sheridan with his cavalry on the road through Spottsylvania Court-House, to Granger's Station and Hanover Court-House, encountering Fitzhugh Lee, who offered a fierce resistance. Before night, Stuart's cavalry corps protected the right flank of General Lee's army, which General Grant hoped to turn. The preparation now went forward to put the entire army in motion along the irregular line of flanking toward Richmond. It was the purpose of the Chief to make time by forced marches, and in-

THE BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS.

terior lines, with a bold front pressing vigorously upon the enemy when necessary, to reach Richmond before General Lee ; or, if compelled to meet him in decisive battle, defeat him, and then, with comparative ease, capture the rebel capital.

The setting sun of Saturday night, May 6th, was reflected from the arms of the infantry on the march, to anticipate, if possible, the foe, by turning his right flank.

The Ninth Army Corps led in the cavalcade a short distance, then halted to let General Warren pass with the Fifth.

This movement opened one of the most romantic and impressive scenes in the marches of a vast army. From that sunset hour till midnight, the columns of the Potomac Army were getting into marching order—the ranks quietly emerging like spectral processions from their entrenchments —and the cavalry wheeling into position to protect the flank, as the Sixth and Second Corps formed the rear.

At eight o'clock, General Grant and staff left head-quarters, and dashed along the lines of the corps nearest the enemy. Startled by the rattle of musketry, he halted at General Hancock's head-quarters to send out scouts, who soon learned that it was only picket-firing, provoked by the shouts of the rebels, which were raised in reply to those of our own troops.

Then the Lieutenant-General hurried on through forest paths, and along by-roads, to avoid the moving columns, and almost interminable wagon trains, his escort trailing behind him, in the shadowy distance, as at Chattanooga, like the "tail of a kite," on the air of a night disturbed only by the grim pageantry of Mars. The early Sabbath solitude was broken by the tramp of myriad feet, the clatter of hoofs, and the rumble of numberless wheels. The magnificent engine of war, whose living soul was still inspired with the old and awakening watchward, "On to Richmond !" was again moving down upon the front and heart of rebellion. Whenever the Chief galloped by a body of troops, if in the darkness it was discovered that he was passing, a shout of wildest enthusiasm rang along the columns, and died away upon his ear only when distance

made the welcome of loyal hearts inaudible. He reached Todd's Tavern soon after midnight, and established his head-quarters there.

Near the old battle-field of Chancellorsville, the wagon train, covering an immense area, encamped—the indispensable, yet peaceable, caravan of a moving army.

When the Sabbath sun was above the horizon, General Warren's corps was two and a half miles from Spottsylvania Court-House, having passed Todd's Tavern during the night. This fine corps at once relieved the cavalry, while the rebel General Longstreet performed the same service for the enemy's cavalry under Stuart.

The Fifth Corps, although tired with the night's march, went into action on the double-quick, General Robinson's division leading the charge in the resistless onset upon the enemy. For three miles the rebels yielded the ground to the resolute columns of Warren. The heroic Robinson was wounded, and the entire Union losses that day reached about one thousand three hundred.

The charge was so impetuous that the troops found themselves outflanked on the left, and fell back to re-form their lines.

Many of the men, exhausted, retired, but soon our artillery forced the enemy from the position he had gained.

The Fifth Corps was terribly cut up, scarcely a division being left in fighting condition. The army had advanced to within two and a half miles of Spottsylvania Court-House, but another desperate struggle must come between it and that point, before the place could be ours. The Sabbath dawned, and over the vast field of war, through the sacred hours, were scenes of touching interest. There were tents of prayer—dying victims—and words of Christian hope and cheer spoken to the thousands preparing for battle again. Men are thoughtful in the pauses, and on the eve of the deadly conflict.

When the sun sank to the golden gate of the West, in the softened light, the silent, thoughtful leader of freedom's legions, rode off to the front to get one more view of the exact position, and to inspire his troops with enthusiasm for the impending struggle for the capital of treason. Be-

fore he reached the left flank, the sudden, sharp rattle of musketry, and the staggering backward of wounded men told the story of opening strife.

About seven o'clock a shout rang out of the woods as our columns emerged from the concealment, led by General Wright's division.

In half an hour the steady roar of the contest, rising from the gloom of the pine forest, began to fluctuate, and then died away. The foe had given way, but night still protected the rebel occupation of Spottsylvania Court House.

Monday found the rations low. The caravan of supply wagons arrived at the moment of need. The hours flew, and an onset was made upon divisions of our forces, with no result besides sacrifice of human life. Look off to that conspicuous spot in the line of conflict. There, among the artillery of his corps, stands the cool, intrepid, accomplished Sedgwick. He is directing the gun-mounting. The bullets of the sharpshooters whistle around him. The artillerymen involuntarily dodge. General Sedgwick smiles, and says: "Don't duck, men. They couldn't hit an elephant that distance." The words scarcely escape his lips, before a well-directed ball pierces his head. He falls into the arms of his adjutant; the bloody foam wreathes those lips; a smile follows, and all is over. One of the bravest and noblest of the army; after three years of successful service, has yielded up his manly life.

Now, with advancing night, several divisions of Grant's troops crossed the branches of the Mattapony, and the struggle was renewed. Every step of progress was stained with blood. Like a half moon lay the white tents and the battle array of the rebel host around Spottsylvania Court-House. Over against them, with broader curve, was the Union army; both waiting and yet preparing for another general combat.

A train of ambulances, containing thirteen thousand wounded, while on the way to Ely's Ford, was attacked and compelled to return; but at length reached Fredericksburg, whose dwellings immediately became hospitals for the bleeding heroes.

Tuesday was a day of slaughter. A part of the Fifth Corps was sent to dislodge the rebels from a copse on its right; and bravely they went in—advancing by brigades.

Oh! what a battle-storm raged, till the darkness curtained the Golgotha, and stilled the roar of the cannonade that rolled over it!

On Wednesday morning General Grant sent his first dispatch to Washington, which reveals his full appreciation of the deadly havoc made in his ranks, and also his unyielding courage and hope:—

HEAD-QUARTERS IN THE FIELD, *May* 11, 1864—8 A. M.

We have now ended the sixth day of very heavy fighting. The result, to this time, is much in our favor.

Our losses have been heavy as well as those of the enemy. I think the loss of the enemy must be greater.

We have taken over five thousand prisoners by battle, whilst he has taken from us but few, except stragglers.

I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General Commanding the Armies of the United States.

Among the killed, was the Christian hero, Brigadier-General Rice. He sent to his wife, before he fell, the patriotic words, "I have been true to my country." When his life was ebbing away, he desired to have his face *turned toward the enemy.* And better still, an expression of character, when asked by a delegate of the Christian Commission how the great Captain of our salvation appeared then, he replied, "Oh! Jesus is very near!" Such was one of many scenes lighting up the horrors of this tremendous war.

General Lee sent a flag of truce, asking for a cessation of hostilities for forty-eight hours, to give him time to bury his dead. General Grant replied that he had not time to inter his own dead, but should advance without delay. The woods, where the enemy's center had been, were shelled, eliciting no response.

More than four thousand rebel bodies, ghastly with every form of war's mortality, lay in winrows and heaps upon the soil over which the living tide of loyalty had surged, sweeping before it the hosts of rebellion, and leav-

ing a large company of the slain sons of the Republic in its wake.

That night the Second Corps was once more ordered to the left, taking position between the Sixth and Ninth Corps. Another flanking movement was arranged, to force the rebels from their works at Spottsylvania Court-House; and its direction, as before, was to be by the left flank, the brave Hancock's corps doing the work.

May 12th was one of the great war's greatest days in the heart of the Old Dominion.

Amid the silence and darkness that preceded its dawn, the Second Corps had left their position, and, stealing with hushed footfall over the field, had reached the line of intrenchments in front, held by Ewell's corps. The flush of day reflected the glitter of their arms almost blending with that of the hostile bayonets. Soon after, the bugle-note of the charge rang out upon the vernal air. A shout rose to the smiling heavens, and, before the slumbering foes knew what the outcry meant, Hancock's braves were pouring over the intrenchments, and flourishing the butts of their muskets around the heads of the startled rebels.

The firing was the least important part of the attack, in the rapid movement. Before the inmates of the shelter-tents, near the works, could fly from them, our troops were there, surrounding and holding them till they surrendered, without further resistance—bewildered, helpless prisoners of war. The ordnance of the foe stood unlimbered and undischarged in the hands of the Union troops; and the commanders, Stewart and Johnson, with thirty pieces of ordnance, were taken. The rebel chiefs were escorted to General Grant's head-quarters at seven o'clock in the morning. Johnson was received courteously and conversed freely with the Union commanders, alluding to the former years of association of hostile leaders with them at West Point.

At nine o'clock, on Hancock's right, the artillery fire was fearful. The glory of the night's success, already recorded, was heightened by the advance of this stormy morning. Onward the columns pressed, and backward slowly retired the rebels.

An incident occurred during the morning that illustrates the coolness and self-possession of the Commander-in-chief of the Armies of the United States. While the heaviest artillery firing was in progress, General Grant was standing, in company with General Meade, near a fire talking and endeavoring to keep themselves dry, when a rebel shell struck within a few feet of the twain. A disposition to move was manifested on the part of a number of officers standing around, when General Grant, looking slowly around, and fixing his eye on the spot where the shell struck, asked at once for a pocket compass, which, being furnished, he examined the course of the shell, found out the location of the battery, and it was not long before shells were thick among the men working said battery.

In the afternoon, General Meade advanced on the left of Lee, flanking his right, and pouring into the ranks of his desperate men an incessant fire of the artillery. The terrific carnage rose in its havoc and fell by turns, till the evening darkened over the ensanguined field.

Learning that the Union troops were holding in check re-enforcements on their right, and moving down upon their right, the rebels made haste to assault our left. For fourteen hours the awful strife went on, till ten thousand on each side were slain or wounded.

General Grant sent his second message to Washington:

SPOTTSYLVANIA C. H., *May* 12, 1865.

The eighth day of battle closes, leaving between three and four thousand prisoners in our hands for the day's work, including two general officers and over thirty pieces of artillery.

The enemy is obstinate, and seems to have found the last ditch. We have lost no organization, not even a company, while we have destroyed and captured one division, one brigade, and one regiment entire of the enemy.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

In the night, General Lee advanced on the right, and southwardly, followed by his watchful adversary on Friday. A dismal storm set in, drenching the living and the dead. The telegrams which went over the wires at this

crisis of military affairs will afford an outline view of the work accomplished in the field, of which Richmond was the grand prize of combat:—

WASHINGTON, *May* 14—4 P. M.

To Major-General CADWALADER:

Dispatches from General Grant, dated yesterday evening, at six o'clock, have reached this Department. The advance of Hancock yesterday developed that the enemy had fallen back four miles, where they remained in position. There was no engagement yesterday. We have no account of any general officers being killed in the battle of the preceding day. Colonel Carroll was severely wounded.

A dispatch has just been received from General Sherman, dated near Resaca, May 14. It states that, by the flank movement on Resaca, Johnston had been forced to evacuate Dalton, and our forces were in his rear and flank. The weather was fine, and the troops in fine order, all working well, and as fast as possible.

No intelligence has been received from General Butler. Guerrillas have broken the telegraph lines between Williamsburg and Old Jamestown. This is believed to be the reason why no report has been received from him.

Dispatches from General Sigel report him to be at Woodstock. The rumor that he had broken the railroad between Lynchburg and Charlottesville is not true.

Our wounded are coming in from Belle Plain as fast as the transports can bring them.

Grant's army is well supplied.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

General Meade has issued the following congratulatory address to his troops:—

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, *May* 18, 1864.

SOLDIERS:—The moment has arrived when your commanding general feels authorized to address you in terms of congratulation.

For eight days and nights, almost without intermission, in rain and sunshine, you have been gallantly fighting a desperate foe, in positions naturally strong, and rendered doubly so by intrenchments.

You have compelled him to abandon his fortifications on the Rapidan, to retire and attempt to stop your onward progress, and now he has abandoned the last intrenched position so tenaciously held, suffering a loss in all of eighteen guns, twenty-two colors, and eight thousand prisoners, including two general officers.

Your heroic deeds and noble endurance of fatigue and privations will ever be memorable. Let us return thanks to God for the mercy thus shown us, and ask earnestly for its continuation.

Soldiers! your work is not yet over. The enemy must be pursued, and,

if possible, overcome. The courage and fortitude you have displayed render your commanding general confident your future efforts will result in success.

While we mourn the loss of many gallant comrades, let us remember the enemy must have suffered equal, if not greater, losses.

We shall soon receive re-enforcements, which he cannot expect. Let us determine to continue vigorously the work so well begun, and, under God's blessing, in a short time the object of our labors will be accomplished.

GEORGE G. MEADE, Major-General commanding.

Official—S. WILLIAMS, A. A.-G.

(Approved) U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General commanding the Armies of the United States.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *May* 14, 1864.

Major-General DIX:

The following telegrams have just reached this Department from General Butler.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War

HALF-WAY HOUSE, *May* 14—3 A. M.

To Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

We are still before the base of the enemy's works at Drury Bluff, Fort Darling.

The enemy are still here in force.

General Gillmore, by a flank movement, with a portion of his corps and a brigade of the Eighteenth Corps, assaulted and took the enemy's works on their right at dusk last evening. It was gallantly done.

The troops behaved finely.

We held our lines during the night, and shall move this morning again.

(Signed) BENJ. F. BUTLER, Major-General.

HEAD-QUARTERS, HALF-WAY HOUSE, *May* 14—10 A. M.

To Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

General Smith carried the enemy's first line on the right, this morning, at eight o'clock. The loss was small.

The enemy have retired into three square redoubts, upon which we are now bringing our artillery to bear with effect.

(Signed) BENJ. F. BUTLER, Major-General commanding.

"Cavalry Sheridan" does well his part:—

WASHINGTON, *May* 14—*midnight.*

To Major-General CADWALADER:

An official dispatch from General Sheridan, dated Bottom Bridge, via Fortress Monroe, May 13th, states that on the 9th instant he marched around the enemy's right flank, and on the evening of that day reached

the North Anna River without serious opposition. During that night he destroyed the enemy's dépôt at Beaver Dam, three large trains of cars, and one hundred cars, two fine locomotives, two hundred thousand pounds of bacon, and other stores, amounting in all to a million and a half of rebel rations; also, the telegraph and railroad track for about ten miles, embracing several culverts, and recaptured three hundred and seventy-eight of our men, including two colonels, one major, and several other officers.

On the morning of the 10th, he resumed operations, crossing the South Anna at Grand Squirrel Bridge, and went into camp about daylight.

On the 11th he captured Ashland Station. At this point he destroyed one locomotive and a train of cars, an engine-house, and two or three government buildings, containing a large amount of stores. He also destroyed six miles of railroad, embracing six culverts, two trestle bridges, and the telegraph wires. About seven o'clock, A. M., of the 11th, he resumed the march on Richmond. He found the rebel Stuart with his cavalry concentrated at Yellow Tavern, and immediately attacked him. After an obstinate contest, he gained possession of the Brockle Turnpike, capturing two pieces of artillery, and driving the enemy's forces back toward Ashland and across the north fork of the Chickahominy—a distance of four miles At the same time a party charged down the Brock road and captured the first line of the enemy's works around Richmond. During the night he marched the whole of his command between the first and second line of the enemy's works, on the bluffs overlooking the line of the Virginia Central Railroad and the Mechanicsville Turnpike. After demonstrating against the works and finding them very strong, he gave up the intention of assaulting, and determined to recross the Chickahominy at Meadow Bridge. It had been partially destroyed by the enemy, but was repaired in about three hours, under a heavy artillery fire from a rebel battery. General Merritt made the crossing, attacked the enemy, and drove him off handsomely, the pursuit continuing as far as Gaines's Mill. The enemy, observing the recrossing of the Chickahominy, came out from his second line of works. A brigade of infantry and a large number of dismounted cavalry attacked the divisions of Generals Gregg and Wilson; but, after a severe contest, were repulsed and driven behind their works. Gregg and Wilson's divisions, after collecting the wounded, recrossed the Chickahominy on the afternoon of the 12th. The corps encamped at Walnut Grove and Gaines's Mill.

At nine o'clock, A. M., of the 13th, the march was resumed, and our forces encamped at Bottom Bridge. The command is in fine spirits. The loss of horses will not exceed one hundred. All the wounded were brought off except about thirty cases of mortally wounded, and these were well cared for in the farm-houses of the country. The wounded will not exceed two hundred and fifty, and the total loss not over three hundred and fifty. The Virginia Central Railroad bridges over the Chickahominy, and other trestle-bridges, one sixty feet in length, one thirty feet, and one twenty feet, and the railroad for a long distance south of the Chickahominy, were destroyed. Great praise is given the division commanders, Generals

Gregg, Wilson, and Merritt, Generals Custer, and Davies, and Colonels Gregg, Divine, Chapman, McIntosh, and Gibbs, brigade commanders. All the officers and men behaved splendidly.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

Such was the posture of affairs when the Secretary re-received over the wires, trembling to the messages of a nation's struggle for life, "at noon of night," the words of cheer from the heroes of the battle-field.

Friday, May 14th, the opposing armies again met in the shock of battle. The corps of Burnside and Hancock advanced upon Lee's right wing, covering Spottsylvania Court-House.

Over a broken, hilly, piny wilderness, where no man could walk erect, and crowded with rifle-pits, with unfaltering steps the "boys" moved forward, pushing the enemy backward to his main line of intrenchments.

There were deeds of unrivaled valor before the sun of Friday set. Three regiments of Hartrauft's brigade were flanked on the left, and nearly surrounded; but upon the demand to surrender, refused, and fought hand-to-hand for their colors, until resistance was in vain, and a part of the troops were taken prisoners. Three thousand Union troops had fallen in this engagement.

Saturday was a pause after the strife of eight long hours, while General Grant's sleepless watch of his great antagonist made the comparative quiet most valuable to him in the modification of his plans, to meet the changed aspect of the field.

Both armies were busy burying those who had fought their last battle, and heeded not the war of elements which drenched but could not cleanse the crimsoned soil. Intrenchments were thrown up, and, excepting a little skirmishing, the embattled hosts rested from the harvest of death.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE DEEPENING CONFLICT.

The Struggle renewed.—General Grant's skillful Movements of his Army.—Cold Harbor.—The grand March to the James River.—Assault on Petersburg.—Incidents.—Burnside's Mines.—Naval Victories.—General Grant and the Grandmother of General McPherson.—General Sherman and Affairs in the Southwest.

THE interlude of quiet had its own unwritten history of sad and cheerful scenes—the erection and marking of headboards to many graves; the painful transmission of the fate of the killed, wounded, and captured, to the scattered homes they left in the strength of manhood; the messages of love from the uninjured; the chapel-tent scenes of prayer and praise—all filled up the soldier's leisure moments. The 18th of May broke the rest of the great armies.

General Grant had prepared, during the previous night, for an attack upon his unyielding antagonist, by massing his forces on Lee's left, to break it, if possible, and turn it—a bold movement, the more hopeful because unexpected from that quarter by the foe, who supposed that portion of the line to have been quite abandoned for any decisive work.

On this early spring morning the assault began; but the enemy was not unprepared for it. The rifle-pits captured on the 12th were retaken, and then came the stern resistance which opened again the sanguinary contest. General Wright's Sixth Corps was on the right, and next the Second Corps, and, further to the left, a portion of Burnside's corps. The useless havoc of the attempt to scale the works in the fire of the rifle-pits was abandoned, and a few days of rest followed, during which twenty-five thousand fresh and excellent troops were added to the Army of the Potomac.

May 20th, the army was once more in motion. The

unequaled flanker was again upon his enemy, and soon forced him out of Spottsylvania Court-House, making a retreat toward his capital behind North Anna River. Our pursuit was close, and attended by an attack resulting in but little loss to us, and a repulse to the rebels.

Lee, finding he was fairly flanked again, retired to the South Anna, where he was protected by strong fortifications. Avoiding collisions by another flank movement, in the direction of Hanover Junction, the thwarted chief was compelled to evacuate his stronghold.

The 27th, General Sheridan, with two divisions of cavalry, seized Hanover Ferry and Hanovertown, the crossing-places on Pamunkey River.

Two days later, the whole army was over the stream, and in position three miles from its banks. Thus was another of General Grant's brilliant and daring maneuvers crowned with complete success. On Sunday, the 29th, his army was encamped in a fertile country, within fifteen miles of Richmond. By this admirable movement, he not only turned Lee's works on the Little River and the South Anna, and avoided the hazard of crossing those two strongly defended rivers, but made himself master of the situation with regard to his new base of supplies. He was furthermore left entirely free as to the route by which he would attack Richmond, and be in full communication and co-operation with the column under General Butler. All this was accomplished within twenty-four days from the day when he struck tents at Culpepper Court-House.

What enormous strides he made toward the heart of the rebellion within that brief period, and all by disembarrassing his movements of the necessity of looking back to one inflexible line of communications and one unchanging base of supplies. This was his simple strategy, though the execution of it was as brave and brilliant as its conception was bold and original. It was this same strategy that made the march from Bruinsburg to Vicksburg one unbroken series of victories.

He was master of the Peninsula without having uncovered Washington for a single hour, and without having created the necessity of leaving one-fourth of his army be-

hind for the defense of that city. He had uncontrolled choice of a line of attack on Richmond on every side but one. His cavalry had traversed the whole country, and knew all the roads and all the topography. He had communication with General Butler's force, and could unite the two armies whenever the occasion demanded. And finally he could supply his troops by the Pamunkey or the James at his own option. These results were the achievements of a master hand in the art of war.

This removal of the seat of war from the Orange and Alexandria Railroad to the very walls of Richmond completed a cycle of two years in the history of the rebellion. Hanover, White House, Cold Harbor, Shady Grove Church, are names with which we were familiar on the 31st of May, 1862. Then, however, every stream, every swamp, every line of rifle-pits brought our forces to a halt, until days ran into weeks, and weeks into weary months of waiting. But now the great column moved irresistibly on, for at its head there was a skillful and active soldier, a man who knew no such word as halt after he once was in motion, and was appalled by no obstructions, and least of all by phantoms.

Such was the posture of the contending armies at the close of the great battle-month of May.

General Lee's anticipated path of march for General Grant was undisturbed by the tramp of the legions of the Republic, and the Napoleon of the rebellion was compelled to see his visions of victory fade before the humiliation of a new and more doubtful field of contest, nearer than ever the walls of Richmond.

During the month of sanguinary progress by the Potomac Army, General Sherman's splendid columns had been sweeping down upon Atlanta, in the Southwest, making Buzzard's Roost, Dalton, and Resaca, historical names by the victories and the strategy of the resistless advance toward the Georgia stronghold.

With June came the fiercely-fought battles of Cold Harbor. On the 4th, General Grant telegraphed to the War Department the following statement:—"About seven P. M., of Friday, June 3d, the enemy suddenly attacked

Smith's brigade of Gibbons's division. The battle lasted with great fury for half an hour, and the attack was unwaveringly repulsed. At six P. M., Wilson, with his cavalry, fell upon the rear of a brigade of Heth's division, which Lee had ordered around to his left, apparently with the intention of enveloping Burnside. After a sharp but short conflict, Wilson drove them from their rifle-pits in confusion. He took a few prisoners. He had previously fought with and routed Gordon's brigade of rebel cavalry. During these fights he lost several officers, among them Colonel Preston, First Vermont Cavalry, killed; Colonel Benjamin, Eighth New York Cavalry, seriously wounded. General Stannard, serving in the Eighteenth Corps, was also severely wounded. Our entire loss in killed, wounded and missing during the three days' operations around Cold Harbor did not exceed, according to the Adjutant-General's Report, seven thousand five hundred. This morning (Saturday, June 4th), the enemy's left wing, in front of Burnside, was found to have been drawn in during the night."

The bristling fortifications that guarded the Chickahominy, whose passage had been so desperately and successfully resisted, and the earthworks extending to Richmond, convinced General Grant that to get to the rebel capital in that direction would be impossible.

For ten days the disappointed, maddened foe beat at intervals against our lines, but was repulsed with every desperate attempt to break the coil closing around them.

General Grant, with a comprehensive and daring strategy, is determined to swing his whole army around on the south side of the capital, and make James River the base of supplies. In that part of the grand field of operations, there had been bold movements. General Butler had sent an expedition up York River to West Point, to make the enemy believe he was going across the peninsula to Richmond. Butler, however, dropped down again, and up James River, landing at City Point, fifteen miles from Richmond. His object was, to cut the railroads, and prevent Beauregard from helping Lee, and take Fort Darling

also. But the enemy came out of the fort, and beat him back again to his intrenchments.

General Sheridan, meanwhile, with the cavalry, had swept around the right flank of the enemy, and, crossing the North Anna River, went into the outer defenses of Richmond, destroying railways, &c. General Sigel, in Western Virginia, had been defeated.

In the night of June 12th, General Grant removed his troops from Lee's front to Cold Harbor and Gaines's Mills. General W. F. Smith's corps, after marching to the White House, embarked on transports and went down the Pamunkey and York Rivers, and up the James. The Sixth and Ninth crossed the Chickahominy at Jones's Bridge, and the Second and Fifth at Long Bridge, thence reaching James River, crossed at Powhattan Point. The grand movement was a perfect success. The army of Lee, on the morning of June 13th, waked up to find no menacing foe, but one safely beyond pursuit, and in more threatening relation to the rebel cause than ever before; and the whole accomplished in about thirty-six hours.

Some of the greatest work of war is the least noisy. The grandest results in nature and in life are secured in silence. General Grant's safe removal, almost in the enemy's face, of his vast army, across rivers, and an enemy's country, to James River, was one of these rare and splendid achievements. It astonished General Lee, and came near costing him the great stronghold lying between the new base and Richmond. But re-enforcements reaching the city, our troops were forced to yeld in the struggle for the prize.

While this stupendous game of the war chieftains was in progress, a gentleman of high editorial position called on Mrs. Grant, when she was in New York—"a plain, sensible, quiet woman, who takes the world as a matter of course." He alluded to the high position of her husband, and appealed to her ambition to see how much vanity lurked under the unassuming surface. She listened; then, with no perceptible change in manner, replied:—

"'Mr. Grant' (so she always calls him) 'had succeeded

below, and, when he was called to this position, he thought it was *his duty* to try what he could do.'

"We then expressed a hope that he would succeed, and that he would take Richmond.

"'Well, I don't know. I think he may. Mr. Grant always was a very obstinate man.'"

The following conversation was had with another gentleman:—

"'If General Grant succeeds, he may want to be President.'

"'But he is Lieutenant-General.'

"'Yes; but when a man can be elected President, it must be a strong temptation.'

"'I don't know. There have never been but two lieutenant-generals of the United States—General Washington and General Scott. There have been a number of Presidents; for instance, such men as Frank Pierce and James Buchanan!'"

No, it would hardly be ambition which would lead a lieutenant-general to wish to be President.

Truly, "Mrs. Grant, you are a sensible woman, and Mr. Grant is an 'obstinate man.'"

About this time, the citizens of Jo Daviess County, Illinois, presented General Grant a sword, whose record gives a "bird's-eye" view of his military career to the beginning of June:—Palo Alto, May 8th, 1846; Resaca de la Palma, May 9th, 1846; Monterey, September 19th, 20th, 21st, 1846; Vera Cruz, April 18th, 1847; Molino del Rey, September 8th, 1847; City of Mexico, September 14th, 1847; Belmont, November 7th, 1861; Fort Henry, February 6th and 7th, 1862; Fort Donelson, February 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th, 1862; Shiloh, April 6th and 7th, 1862; Corinth siege, April 22d to May 20th, 1862; Iuka, September 19th, 1862; Hatchie, October 5th, 1862; Tallahatchie, December 1st, 1862; Port Gibson, May 12th, 1863; Black River Bridge, May 7th, 1863; Champion Hill, May 14th, 1863; Black River, May 17th, 1863; Vicksburg, July 4th, 1863; Chattanooga, November 23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th, 1863; Battles for Richmond, May 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, 1864.

On the 15th of June, General Smith led his battalions against Petersburg. The impression being general among our officers that there were but few troops in the forts, the design was to take the city before General Lee could re-enforce them. The assault carried the first line of intrenchments, but the rebels immediately called a large force from General Butler's front, while Lee hurried up additional columns from Richmond. The Second and Ninth Corps, during Thursday and Friday, took several redoubts, and the investing lines were drawn more closely around the beleaguered city, in nearly the form of a quarter of a circle. General Butler's Tenth and Eighteenth Corps were on the north of the Appomattox, looking toward Petersburg, on the eastward side, and the Potomac Army extended from that river across the Petersburg and Suffolk road, the left resting on Poo Creek. The siege of Richmond was fairly commenced. General Wilson, with a force of six thousand cavalry, was sent, June 22d, to destroy railroad communications, south of Petersburg and Richmond; and the Sixth Corps moved on the Weldon Railroad.

An incident related of General Grant, while the movements against the rebel capital were going forward, is certainly characteristic. He was walking around the docks at City Point, when he stopped to see some negroes roll a barrel of bacon on board of a boat. The negroes were unable to move it, when a crusty lieutenant, who stood near, dressed in his fine blue clothes, shouted: "You niggers, push harder, or go get another man to help you!" Without saying a word, General Grant pulled up his sleeves, and helped the negroes roll the barrel on the boat; then he drew his silk handkerchief from his pocket, and wiped his hands, and moved quickly away. You may imagine how that *second* lieutenant felt, when he was told that the stevedore was no less than the Commander-in-Chief of the United States armies. The general was dressed in coarse homespun, with his hat drawn over his eyes, and one of the most unpretending-looking personages one could imagine.

As if to cheer us in the quiet of our armies at home, June 14th, 1864, occurred a naval engagement, which sent

a thrill of wild exultation over the land. The famous and victorious pirate *Alabama*, which had been ordered by the French government to leave the port of Cherbourg, met the United States steamer *Kearsarge*, about seven miles from the harbor. The noble vessel was named after a lordly summit among the White Hills—one of the *body guards* of Mount Washington. It is pronounced there as if it were spelled *Keer-sarge.*

The combat was terrible. Balls and shell flew until the thunder of the ordnance shook the ships, and the smoke of the conflict hung darkly over the sea.

After an hour of lightning and hail from ship toward ship, the dark, bloody leviathan of treason began to reel before the blows of the *Kearsarge.*

A few moments later, and the waters closed over the pipes from which the breath of the monster's fiery heart had escaped.

The captain—the guilty Semmes—and his crew were saved from a watery grave, by the English yacht *Deerhound*, commanded by Captain Lancaster. Another evidence of English sympathy with the rebels, which has been mainly felt by the aristocratic classes there and elsewhere in Europe.

Week after week passed, with no important change in the aspect of the impending struggle. A rebel view of this suspense is interesting. The *Constitutionalist*, of Augusta, Georgia, frankly writes of General Grant's strong position, in an amusing way. It is an estimate of him, and a prophecy of the result of his siege:

"The second danger is of the siege of Richmond. Some of our cotemporaries, and the most of our correspondents, laugh at this; and yet Grant has it in his power to besiege the capital, or force an attack on himself, or force an evacuation of Richmond. Not that he has his choice of these three things, but can force that choice upon us. In Grant's moving upon the south of Richmond, and threatening James River near the city, General Lee has choice of two evils. If he keeps ahead of Grant, and holds the Petersburg line inviolate, that flanker necessarily gets between him and Richmond, and walks into the city at his leisure.

If Lee keeps between Richmond and Grant, the latter, of course, gets between him and the Southern States' communication, and cuts off the only source of supplies now left, as the valley of Virginia is in the hands of the enemy. If Lee wants to save Petersburg and Richmond both, he will have to attack Grant in one of his craw-fish movements, and will have to attack the position and intrenchments which the grand spade-and-pick army never exists an hour without.

"In our judgment, the plan of the campaign is at last developed. Western Virginia, the valley and its resources are, by the movement on Staunton and Lexington, to be rendered unavailing for provisions. Grant is to throw his army into fortifications across the railroads from Richmond south, and so cut off our army supplies. Thus the starvation of a siege will be as effectually secured as if an army could be found large enough to surround the legions of Lee, as Grant did General Pemberton; provided, of course, that the Danville road shares the fate that the Weldon road probably will. If General Lee chooses to stop the game by a fight, he has to put his finger on the slippery Grant, and stop his flea-like flankings; and, having found him and stopped him for a fight, will have to charge the hills Grant will occupy and the trenches Grant will dig. We lose Richmond if we hold the Weldon and Danville Railroads; we lose the railroads if we save Richmond; or we attack Grant in his mighty trenches if we try to save both. It is true that General Beauregard could still keep south of Grant, and prevent raids into South Carolina, but could not keep him from stopping the roads south, unless he has enough men to attack Grant in reverse, and place him between two fires. We hope Grant thinks he has. This is a game with no possible hindrance, perfectly plain to even such unmilitary comprehension as our own, and we respectfully submit that there is no fun in it."

To General Lee it was plain enough that something must be done to frighten, and, if possible, weaken General Grant. The confederates attempted, for the *third* time, the invasion of Maryland, making the Shenandoah Valley the

grand highway of the advance. The insurgent tide dashed proudly along, surprising Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and leaving it desolate, then occupying Hagerstown and Frederick, Maryland, till General Ewell approached the city of Baltimore, sending alarm to every home and heart. The design of the bold and terror-awakening movement was to call troops from General Grant's army, and, if possible, relax his hold upon Lee and Richmond. But "Mr. Grant is a very obstinate man," as Mrs. Grant said, and nothing could decoy or frighten him from his watching the prey, worthy of his eagle eye. He sent a single corps, the Sixth, which he could spare, to aid in protecting the nation's capital. With this contribution to her defense, General Grant determined to leave the trembling North to such help as the Department of the Gulf, and the loyal troops, including militia scattered through Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, could furnish. They were sufficient, if marshaled under able commanders, instead of remaining in four distinct military departments, whose leaders were unharmonious in feeling and counsel. The comprehensive genius of Grant at once saw the remedy. Of the Department of Washington, including the Capito[1] and Baltimore, with the region around; the Department of the Susquehanna, comprising Eastern and Central Pennsylvania and Eastern Maryland; the Department of Western Virginia, and of Northwest Virginia and Western Pennsylvania; and of the Middle Department, composed of the Shenandoah country and the region eastward to the Bull Run Mountains; the lieutenant-general proposed to make a military division to be called the Middle Military Division, and was subsequently known as the Military Division of the Shenandoah. To this unrivaled command, in extent and importance, General Grant assigned General P. H. Sheridan—a choice whose wisdom the future of his career brilliantly illustrated. The youngest major-general, he had no *superior;* he knew pre-eminently how to inspire with martial ardor and effectively handle large bodies of troops.

His command of this magnificent field was dated July 7, 1864. On that day he removed his head-quarters to

Harper's Ferry. Meanwhile General Early had moved up the Shenandoah valley laden with plunder, and rejoicing in the prospect of a holiday march through the garden of Virginia toward freedom's soil. Sheridan at once prepared to contest the right to such pastime at the expense of the dear cause of the Republic. Onward the rebels swept toward Maryland, burning and pillaging as they went. This was early in July.

On the 3d, the President issued a call for three-months troops to repel invasion.

On the 8th, the rebels attacked Hagerstown, Maryland, and sacked the city.

On Saturday, the 9th, a battle took place between the forces under General Wallace and the rebels at Monocacy, commencing at nine o'clock in the morning, and continuing until five in the afternoon, when, overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy, our forces were obliged to retreat in disorder, with severe loss. The fighting on both sides was desperate, much of it being hand to hand in an open field. The enemy advanced in three lines of battle, covered by their batteries, but were for hours kept at bay by our artillery. Our loss was probably one thousand in killed, wounded, and missing. General Tyler was captured, and several officers were killed. No guns or flags were lost. The strength of the enemy was some fifteen thousand, while that of General Wallace was only five thousand.

The intelligence of General Wallace's defeat occasioned the greatest excitement in Baltimore. The bells were rung, the citizens mustered for service in the defenses, and every possible precaution taken for the protection of the city. At midnight on Saturday, Governor Bradford and Mayor Chadman issued a proclamation, declaring the city to be in imminent danger, and calling on every loyal citizen to prepare at once to avert the peril. During the whole of Sunday the city was under arms, and the work of erecting additional defenses went vigorously forward. At one time a report reached the city that the rebels were but seven miles distant; but later accounts do not seem to confirm the statement. A proclamation was also issued on Sunday

by Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, appealing to the people to come forward for the defense of their State.

On Sunday morning, a force of four or five hundred rebel cavalry dashed into Rockville, Maryland, sixteen miles from Washington, and, after plundering the stores and stealing all the cattle and horses they could find, left in the direction of Frederick; but, before they left, they sent to the Virginia side all their plunder. Persons who came from the upper fords reported that the rebels were conveying large numbers of cattle, horses, hogs, and sheep, stolen from the farmers along the river, across into Virginia, and that every ford was held by small rebel cavalry forces and sections of batteries. They carried off several thousand head of cattle, and from eight hundred to one thousand valuable horses.

The Northern Central Railroad, running from Baltimore to Harrisburg, was cut near Cockeysville, twelve miles north of Baltimore.

On Monday the rebels made rapid progress toward Baltimore and Washington, being within seven miles of the former city, and six miles of the capital.

On their approach to Baltimore, they burned the residence of Governor Bradford, three miles from that city, completely to the ground, stating that they had orders to do so from General Bradley Johnson, in retaliation for the destruction of Governor Letcher's house in Virginia, by General Hunter.

Telegraphic communication between Washington and Baltimore was cut, leaving the States north in awful suspense respecting the result of the bold invasion.

On the evening of July 12th, a charge was made upon the enemy in front of Fort Stevens, and our line was advanced beyond the house of F. P. Blair, sen., thus driving the rebels from their position. In this charge we had three hundred killed and wounded, and the rebel loss exceeded ours.

The arrival of (General Burnside's) veteran troops at the capital was timely, and the enemy retired across the Potomac during the night.

The only success of their invasion of Maryland was

the acquisition of supplies of all kinds, which they took off in large quantities. While in the possession of Frederick, the rebels levied a fine of two hundred thousand dollars, which was paid to save the city from destruction. They swept the surrounding country of horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, driving large herds toward the Potomac.

The President remarked one day, during the attack upon Fort Stevens, to a friend who was somewhat alarmed at the tardiness of General Grant in forwarding troops to the capital:—

"General Grant has as much at stake as any man in the country in the management of the campaign. He knows very well, if the rebels should capture Washington, that not even the fall of Richmond would compensate for the national calamity and disgrace. He would lose his reputation as a general. He knows it; and I shall trust him."

General Franklin was captured in the cars near Baltimore. He was taken to a rebel encampment, and put in charge of guards. He lay down, tired with the hard and rapid travel, and feigned sleep. He listened, and took a peep, now and then, to see if *they* slept.

One after another, supposing he was in deep slumber, they gave themselves up to repose.

General Franklin then stole cautiously away, making noise enough to be sure the guards were not *deceiving him*, till he was over a fence not far off; then, he assures us—and we may believe him—he *ran* for his life and liberty. In the daytime he hid in the bushes, and could hear the enemy near.

At length hunger and fatigue compelled him to show himself. Soon he saw a man in the woods carrying hay. He walked up boldly and asked him what he was doing with that hay.

"Oh, I am trying to conceal it from the rebs., who are leaving nothing they can take away."

This answer gave him hope. Making himself known, he was cared for by the Union farmer, and escorted into Baltimore.

July 26th, General Grant made another movement of his army, which displayed the strategy of the great *flanker*.

A part of his host were ordered to the north of James River; pressing thus upon the enemy gradually, but surely, with his anaconda-like coil.

The next day, a line of outer intrenchments and four cannon were captured.

The 29th was a dark day for Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. A cavalry raid of the rebels laid the beautiful town in ruins. Many of the people, who, just before, were in the midst of plenty, had not a meal left nor a change of apparel.

July 30th, early in the morning, there was an unusual stir at the head-quarters of General Burnside. Unknown to all excepting the engineers and a few officers, General Grant had been successfully mining one of the enemy's main batteries. It was in General Burnside's front. At half-past three the fuse was fired. But it burned slowly in the long, damp entrance. Soon after four o'clock a loud report startled the enemy. Another moment, and the air was filled with earth, and timbers, and men. Successive shocks, like those of an earthquake, shook the land. Then opened a terrific cannonading. A hundred guns thundered along the lines, and toward the breach, forty rods in width, rushed our heroic "boys."

Colonel Marshall, of the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery, promptly led the two brigades of the first division, the second, followed by the first, under the command of Brigadier-General Bartlett, of Massachusetts; the troops springing over the breastworks of our main line, and hastening toward the breach. The advancing columns found the abatis and other outside defenses remaining to obstruct their progress. The battery was destroyed, and in its place a frightful chaos of broken guns, equipage, and human bodies, was seen.

Meanwhile opened an enfilading fire upon our troops, compelling them to pause in the resolute attempt to advance. At six o'clock, General Ferero moved to the right of the other divisions for Seminary Hill. The march was steady, until the men were in line with those who had preceded them, when under a wasting fire they turned to the left, and mingled with the rest of the troops. A thousand

of the colored soldiers went tumbling over the parapet into the crater, already thronged, formed by the explosion. The enemy now prepared to meet the attack by massing all their available force. Those of our own troops who attempted to regain the main line found the open ground over which they passed swept by the enemy's fire. When our batteries grew silent at nine o'clock, the rebels came from their intrenchments and charged upon the position we had gained, and finally succeeded. An hour later a second charge was made, and General Bartlett was compelled, at length, to surrender.

It is quite evident that only to veteran troops should have been entrusted such an enterprise, and wherever the fault of a failure to capture the strongly fortified place may be laid by different writers, it is evident, from their losses in that breach of death, the "slaughter pen" it became, *the negroes were no cowards.*

Their losses are very heavy, particularly in officers, as will be seen by the following figures:

TWENTY-THIRD U. S. COLORED.—Fifteen officers killed and wounded; four hundred men, including the missing.

TWENTY-EIGHTH U. S. COLORED.—Eleven officers, and about one hundred and fifty men killed, wounded, and missing.

TWENTY-SEVENTH U. S. COLORED.—Six officers and about one hundred and fifty men killed, wounded, and missing.

TWENTY-NINTH U. S. COLORED.—Eight officers, and about two hundred and seventy-five men killed, wounded, and missing.

THIRTY-FIRST U. S. COLORED. — Seven officers, and about two hundred men killed, wounded, and missing.

FORTY-THIRD U. S. COLORED.—Six officers, and a large number of men killed, wounded, and missing.

THIRTY-NINTH U. S. COLORED.—Several officers, and about two hundred and fifty men killed, wounded, and missing.

The loss in the Second Division of the Ninth Corps,

General Ledlie commanding, was very severe, and is estimated at from one thousand to twelve hundred, while many make the figure larger.

Among the missing, was the name of General Bartlett. He succeeded in reaching the fort with his command, but, having accidentally broken his cork leg, he was unable to get off the field. He, however, held possession of the ground for several hours, and only surrendered when all hope of escape was gone. Some two hundred men, both black and white, were with him at the time, a few of whom managed to get back to our lines amid a storm of bullets.

The high hope of a great victory which was kindled with the first telegram that flew over the North was quenched by the next tidings of a repulse.

The rebels had, to some extent, prepared for such an attack. From their works they were able to pour an enfilading fire upon our troops, before which they could not stand.

The golden opportunity that followed the terror of the explosion which laid open the works to our army was lost. *Why*, was the unanswered question. But no one suspected General Grant of any blame in this great failure, which prolonged the terrible war.

Oh, what a sad sight was that, after the fruitless slaughter! Wrote one who was there:

"After the battle of Saturday, General Burnside sent a flag of truce to the enemy with a view to recovering the wounded and burying the dead lying between the lines, and whom it had been impossible to approach owing to the continued firing. After some little signaling, the rebels acknowledged and came forward to meet it. The communication was received and forwarded by them to the authority with whom the power rests. Our officers sought permission to succor the wounded while waiting, and it was granted. Accordingly, the poor fellows, who had been lying on the ground nearly twenty-four hours—a portion of the time in the blazing sun—were given each a drink of brandy and water. The crater of the mined fort was plainly in view; but the rebels refused to allow any approach to it, and the wounded near it were supplied by

the rebels themselves. The agonies of the wounded were awful. Unable to move, not daring to make even a signal, lest it would attract an unfriendly bullet, they had lain twenty-four hours without food or water. The two past days had been the warmest, as yet, of this summer, and they were subjected to the merciless rays of a scorching sun. The dead presented a sickening sight. There were both white men and negroes; but now it is difficult to distinguish them apart. Their bodies were swollen and bloated, and their faces blackened by the sun.

"Although the rebels refused a flag of truce on Sunday, to enable us to bury the dead and remove the wounded, from five to nine o'clock on Monday was granted for this purpose. Very few were found alive—not more than a dozen; and but a few of these are expected to recover. The ground in front of the crater was thickly covered with the dead bodies, the colored soldiers being in the proportion of four to one of the white, the colored troops having experienced the heaviest fire at this place. The work of burying the dead was finished about half-past ten, and firing was commenced by the rebels ten minutes afterwards."

A week later, General Lee tried the underground work, to see what he could accomplish. General Grant was too wide awake for the wary chieftain. He had sunk a shaft, which our men thought was a *well* for General Warren's corps, which went right into one of the enemy's passages.

This discovery, with poor engineering by the rebels, which failed to estimate rightly the distance, spoiled their plot.

The cannon suddenly opened—the dust and smoke rose *outside* of our works, and *that was all!*

On the 4th day of August, the following noble order was read to the army:

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, *August* 3, 1864.

To-morrow, the 4th inst., having been set apart by the President of the United States as a day of National fasting, humiliation, and prayer, the Major-General commanding calls upon his fellow-soldiers to observe the day with the solemnities due to the occasion; and he recommends that, wherever practicable, religious services be held in the several camps by the chaplains serving with the army; and he commands that all operations that are not matters of military necessity be suspended during the day.

By command of Major-General MEADE.

The very next day, Admiral Farragut, or "Old Salamander," entered Mobile Bay in triumph, having conquered the rebel fleet and silenced the forts at its entrance, after a brilliant engagement.

The 18th brought a decisive change in the movements of the Potomac Army. General Grant threw his troops across the Weldon Railroad—a very important path of supplies toward the South. The enemy fought hard to dislodge our brave fellows, but General Warren beat him back in gallant style.

The chivalrous Hancock, the incarnation of heroism, who was helping to destroy the railroad, on the 25th had a terrible battle; but—as he always does—held his ground, and slaughtered the rebels.

During these scenes on the Potomac, the splendid chieftain Sherman was coiling his great army around Atlanta, Georgia, another important center of rebel supplies and munitions of war.

Just before his death, which occurred in battle, near that stronghold, July 22d, the brave and brilliant General McPherson, who was familiarly acquainted with both the Lieutenant-General and Sherman, wrote to a friend respecting these great commanders.

"Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant I regard as one of the most remarkable men of our country. Without aspiring to be a genius, or possessing those characteristics which impress one forcibly at first sight, his sterling good sense, calm judgment, and persistency of purpose, more than compensate for those dashing, brilliant qualities which are apt to captivate at a first glance. To know and appreciate General Grant fully, one ought to be a member of his military family.

"Though possessing a remarkable reticence as far as military operations are concerned, he is frank and affable, converses well, and has a peculiarly retentive memory. When not oppressed with the cares of his position, he is very fond of talking, telling anecdotes, &c.

"His purity of character is unimpeachable, and his patriotism of the most exalted kind. He is generous to a fault, humane and true, and a steadfast friend to those whom he

deems worthy of his confidence, and can always be relied upon in case of emergency.

"Major-General W. T. Sherman is what might be called a brilliant man, possessing a broad and comprehensive intellect. A rapid thinker and ready writer, fertile in his resources and untiring in his exertions, he possesses those characteristics which forcibly impress you at first sight. He has mingled largely with the world, and has tried various professions; has read and reflected much, and, having a remarkably retentive memory, is well informed on most subjects which come within the scope of human thought. He is of a much more excitable temperament than General Grant, and more apt to be swayed by impulses, though his judgment is not so cool and reliable. In other words, though a more brilliant man, he does not possess that sterling *good common sense* which pre-eminently distinguishes General Grant.

"He is, however, a most brave and generous man, thoroughly in earnest, and ready to sacrifice every thing for the good of his country. He is a true friend, and thoroughly unselfish; and there are no better men—or few, at least—than General Sherman."

How touchingly beautiful, in connection with this high testimony, is the correspondence which follows:

CLYDE, OHIO, *August* 3, 1864.

TO GENERAL GRANT:

DEAR SIR:—I hope you will pardon me for troubling you with the perusal of these few lines from the trembling hand of the aged grandma of our beloved General James B. McPherson, who fell in battle. When it was announced at his funeral, from the public print, that when General Grant heard of his death he went into his tent and wept like a child, my heart went out in thanks to you for the interest you manifested in him while he was with you. I have watched his progress from infancy up. In childhood he was obedient and kind; in manhood, interesting, noble, and persevering, looking to the wants of others. Since he entered the war, others can appreciate his worth more than I can. When it was announced to us by telegraph that our loved one had fallen, our hearts were almost rent asunder; but when we heard the Commander-in-Chief could weep with us too, we felt, sir, that you have been as a father to him, and this whole nation is mourning his early death. I wish to inform you that his remains were conducted by a kind guard to the very parlor where he spent a cheerful evening in 1861 with his widowed mother, two brothers, an only

sister, and his aged grandmother, who is now trying to write. In the morning he took his leave at six o'clock, little dreaming he should fall by a ball from the enemy. His funeral services were attended in his mother's orchard, where his youthful feet had often pressed the soil to gather the falling fruit; and his remains are resting in the silent grave scarce half a mile from the place of his birth. His grave is on an eminence but a few rods from where the funeral services were attended, and near the grave of his father.

The grave, no doubt, will be marked, so that passers by will often stop and drop a tear over the dear departed. And now, dear friend, a few lines from you would be gratefully received by the afflicted friends. I pray that the God of battles may be with you, and go forth with your arms till rebellion shall cease, the Union be restored, and the old flag wave over our entire land.

With much respect, I remain your friend,

LYDIA SLOCUM,
Aged 87 years and 4 months.

GENERAL GRANT'S REPLY.

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U. S.,
CITY POINT, VA., *Aug.* 10, 1864.

MRS. LYDIA SLOCUM:

MY DEAR MADAM:—Your very welcome letter of the 3d instant has reached me. I am glad to know that the relatives of the lamented Major-General McPherson are aware of the more than friendship existing between him and myself. A nation grieves at the loss of one so dear to our nation's cause. It is a selfish grief, because the nation had more to expect from him than from almost any one living. I join in this selfish grief, and add the grief of personal love for the departed. He formed, for some time, one of my military family. I knew him well; to know him was to love. It may be some consolation to you, his aged grandmother, to know that every officer and every soldier who served under your grandson felt the highest reverence for his patriotism, his zeal, his great, almost unequaled ability, his amiability, and all the manly virtues that can adorn a commander. Your bereavement is great, but cannot exceed mine.

Yours truly, U. S. GRANT.

The exact posture of affairs then was clearly expressed in the subjoined letter to the Hon. Mr. Washburne, of Illinois:

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE U. S.,
CITY POINT, VA., *Aug.* 16, 1864.

DEAR SIR:—I state to all citizens who visit me, that all we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union is a determined unity of sentiment North.

The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons or intrenched positions. A man lost by them

cannot be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them, the end is not far distant, if we will only be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is in a divided North. This might give them re-enforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quietly enforced, the enemy would become despondent, and would make but little resistance.

I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the Presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects. They hope a counter-revolution. They hope the election of the peace candidate. In fact, like Micawber, they hope for something to "turn up." Our peace friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would be but the beginning of war, with thousands of Northern men joining the South because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have "peace on any terms," the South would demand the restoration of their slaves already freed; they would demand indemnity for losses sustained, and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave hunters for the South; they would demand pay for, or the restoration of, every slave escaped to the North.

Yours truly, U. S. Grant.

At the dedication of the National Cemetery, July 4th, 1863, General Grant was among the mourners before the terraces of graves, which reminded none more impressively than himself of the sacrifice which had been made for the life of the nation; for he had seen the battle-fields strewn with dead heroes, and knew not when his own body would be added to the silent host of freedom's slain warriors.

During this month of July, closing in the Potomac Army with the affair of the Petersburg mine, General Sherman had been "marching along" in grand style. At the end of June, he had driven Johnston from Allatoona Pass, Pine, Kenesaw, and Lost Mountains, compelling, after a fierce and fruitless battle, by the skillful maneuver of a movement of General McPherson's whole corps toward the Chattahoochie, the evacuation of Marietta on the 2d of July.

The enemy was strongly intrenched on the west bank of the river. Another of Sherman's flanking victories forced him across the Chattahoochie to the east side, where,

on the 7th, General Schofield found him, and, by the surprise of the rebel commander, captured a gun, and bridged the stream. Johnston had to leave General Sherman in possession of the river, and fall back upon Atlanta.

General Sherman now sent a cavalry force to cut Johnston's railroad communication with Southern Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi; and then commenced the forward march of the army.

General Hood succeeded Johnston on the 17th, and assaulted suddenly and desperately the Union lines, but after a bloody struggle had to leave the field for his intrenchments. Then came the repeated blows of Hood's columns upon those of Sherman, until his men lay by thousands beneath the smoke of battle. General Stoneman's failure in his cavalry raid toward Lovejoy's Station and Andersonville, and McCook's gallant escape from capture with Stoneman, brought the record of General Sherman's columns to July 28th. General Hood threw himself upon General Logan's corps, again determined to break the threatening circle of Union troops narrowing about him.

This was followed by the masterly movement of General Sherman upon West Point Railroad, and thence to the Macon Road, deceiving his antagonist, who supposed the siege of Atlanta was raised, and General Sherman trying to save his own communications between Allatoona and Chattanooga, and resulting in the abandonment of Atlanta, to save the rebel chief's own lines of connection with supplies.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CLOSING SCENES OF THE WAR.

The vast Combinations of the Lieutenant-General unfolding.—The Hollowness of the Confederacy.—General Sheridan's Successes.—General Thomas.—General Sherman's startling Campaign.—The Beginning of the New Year.—General Lee.—Fort Steadman.—The closing Battles and Scenes of the Rebellion.—General Lee's Flight.—The Pursuit.—The Surrender.—Sherman and Johnston.—Johnston surrenders.—The remaining Rebel Forces follow.

THE great net-work of armies General Grant was gathering around his foe, and which would soon be felt wherever he turned for escape, began to appear. The magnificent Thomas was waiting his hour to strike in Tennessee; General Sherman fixing his stern vision on the sea beyond Georgia; General Sheridan taking care of Early; and the Commander-in-Chief confronting confidently and calmly the rebel leader.

The great work in the extensive field during September and October was done in the Valley of the Shenandoah. The 19th of each of those months is among the forever-memorable days of the war.

The first, because General Sheridan won fairly a splendid victory over the boastful Early at Opequan Creek, followed by another not less brilliant at Fisher's Hill; the latter on account of the solitary glory of conquest snatched from defeat by the power of the chieftain's single re-enforcement—the inspiration of his return to the scene of disaster.

The deeds of "Cavalry Sheridan" thrilled the popular heart afresh, and placed the victor's name next to that of the Lieutenant-General in the great arena of strife directly under his control. The President sent his letter of congratulation to General Sheridan; and, November 14th, upon General McClellan's resignation of his command, the hero of the Shenandoah Valley succeeded him to the

major-generalship in the Regular army, the appointment dating from the 8th of the same month. This was a high and substantial compliment to heroism and ability, whose last and unrivaled work was the triumph with a routed army on the 18th of October.

General Early's chagrin over his defeat was betrayed in an order to his troops, in which he bitterly reproaches them for their "misconduct."

In view of all these tokens of divine favor upon our arms, our Christian President issued the following call, and the first since the war opened, to national praise for Jehovah's blessing upon the national cause :—

It has pleased Almighty God to prolong our national life another year, defending us with His guardian care against unfriendly designs from abroad, and vouchsafing to us in His mercy many and signal victories over the enemy, who is of our own household. It has also pleased our Heavenly Father to favor as well our citizens in their homes as our soldiers in their camps, and our sailors on the rivers and seas, with unusual health. He has largely augmented our free population by emancipation and by immigration, while He has opened to us new sources of wealth, and has crowned the labor of our workingmen in every department of industry with abundant rewards. Moreover He has been pleased to animate and inspire our minds and hearts with fortitude, courage, and resolution sufficient for the great trial of civil war into which we have been brought by our adherence as a nation to the cause of freedom and humanity, and to afford to us reasonable hopes of an ultimate and happy deliverance from all our dangers and afflictions.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, do hereby appoint and set apart the last Thursday of November next as a day which I desire to be observed by all my fellow-citizens, wherever they may be, as a day of thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God, the beneficent Creator and Ruler of the universe. And I do further recommend to my fellow-citizens aforesaid, that on that occasion they do reverently humble themselves in the dust, and from thence offer up penitent and fervent prayers and supplications to the Great Disposer of events for a return of the inestimable blessings of peace, union, and harmony, throughout the land which it has pleased Him to assign as a dwelling-place for ourselves and for our posterity throughout all generations.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The remaining weeks of the year 1864 were spent by the armies in the Shenandoah Valley in watching each other and skirmishing. Torbert's Cavalry had encounters

with the troops of Rosser and Lomax, sometimes of severity, which, on a smaller field of arms than our Republic, would have been called battles. But we soon learned to regard as unworthy that distinction any thing less than the meeting, in deadly conflict, several thousands of the half million of troops, and the slaughter of hundreds, at least, of the combatants.

General Early moved "uneasily up and down the Valley," seeking reprisals, an assailable point in the Union lines, or *rest*, and finding neither. His *promenade-ground* extended from New Market, situated a mile east of the north fork of the Shenandoah, near the southwest border of the county which bears the name of the stream, and Fisher's Hill. He did not venture near enough to the ever-ready "Phil." to turn the trooper's steed toward his depleted force. And then poor Lee, held by the inflexible Grant, and chafing in the grasp, must have all the available aid, and called for a portion of Early's troops in December.

Meanwhile tidings came to Sheridan that the guerrillas were infesting the beautiful valley of the Blue Ridge, and their bullets flying wherever a Unionist showed himself—the unpitied target of the murderous bandits. The indignant chieftain decided to *burn out* the beasts of prey, as he had done before. So he summoned his troopers to the work; and dashing away to the fearful duty of retribution, you might have followed them afar off by the columns of smoke by day, under which at night blazed a hundred fires of wrath upon the skulking homicides of treason.

Two expeditions resulted in the destruction or capture of property valued at more than seven millions of dollars. The droves of cattle, horses, mules, sheep, and swine, were almost endless, and seemed quite so when they moved along the forest paths. The guerrillas fled to the Upper Potomac, and other points more or less remote.

During the last month of the year the Sixth Corps was sent back to re-enforce the Army of the Potomac. Until late in February, the Army of the Shenandoah had but little fighting to do, but rested and kept a vigilant eye on the movements of the adversary. At this moment the war

was reaching a decisive crisis. General Sherman was marching triumphantly through the Carolinas. Truly "Sherman, Schofield, and Sheridan seemed to be the three S's of the hour."

Meanwhile, there had been important movements in the Army of the Potomac. General Ord had crossed the James, October 29th, and carried the enemy's works at Chapin's Farm; and General Birney, advancing to Deep Bottom, took the New Market Road; while General Kautz made a cavalry reconnoissance within two miles of Richmond. The next day General Meade stormed the rebel line of intrenchments at Poplar Springs Church. Darkness settled with the fading glories of autumn upon the Confederacy, in every part of the horizon. Upon its last days, the Napoleonic Sherman "broke camp," and set his army-front toward the distant sea.

His army consisted of four corps of infantry, two divisions of cavalry, four brigades of artillery, and two horse-batteries. Brevet Major-General Jeff. C. Davis commanded the Fourteenth Corps; Brevet Major-General Osterhaus the Fifteenth Corps; Major-General Frank Blair the Seventeenth Corps; and Major-General Slocum the Twentieth Corps. Major-General Kilpatrick was in command of the cavalry.

General Thomas was left "to entice Hood westward and fight him, if he would fight in the neighborhood of Nashville." The disastrous defeat of Hood at Franklin, November 30th, succeeded by the greater one at Nashville December 15th, finished the valiant successor of Johnston.

The whole North was startled and half bewildered, when General Sherman's colors entered the Georgia forests, "pointing south," with the sublimely awful torchlight of burning Atlanta lighting his path, whose walls he had left November 16th, in company with the Fourteenth Corps. General Howard commanded the right wing, which was accompanied by Kilpatrick's cavalry, and reached Jackson on the 17th, and Gordon's Woods on the 23d.

General Slocum led the left wing to the vicinity of Milledgeville on the 21st of November. Along the paths

of the army, railways had been destroyed, and forage in abundance taken to supply the columns.

He now ordered General Howard to strike eastward from Gordonsville, tearing up the iron track toward Millen, as far as Tennille Station; General Slocum to march by two roads on Sandersonville, four miles north of the former place; and General Kilpatrick to move from Gordon to Milledgeville, and eastward, breaking up the railroad between Millen and Augusta, and, falling upon Millen, rescue, if possible, the Union prisoners starving there. But the poor victims of rebel hate were hurried away at the approach of their friends.

General Sherman took up his head-quarters with the Twentieth Corps, and the imposing cavalcades, stretching for scores of miles across the soil of Georgia, cut loose from the anxious North, to which they became for weeks, emphatically, "THE LOST ARMY."

Into funereal cypress swamps, and primeval pine woods, whispering to fancy's ear of war's desolations, and the tearful watchers at home—through cold rivers, and treacherous quicksands; then over sunny fields and by elegant mansions, around which were clustered slave cabins, whose humble tenants, when they dared to do so, hailed the "Yankee" army—the veteran and cheerful battalions of the peerless Sherman marched toward the sea.

Leaving the record of the martial aspect of the unrivaled campaign to the pen of the daring leader, whose record will be given its fitting connection, we shall here chronicle some of the romantic incidents of the wonderful march.

The diary of Aid-de-camp Nichols, on General Sherman's staff, is full of both amusing and touching incidents of the march. He writes:—

"The most pathetic scenes occur upon our line of march daily and hourly. Thousands of negro women join the column, some carrying household truck; others, and many of them there are, who bear the burden of children in their arms, while older boys and girls plod by their sides. All these women and children are ordered back,

heart-rending though it may be to refuse them liberty. They won't go. One begs that she may go to see her husband and children at Savannah. Long years ago she was forced from them and sold. Another has heard that her boy was in Macon, and she is 'done gone with grief goin' on four years.'

"The other day a woman with a child in her arms was working her way along amongst the teams and crowds of cattle and horsemen. An officer called to her kindly: 'Where are you going, aunty?'

"She looked up into his face with a hopeful, beseeching look, and replied:—

"'I'se gwine whar you'se gwine, massa.'

"At a house a few miles from Milledgeville we halted for an hour. In an old hut I found a negro and his wife, both of them over sixty years old. In the talk which ensued, nothing was said which led me to suppose that either of them was anxious to leave their mistress, who, by the way, was a sullen, cruel-looking woman, when all at once the old negress straightened herself up, and her face, which a moment before was almost stupid in its expression, assumed a fierce, almost devilish, aspect.

"Pointing her shining black finger at the old man, crouched in the corner of the fire-place, she hissed out: 'What for you sit dar? you spose I wait sixty years for nutten? Don't yer see de door open? I'se follow my child; I not stay. Yes, nodder day I goes 'long wid dese people; yes sar, I walks till I drops in my tracks.' A more terrible sight I never beheld. I can think of nothing to compare with it, except Charlotte Cushman's Meg Merrilies. Rembrandt only could have painted the scene, with its dramatic surroundings.

"It was near this place that several factories were burned. It was odd to see the delight of the negroes at the destruction of places known only to them as task-houses, where they had groaned under the lash.

"Pointing to the Atlanta and Augusta Railroad, which had been destroyed, the question was asked, 'It took a longer time to build this railroad than it does to destroy it?'

"'I would think it did, massa; in dat ar woods over

dar is buried ever so many black men who were killed, sar, yes, killed, a working on dat road—whipped to deth. I seed em, sar.'

"'Does the man live here who beat them?'

"'Oh no, sar, he's dun gone long time.'

"I have seen blind and lame mules festooned with infants in bags, and led by fond parents so aged and weak they could hardly totter along. 'Mars'r Sherman was a great man, but dis am de work ob de Lord,' they said."

The swampy borders were belted with "corduroy," and their heavy fogs hung over the halting columns. At evening the spectacle was weird-like in its wild romance. "A novel and vivid sight was it to see the fires of pitch-pine flaring up into the mist and darkness, the figures of men and horses looming out of the dense shadows in gigantic proportions. Torchlights are blinking and flashing away off in the forests, while the still air echoed and re-echoed with the cries of teamsters and the wild shouts of the soldiers. A long line of the troops marched across the foot-bridge, each soldier bearing a torch, their light reflected in quivering lines in the swift-running stream. Soon the fog, which settles like a blanket over the swamps and forests of the river bottoms, shut down upon the scene, and so dense and dark was it that torches were of but little use, and men were directed here and there by the voice."

Not far from this spot the troops encountered a singular character. He had been dépôt-master before the railroad was destroyed—a shrewd, intelligent old man, so far as the war is concerned. He said to the soldiers: "They say you are retreating, but it is the strangest sort of retreat I ever saw. Why, the newspapers have been lying in this way all along. They allers are whipping the Federal armies, and they allers fall back after the battle is over. It was that ar' idee that first opened my eyes. Our army was allers whipping the Feds., and we allers fell back. I allers told 'em it was a humbug, and now I know it, for here you are right on old John Wells's place; hogs, potatoes, corn, and fences all gone. I don't find any fault. I expected it all.

"'Jeff. Davis and the rest,' he continued, 'talk about splitting the Union. Why, if South Carolina had gone out by herself, she would have been split in four pieces by this time. Splitting the Union. Why, the State of Georgia is being split right through from end to end. It is these rich fellows who are making the war, and keeping their precious bodies out of harm's way. There's John Franklin went through here the other day running away from your army. I could have played dominoes on his coat tails. There's my poor brother, sick with small-pox at Macon, working for eleven dollars a month, and hasn't got a cent of the stuff for a year. Eleven dollars a month, and eleven thousand bullets a minute. I don't believe in it, sir.

"'My wife came from Canada, and I kind o' thought I would some time go there to live, but was allers afraid of the ice and cold; but I can tell you this country is getting too hot for me. Look at my fence rails burning there. I think I can stand the cold better.

"'I heard as how they cut down the trees across your road up country and burn the bridges; why, one of your Yankees can take up a tree and carry it off, tops and all; and there's that bridge you put across the river in less than two hours—they might as well try to stop the Ogeechee as you Yankees.

"'The rascals who burnt this yere bridge thought they did a big thing; a natural born fool would have more sense than any of them.

"'To bring back the good old time,' he said, 'it'll take the help of Divine Providence, a heap of rain, and a deal of hard work, to fix things up again.'"

While the sun of December 21st was ascending to the zenith, General Sherman rode at the head of his enthusiastic columns, with music and banners enlivening the magnificent scene, into the broad, quiet streets of Savannah, followed by his wing-commanders, the gallant Howard and Slocum. Hour after hour the tramp of Union soldiers echoes on the pavements, until at length, in mansions, public buildings, and tents, the exultant host settled down into comparative repose. The next day the wires of the

telegraph transmitted to the President this laconic message:—

SAVANNAH, GA., *December* 22, 1864.

His Excellency President LINCOLN:

I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton.

W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General.

A few days later, the friends of General Sherman, in Columbus, Ohio, called a public meeting to mature a plan for raising a sufficient sum to present him with a substantial testimonial of gratitude and regard. The object is given in a letter from the Lieutenant-General to the committee, worthy of him and his greatest general:—

DEAR SIRS:—I have just this moment received your printed letter in relation to your proposed movement in acknowledgment of one of Ohio's greatest sons. I wrote only yesterday to my father, who resides in Covington, Kentucky, on the same subject, and asked him to inaugurate a subscription to present Mrs. Sherman with a house in the city of Cincinnati. General Sherman is eminently entitled to this mark of consideration, and I directed my father to head the subscription with five hundred dollars for me, and half that amount from General Ingalls, chief quartermaster of this army, who is equally alive with myself to the eminent services of General Sherman.

Whatever direction this enterprise in favor of General Sherman may take, you may set me down for the amount named. I cannot say a word too highly in praise of General Sherman's services from the beginning of the rebellion to the present day, and will therefore abstain from flattery of him. Suffice it to say, the world's history gives no record of his superiors, and but few equals.

I am truly glad for the movement you have set on foot, and of the opportunity of adding my mite in testimony of so good and great a man.

Yours, truly, U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

The dying year left Hood's army, which was to march through Indiana and Ohio, scattered like autumn leaves; Price routed in Missouri; "Breckinridge checkmated in East Tennessee;" General Canby preparing to take Mobile; while General Grant held Lee firmly in his grasp.

The heavens were blackening above "rebeldom," and the last red bolts ready to fall upon the fabric of treason. Still the civil leader and his military chief fanned expiring

hope among the people, with the breath of new promise of near success.

The year 1865 brought fresh victories. General Terry redeemed General Butler's failure at Fort Fisher, and "Wilmington was no longer the artery to feed the heart of the rebellion. Sherman was on his second irresistible march. He was penetrating South Carolina. Charleston had dropped into our arms without the loss of a man, and the invincible army of the West was moving by rapid marches toward North Carolina and Virginia. Lee foresaw the end, but he was powerless. He did not dare to detach any large force from in front of Grant. That General was watching for such a movement on the part of his adversary, and such a movement would insure the fall of Richmond. Lee was helpless. Grant was his master, and the rebel chief tacitly acknowledged it. The spring campaign was at hand, and Sherman rapidly approached through North Carolina, driving Johnston, his old opponent in Georgia, back at every step. Rebel affairs daily became more critical, yet what could Lee do but wait? When Grant saw proper to open the ball, then Lee might be able to decide as to his course—not before. His army was composed of the best fighting material, and it numbered fully sixty thousand men, and was protected by a line of fortifications of the most formidable nature."

General Lee hoped that his antagonist would order an assault on these intrenchments, but soon found that the man who had outgeneraled him, from the moment the Richmond game was opened, would not attempt so great a risk, to hurry the approaching catastrophe of the Confederacy.

Lee must do something to break the dreadful spell of suspense and dread, to escape from which his troops were deserting in companies. January 24th, he surprised our forces with a naval movement that was really no mean plot, but threatened to us serious disaster. Three ironclads, accompanied by as many wooden vessels and torpedo-boats, floated down the James River, steering for City Point. Could they pass the batteries and seize that

place, our supplies would be cut off, and the programme of General Grant's ripening plans be deranged, perhaps broken up entirely. The absence of our gunboats, which were with Commodore Porter, favored success. But, providentially, the iron-clads got aground, and ended the spasmodic effort of the dying monster of secession to renew its life, by drawing afresh the blood of the Republic.

March, 1865, all our armies were in motion. Canby was operating with a powerful force against Mobile, aided by the fleet; General Wilson, with ten thousand picked cavalry, moved from Eastport on an expedition through Alabama; Sherman and Schofield were nearing the borders of Virginia from the South. Conscious of his peril, Lee resolved to take the initiative, and, by a bold stroke, drive Grant from his works.

On the 25th, therefore, the Confederate Chief made an assault on Fort Steadman. His General, Gordon, led three divisions in a sudden dash upon the works, which were so near their own that it was easy to rush upon them before the design could be discovered, and overpower the garrison. In a few moments three of the five batteries were turned against the Union troops. The next day dawned upon the burnished steel of General Hartranft's reserves, whose heroic charge reversed the order of things speedily, and placed in his hands nearly three thousand prisoners.

And now opened the work of slaughter among the rebels. Across the field over which they were compelled to move in their return to their own works, the guns of our adjacent forts were pointed, and mowed down the flying ranks like grain before the blade of the reaper. Hardly had the first thunder of the massive hail gone over the plain before three thousand of the enemy were piled upon it, ghastly, bleeding, dead, and dying.

Lee learned dearly that vigilance and readiness for any emergency, as far as possible in any of the chances of war, were characteristic of his sleepless foe, and abandoned further attempts to dislodge him.

The withdrawal of Gordon's men for this attack had weakened the extreme left at Hatcher's Run, and General Grant ordered an advance in that direction, gaining and

holding strong positions, and extending our lines toward the Southside Railroad. The loss to the Union Army at Hatcher's Run was six hundred and ninety; and that of the enemy, according to the estimate of the Lieutenant-General, sixteen hundred.

The Second Corps, which was near the center, was ordered to improve on the rebel defeat at Fort Steadman, and pushed forward before Fort Fisher, taking the intrenched picket line of the rebel army, whose right rested on the Weldon road. Our Ninth Corps confronted Petersburg; between which and the Second lay the Sixth and Twenty-fourth. Beyond the latter was the Fifth, with Sheridan's cavalry to look after the enemy's right, and, if possible, sweep around it, and fall on the flank and rear of the enemy.

While these events were transpiring, President Lincoln reached General Grant's head-quarters, and received just such a welcome as a great and magnanimous mind would extend to another whose ability and goodness were the admiration of the world, and between whom and himself existed the most perfect sympathy in the mighty work committed so largely to their hands. On Saturday, the 25th, after the battle already recorded, with Generals Grant and Meade, he visited the field, and remarked, while his eye glanced over the arena of conquest, referring to a display which it was designed should honor his coming, "This is better than a review."

On Tuesday, the 28th, President Lincoln, Generals Grant, Meade, Sherman, Sheridan, and Ord, held a council of war on board the steamer *River Queen*, at City Point.

At its close, General Sherman hastened back to his marching columns. The concentration of troops now went forward, to close around the tottering fortunes of the rebellion, and hasten their downfall.

The Second Corps advanced along the Vaughan road, and the Fifth, over by-roads, took a position farther on, striking the same road. Skirmishing followed near Gravelly Run, succeeded by a brisk fight, ending by the enemy's retiring with the loss of one hundred prisoners.

Sheridan was on the extreme left, at Dinwiddie Court-House, and beyond it.

Thursday the rain flooded every thing, and the advance was difficult, and comparatively small.

But on Friday, the 31st, and the two following days, General Grant's whole line was in the fight again, and his telegrams reported its progress to the President at City Point, whose messages to the War Department, while in constant communication with his Lieutenant, are a simple and comprehensive account of the momentous issues of the deepening and decisive struggle of the spring campaign.

CITY POINT, VA., *March* 31, 1865—8:30 P. M.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

At 12:30 p. m., to-day, General Grant telegraphed me as follows:—

"There has been much hard fighting this morning. The enemy drove our left from near Dabney's House back, well toward the Boydtown plank-road. We are now about to take the offensive at that point, and I hope will more than recover the lost ground."

Later he telegraphed again as follows:—

"Our troops, after being driven back on to the Boydtown plank-road, turned round and drove the enemy in turn, and took the White Oak road, which we now have. This gives us the ground occupied by the enemy this morning. I will send you a rebel flag captured by our troops in driving the enemy back. There have been four flags captured to-day."

Judging by the two points from which General Grant telegraphs, I infer that he has moved his head-quarters about one mile since he sent the first of the two dispatches.

A. LINCOLN.

WASHINGTON, *April* 1—11 P. M.

Major-General J. A. DIX, New York:—

The following letter from the President, received to-night, shows the desperate struggle between our forces and the enemy continues undecided, although the advantage appears to be on our side.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

"CITY POINT, VA., *April* 1—5:30 P. M.

"Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

"A dispatch just received shows that Sheridan, aided by Warren, had at two o'clock p. m. pushed the enemy back so as to retake the Five Forks, and to bring his own head-quarters up to Boissua. The Five Forks wa barricaded by the enemy, and was carried by Devin's division of cavalry. This part of the enemy seems to be working along the White Oak roa to join the main forces in the front of Grant, while Sheridan and Warren ar pressing them as closely as possible.

"A. LINCOLN."

WASHINGTON, *April* 2—6 A. M.

Major-General DIX, New York:—

A dispatch just received from General Grant's Adjutant-General, at City Point, announces the triumphant success of our armies, after three days of hard fighting, during which the forces on both sides exhibited unsurpassed valor.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

"CITY POINT, *April* 2—5:30 A. M.

"EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

"A dispatch from General Grant states that Sheridan's cavalry and infantry have carried all before them, capturing three brigades of infantry, a wagon train, and several batteries of artillery. The prisoners captured will amount to several thousand.

"T. C. BOWERS, A. A.-G."

WASHINGTON, *April* 2—11 A. M.

Major-General DIX, New York:—

The following telegram from the President, dated at 8:30 this morning, gives the latest intelligence from the front, where a furious battle was raging, with continued success to the Union arms.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

"CITY POINT, VA., *April* 2—8:30 A. M.

"Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

"Last night General Grant telegraphed that General Sheridan, with his cavalry, and the Fifth Corps, had captured three brigades of infantry, a train of wagons, several batteries, and several thousand prisoners. This morning General Grant, having ordered an attack along the whole line, telegraphs as follows:—'Both Wright and Parke got through the enemy's lines. The battle now rages furiously. Sheridan, with his cavalry, and the Fifth Corps, and Miles's division of the Second Corps, which was sent to him since one o'clock this morning, is now sweeping down from the west. All now looks highly favorable. General Ord is engaged, but I have not yet heard the result in his front.'

"A. LINCOLN."

WASHINGTON, *April* 2—12:30 P. M.

Major-General DIX, New York:—

The President, in the subjoined telegram, gives the latest news from the front.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

"CITY POINT, VA., *April* 2—11 A. M.

"Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

"Dispatches come in frequently. All is going on finely. Generals Parke, Wright, and Ord, extending from the Appomattox to Hatcher's Run, have all broken through the enemy's intrenched lines, taking some forts, guns, and prisoners. Sheridan, with his cavalry, Fifth Corps, and part of the Second, is coming in from the west, on the enemy's flank, and Wright is already tearing up the South Side Railroad.

"A. LINCOLN."

WASHINGTON, *April* 2.

Major-General DIX, New York:—

The following telegrams from the President report the condition of affairs at half-past four o'clock this afternoon.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

"CITY POINT, VA., *April* 2—2 P. M.

"To Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

"At 10:45 a. m., General Grant telegraphs as follows: 'Everything has been carried from the left of the Ninth Corps. The Sixth Corps alone captured more than three thousand prisoners. The Second and Twenty-fourth Corps both captured forts, guns, and prisoners from the enemy. I cannot tell the number.

"'We are now closing around the works of the line immediately enveloping Petersburg. All looks remarkably well.' I have not yet heard from Sheridan. His head-quarters have been moved up to T. Banks's house, near the Boydtown road, about three miles southwest of Petersburg.

"A. LINCOLN."

"CITY POINT, VA., *April* 2, 1865—8:30.

"Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

"At 4:30 p. m., to-day, General Grant telegraphs as follows:

"'We are now up, and have a continuous line of troops, and in a few hours will be intrenched from the Appomattox below Petersburg to the river above.

"'The whole captures since we started out will not amount to less than twelve thousand men, and probably fifty pieces of artillery.

"'I do not know the number of men and guns accurately, however.

"'A portion of Foster's division of the Twenty-fourth Corps made a most gallant charge this afternoon, and captured a very important fort from the enemy, with its entire garrison.

"'All seems well with us, and every thing is quiet just now.'

"A. LINCOLN."

All Saturday night the cannonading thundered on, and in its dread music councils were held over the final acts of the national tragedy. There was evidently a weakening all along the bristling lines which for a year had guarded the fortunes of the rebellious South. The only question was, where to strike the yielding barrier to freedom's march.

For, should General Lee mass his forces at any point during the night, and our advancing columns meet him there, a repulse might throw them back again from the unbroken lines. To prevent such a miscarriage, it was arranged to assault with the Ninth Corps in front of Peters-

burg, to draw Lee's forces that way, and leave it more open to an assault by the Sixth, Twenty-fourth, and Second Corps. So thoroughly did our taciturn leader deceive those who were watching his movements, that newspaper correspondents reported a projected raid to Burkesville by Sheridan; an attempt to reach the Southside road, and other plans which had no place in the Chieftain's brain.

His purpose was, within the circuit of a day, to lay before the nation's eye the hopelessly severed army of the rebellion.

At four o'clock in the morning of Sunday, April 2d, the Ninth Corps reflected, from bayonets which had been often stained with the blood of victory, the early beams of day, the herald glow of greater triumphs near. General Parke was close to Petersburg, having Wilcox on his right resting upon the Appomattox; Hartranft in the center, and Potter with the Second Division on the left. According to the plan of attack, General Wilcox, to make a feint, crept along to the very walls of the fort, and, at the word of command, the First Division broke the morning stillness with their old shout, and dashed forward; in fifteen minutes they were within the works, and the bewildered garrison of fifty men with their four guns captured. Hartranft and Potter followed with a similar onset under cover of the darkness, and without firing a gun cut the rebel line, seizing four forts, twenty-seven guns, and several hundred prisoners. The next moment the ordnance were playing upon the ranks of the fugitive foe.

The Sixth Corps, under General Wright, advanced at the same time, and, when the signal was given to storm, Seymour, Wheaton, and Getty repeated in their front the deeds of the gallant Ninth. The sun of that Sabbath rose upon a glorious 'beginning of the end' of rebellion.

Two hours later, the Second and Twenty-fourth Corps, commanded by Generals Ord and Gibbon, moved across the rough and gullied ground, and over the rebel lines.

The Second Corps, on the opposite side of Hatcher's Run also pressed forward through the well-nigh impassable slashing, and up the declivity—a march seldom surpassed in its difficulties and success—in spite of them all.

The First Rhode Island Artillery also did their work grandly, and by eight o'clock the rebel line, from Appomattox to Burgess's Mill was completely crushed in, and the Sixth Corps had swung around to the west of the doomed city. The Twenty-fourth Corps was on the march from Hatcher's Run, within the enemy's line, and the Second Corps moving the same way on the Boydtown road.

At this triumphant crisis, General Grant left his headquarters at Dabney's Mills, and rode past his exultant columns, whose repeated cheers and wild hurrahs rang over the tranquil but rejoicing leader, as he surveyed the field, to comprehend fully its unfinished work.

Nine o'clock brought with its vernal splendor some of the grandest scenes of the struggle. The battle-tides dashed fiercely against each other, hour after hour—rebel batteries pouring death into our ranks, suddenly turned upon their own—until across the first of the enemy's interior lines there was a pause. The Twenty-fourth Corps now entered the arena from the left, to participate in the thickening strife of the day which was sealing the fate of the rebellion. Never did war present a sublimer and yet a sadder spectacle than during this brief lull in the contest.

Treason's lion-like leader was driven within his last narrow limits, around which were floating the Union banners, and over these, eclipsing the light of the sun, lay, as far as the eye could see, the blue clouds of battle-smoke, while the more graceful columns from burning mansions rose all over the landscape, and were drifted away on the balmy breath of Spring.

During the pause, General Grant had matured his design for prosecuting the day's great work. The bugle notes rang over the field and reopened again the onset of Grant's waiting battalions, moving in three columns upon each selected fort. Over the intrenchments rushed the boys in blue, some of their number constantly returning with their captives in butternut; not unfrequently a single man leading a dozen or more to the rear. On the right, the Ninth Corps were bravely resisting the enemy, who

were apparently determined to recover the ground they had lost, but whose object was to get as safely and soon as possible from Petersburg. General Potter was mortally wounded. Here was a closely contested position; but with the loss of one fort the enemy was beaten back. "Before noon, in plain view and easy range of the third interior line of Lee, we were moving in column, as if on a gala-day parade; and so in truth it was; the Army of the Union in joyful attendance on the funeral of the rebellion.

At this hour not a sound came from the field, not a gun was speaking anywhere, not a shout heard on all the line. The rebel lines were as hushed as our own. Their guns looked down frowningly upon us from the huge forts in which they were encased; but not one of them spoke; not a horse neighed, not a drum or bugle sounded. Not one of the ammunition-wagons moving hither over the sandy soil of the undulating landscape gave forth a sound. The whole field was stilled as if in death. Suddenly one of the guns upon the fort, on the rebel left, belched forth a dull report. A wreath of rising smoke, the bursting of a shell, and all was still again. The next moment another, then another, then three guns opened in a continuous roar. They were attempting to retard the march of three of our brigades gaining the shelter of a small skirt of timber upon their left, from which to assault them. Vain hope! The columns move on, paying them not even the compliment of a moment's pause, or of a gun in reply. Poor Lee! struggling like a child in the hand of a giant determined to destroy him.

It soon became evident that Lee was retreating across the Appomattox. Our sentinels from their signal-towers saw the up-springing flame in the city fired by rebel hands, and the departing columns darkening the pontoon bridges above the city. In anticipation of this, to cut off the rebel chief's retreat, the Second and Fifth Corps had been sent to the Appomattox.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, the bugles again sounded the storming of the remaining forts. Within two hours General Meade had a highway cleared to the city. On the right, the fort taken from us was again captured by

General Collis's brigade. Before four o'clock, the fortunes of the day were decided. After all his unwearied watchfulness, General Lee had been suddenly overwhelmed; his fifteen well-mounted forts were gone, and all the evidences of an unexpectedly hasty farewell to Petersburg were left in the wake of his retreating columns. Generals Grant and Meade took up head-quarters three miles west of the city, which was now a worthless relic of a long siege. Then followed the terrible explosion of the rebel rams *Virginia* and *Rappahannock*, shaking the ground for miles around like the wave of an earthquake, signaling the last deeds of self-destruction. General Ord, when called to Petersburg, left, on the north side of the James, General Weitzel, with a division of the Twenty-fourth Corps and two divisions of the Twenty-fifth, which were not employed in active service during Sunday's battle. That night there was great activity among the rebels till darkness concealed them, and their regimental bands filled the air with music. General Weitzel's troops gave a similar concert till the hour of midnight, when silence settled upon the contending armies. The thunder of the exploding rams came to Weitzel's ear with no doubtful meaning. He said to himself, "Lee is evacuating Richmond." He looked away toward the proud capital, and saw the heavens flushed with the suicidal fires kindled by the maddened leaders of revolt, from whose grasp it had been wrung. Having orders to push on whenever assured that a way was opened to the city, he impatiently waited for the morning to light a reconnoissance to its walls. The Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry dashed forward as soon as their arms could reflect the beams of day, and soon returned to report deserted camps and a flying foe.

Jeff. Davis had learned the impending fate of his capital, while at church on the Sabbath, and, rising, hastened to gather his personal effects and make his escape. The way to Richmond was open. Southwest of Petersburg had been found the key that had unlocked its stubborn gates, and Weitzel was instantly on the road. Let his own dispatch tell the story:—

CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, *April* 3—11 A. M.

General Weitzel telegraphs as follows:—

"We took Richmond at 8:15 this morning. I captured many guns. The enemy left in great haste.

"The city is on fire in one place. We are making every effort to put it out.

"The people received us with enthusiastic expressions of joy.

"General Grant started early this morning, with the army, toward the Danville road, to cut off Lee's retreating army, if possible."

President Lincoln has gone to the front.

(Signed) T. S. BOWERS, Assistant Adjutant-General.
E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

"And so Richmond fell! Richmond, the capital of the so-called Confederacy; the city which for four years baffled all efforts for its reduction. Thanks to the genius of Grant and a favoring Providence, the rebellion was now in the last throes of dissolution. Right and justice were again vindicated, and the long, weary, and bloody war for the Union, the Constitution, and the perpetuity of American liberty was rapidly drawing to a close. The chief of the rebellion was a fugitive, his main army was broken and flying, and there remained now no hope in his mind, or those of his followers, that the Union could ever be overthrown, and a Southern Confederacy established."

"On Sabbath morning, April 2d, 1865, amidst the roar of artillery, and the crash, and flame, and smoke of burning houses, the great rebellion died. Richmond and Petersburg were captured. Hundreds of guns, and thousands of prisoners taken. Lee's army shattered, broken, and scattered to the four winds! This is the history of the day. The turning point of the magnificent movement was the battle fought by Sheridan at Five Forks Saturday afternoon, with his cavalry and the Fifth Corps. The battle was, practically, Longstreet's ruin. Fifty-seven hundred prisoners and three batteries of artillery were the material trophies of the victory, but the moral results were of far greater importance. Our loss in the battle was severe. The only general officer lost was Brevet Brigadier-General Winthrop, commanding the First Brigade of General Ayers's division of the Fifth Corps; one of those chivalrous soldiers New England sent into the war.

SHERIDAN'S GREAT VICTORY AT THE FIVE FORKS.

"The battle was fought and won in Sheridan's accustomed style. Custer, Devins, and Davis, of the cavalry corps, Griffin, Ayers, Crawford, and Bartlett, of the Fifth Corps, won new laurels in the fight, and the enemy was driven pell-mell from his last Virginia battle-field, with heavy loss in killed and wounded.

"Longstreet, after his defeat, fled, first north and then westward, probably with the hope to effect a junction with Johnston in North Carolina.

"Going from their right to left, the three divisions of Hill's corps were holding the line from the Boydtown road below Burgess's Mill, to opposite the centre of the Sixth Corps, where it joined with Gordon, who held from that point around Petersburg to the Appomattox River.

"Time now became the essential element of the situation, and, to fully comprehend the rapid changes that followed, it is necessary to bear in mind not days, but hours and minutes."

The prompt and vigorous pursuit of General Lee's flying and broken ranks is seen in General Grant's dispatch of April 4th:—

WILSON'S STATION, VIRGINIA, *April* 4, 1865.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

The army is pushing forward, in the hope of overtaking or dispersing the remainder of Lee's army.

Sheridan, with his cavalry and the Fifth Corps, is between this and the Appomattox, General Meade, with the Second and Sixth, following; General Ord following the line of the South Side Railroad. All of the enemy that retain any thing like organization have gone north of the Appomattox, and are apparently heading for Lynchburg, their losses having been very heavy.

The houses through the country are nearly all used as hospitals for wounded men. In every direction I hear of rebel soldiers pushing for home, some in large and some in small squads, and generally without arms. The cavalry have pursued so closely that the enemy have been forced to destroy probably the greater part of their transportation, caissons, and munitions of war.

The number of prisoners captured yesterday will exceed two thousand. From the 28th of March to the present time, our loss, in killed, wounded, and captured, will probably not reach seven thousand, of whom from fifteen hundred to two thousand are captured, and many but slightly wounded.

I shall continue the pursuit as long as there appears to be any use in it.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

What a war-race was that of which this telegram was a

signal along the way! General Lee hurried on, keeping the north side of the Appomattox, and General Grant the opposite side, both having for the immediate goal Burke's Station, fifty-three miles from Petersburg, where the South Side and Danville Railways have their junction.

General Custer's Third Division was in the cavalry advance. On the troops swept toward Namozine Church, where two roads meet, one leading to Lynchburg, the other across the Appomattox to Amelia Court-House, skirmishing, and passing emptied caissons surrounded by fire to explode them, wagons, ambulances, cartridges, and the wrecks of a routed army, with wounded horses and mules adding their ghastly and mute suffering to the dismal scene.

Wells's second brigade of Custer's troops came up with Barrenger's rebel cavalry, which turned to fire on the New York Eighth, while without a pause he charged and scattered the hostile horsemen. The other brigades did a similar exciting service, the men in high glee, because chasing the fugitive Confederacy to its "last ditch."

Barrenger's brigade were on the left of the Appomattox, and tried at each ford to cross and rejoin Lee's main army. Night brought to rest the column, whose pursuit for twenty miles had been uninterrupted, and rewarded with three hundred and fifty prisoners, two flags, and four cannon.

April 4th, McKenzie's division took the advance, followed by the First Division, with Custer's in the rear. Near midnight of that day, the cavalry were aroused, General Custer leading, and marched all night, reaching Jettersville, where the Fifth Corps was lying across the Danville road, fifty-four miles southwest of Richmond. Here the tidings of General Lee's progress to Amelia Court-House were received.

On the 5th of April, General Custer's division, with artillery, was on the left of the Fifth Corps.

General Sheridan dispatched Davies's brigade, of General Crook's division, to seize the junction at Burkesville, and disperse any rebel force he might find there. At Fame's Cross-roads the enemy was encountered, and lost five handsome Armstrong guns, and other material of war, with battle-flags, and several hundred prisoners. The gallant Colonel Jancey was killed.

At three o'clock General Sheridan heard of the news, and sent this original and significant dispatch to Genera Grant :—

JETTERSVILLE, *April* 5, 1865—3 P. M.

To Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT :—

GENERAL :—I send you the inclosed letter, which will give you an idea of the condition of the enemy and their whereabouts. I sent General Davies's brigade this morning around on my left flank. He captured at Fame's Cross five pieces of artillery, about two hundred wagons, and eight or nine battle-flags, and a number of prisoners. The Second Army Corps is now coming up. I wish you were here yourself. I feel confident of capturing the Army of Northern Virginia, if we exert ourselves. I see no escape for Lee. I will send all my cavalry out on our left flank, except McKenzie, who is now on the right.

Signed, P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General.

"AMELIA COURT-HOUSE, *April* 5, 1865.

"DEAR BRAMMIA :—Our army is ruined, I fear. We are all safe as yet. Theodore left us sick. John Taylor is well; saw him yesterday. We are in line of battle this evening. General Robert Lee is in the field near us. My trust is still in the justice of our cause. General Hill is killed. I saw Murray a few moments since. Bernard Perry, he said, was taken prisoner, but may get out. I send this by a negro I see passing up the railroad to Michlenburgh. Love to all. Your devoted son,

"W. B. TAYLOR, Colonel."

The Second Corps had come up, and went into position. Sheridan had written to Grant: "I see no escape for Lee. I will put all my cavalry out on our left flank, except McKenzie, who is now on the right." This he proceeded to do. Slight skirmishing in the afternoon now foretold the attack of the morrow. But we must trace the progress of the infantry to the new field of battle.

The Fifth was in pursuit Monday morning, the 3d, shortly after the cavalry, and at two o'clock was in sight of the Appomattox.

Indications of hasty flight were everywhere visible, the contrabands having the country to themselves, and joining, with lively demonstrations of joy, the Union army.

This day's march was sixteen miles, and that of the next, twenty, terminating at Jettersville, where earthworks were thrown up, but no fires kindled, that the enemy, only from five to ten miles distant, might not guess the proximity of the pursuers.

Behind the Fifth, marched the Second; and next to it, the Sixth; the latter two corps moving under the direction of General Meade.

Foraging supplied the exhausted rations, in striking contrast with the retreats of the Peninsular campaign, when rebel food was guarded; and, at two o'clock on the 4th, all those corps reached Jettersville.

General Sheridan posted the troops to meet an attack from Lee, but none was made.

General Ord's column of the Army of the James, with which General Grant also moved, marched on the Cox road, which runs direct to Burkesville. Nine miles from Burkesville a halt was contemplated, but General Sheridan's dispatch reached General Grant, and the Twenty-fourth Corps was hurried forward, at eleven o'clock camping at Burkesville Junction. General Grant was already there.

The Ninth had charge of the army trains, and on the 6th was ten miles from Burkesville, with one brigade of the Second Division thrown forward to the Junction.

On the 6th of April, occurred the decisive victory of Deatonsville. On the night previous, the army lay in line of battle, stretching across three or four miles of country and facing substantially northward. Custer's division of cavalry lay on the right flank and McKenzie's on the left flank. The infantry line was formed with the Sixth Corps on the right, the Fifth in the center, and the Second on the left. Next morning began our maneuvers. The Sixth Corps was transferred from the right to the left. The whole army had before noon marched about five miles on the road to Deatonsville, six miles distant from Jettersville. The enemy was retreating towards Painesville, which was the next town westerly from Amelia Court-House to Lynchburg. Our cavalry, however, was there before him. The battle at Deatonsville and Painesville left nothing for Lee to do but to surrender. This he did, and on the 9th of April, 1865, the whole Army of Northern Virginia passed into the record of things that were.

We add the correspondence which passed between General Grant and General Lee:—

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *April* 9, 1865—9 o'clock P. M.

To Major-General DIX, New York:—

This Department has received the official report of the surrender, this day, of General Lee and his army to Lieutenant-General Grant, on the terms proposed by General Grant.

Details will be given as speedily as possible.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
April 9—4:30 P. M.

"Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

"General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia this afternoon upon the terms proposed by myself. The accompanying additional correspondence will show the conditions fully.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

THANKS TO GENERAL GRANT AND THE ARMY.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
April 9—9:30 P. M.

Lieutenant-General GRANT:—

Thanks be to Almighty God for the great victory with which he has this day crowned you and the gallant armies under your command.

The thanks of this Department, and of the Government, and of the people of the United States—their reverence and honor have been deserved—will be rendered to you and the brave and gallant officers and soldiers of your army for all time.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

SALUTES ORDERED.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.,
April 9—10 o'clock P. M.

Ordered: That a salute of two hundred guns be fired at the head-quarters of every army and department, and at every post and arsenal in the United States, and at the Military Academy at West Point, on the day of the receipt of this order, in commemoration of the surrender of General R. E. Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia to Lieutenant-General Grant, and the army under his command; report of the receipt and execution of this order to be made to the Adjutant-General, Washington.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

THE CORRESPONDENCE.

CLIFTON HOUSE, VA., *April* 9, 1865.

Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

The following correspondence has taken place between General Lee and myself. There has been no relaxation in the pursuit during its pendency.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

GENERAL GRANT TO GENERAL LEE.

April 7, 1865.

General R. E. Lee, Commander C. S. A.:—

General:—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the C. S. army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. Grant,

Lieutenant-General Commanding Armies of the United States.

GENERAL LEE TO GENERAL GRANT.

April 7, 1865.

General:—I have received your note of this date. Though not entirely of the opinion you express of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer, on condition of its surrender.

R. E. Lee, General.

To Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant, Commanding Armies of the United States.

GENERAL GRANT TO GENERAL LEE.

April 8, 1865.

To General R. E. Lee, Commanding Confederate States Army:—

General:—Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of same date, asking the conditions on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia is just received.

In reply, I would say that peace being my first desire, there is but one condition that I insist upon, viz.:—

That the men surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged.

I will meet you, or designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. Grant,

Lieutenant-General Commanding Armies of the United States.

GENERAL LEE TO GENERAL GRANT.

April 8, 1865.

General:—I received at a late hour your note of to-day in answer to mine of yesterday.

I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Vir-

ginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender. But, as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desire to know whether your proposals would tend to that end.

I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but, so far as your proposition may affect the Confederate States forces under my command, and lead to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at ten A. M., to-morrow, on the old stage-road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, General Confederate States Armies.

To Lieutenant-General GRANT, Commanding Armies of the United States.

GENERAL GRANT TO GENERAL LEE.

April 9, 1865.

General R. E. LEE, Commanding C. S. A.:—

GENERAL:—Your note of yesterday is received. As I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace, the meeting proposed for ten A. M., to-day, could lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself; and the whole North entertain the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed.

Sincerely hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General U. S. A.

GENERAL LEE TO GENERAL GRANT.

April 9, 1865.

GENERAL:—I received your note of this morning on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposition of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army.

I now request an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, General.

To Lieutenant-General GRANT, Commanding United States Armies.

GENERAL GRANT TO GENERAL LEE.

April 9, 1865.

General R. E. LEE, Commanding Confederate States Armies:—

Your note of this date is but this moment (11:50 A. M.) received.

In consequence of my having passed from the Richmond and Lynchburg road to the Farmville and Lynchburg road, I am at this writing about four

miles west of Walter's Church, and will push forward to the front for the purpose of meeting you.

Notice sent to me on this road where you wish the interview to take place will meet me.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

THE TERMS.

APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, *April* 9, 1865.

General R. E. LEE, Commanding C. S. A.:—

In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit:—

Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer designated by me, the other to be retained by such officers as you may designate.

The officers to give their individual paroles not to take arms against the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands.

The arms, artillery and public property to be packed and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage.

This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to their homes, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they may reside.

Very respectfully,

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
April 9, 1865.

Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT, Commanding U. S. A.:—

GENERAL:—I have received your letter of this date, containing the terms of surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you; as they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. E. LEE, General.

April 9, 1865!—Proud and memorable day! Its declining sun shone upon an impressive scene at Appomattox Court-House, in Virginia. There the able and haughty chieftain of the rebellion surrendered, to our unpretending, noble Grant, the whole Army of Northern Virginia—the last hope of the seceded States.

General Lee's losses, in the battles around Petersburg and in the pursuit, were over ten thousand men in killed and wounded, and twenty thousand men in prisoners and deserters, including those taken in battle, and those picked up in pursuit; including all arms of the service, teamsters, hospital force, &c., from sixteen to eighteen thousand men were surrendered. There were only fifteen thousand muskets and about thirty pieces of artillery, consequently the available fighting force could not have reached much above fifteen or twenty thousand men. Our total captures of artillery during the battles and pursuit, and at the surrender, amounted to about one hundred and seventy guns. Three or four hundred wagons were also surrendered.

In the agreement for surrender, the officers gave their own paroles, and each officer gave his parole for the men within his command. The following is the form of the personal parole of officers, copied from the original document given by Lee and a portion of his staff:—

We, the undersigned, prisoners of war belonging to the Army of Northern Virginia, having been this day surrendered by General R. E. Lee, commanding said army, to Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding the armies of the United States, do hereby give our solemn parole of honor that we will not hereafter serve in the armies of the Confederate States, or in any military capacity whatever, against the United States of America, or render aid to the enemies of the latter, until properly exchanged in such manner as shall be mutually approved by the respective authorities.

R. E. Lee, General.
W. H. Taylor, Lieutenant-Colonel and A. A.-G.
Chas. S. Venable, Lieutenant-Colonel and A. A.-G.
Chas. Marshall, Lieutenant-Colonel and A. A.-G.
H. E. Praton, Lieutenant-Colonel and Ins.-General.
Giles Booke, Major and A. A. Surgeon-General.
H. S. Young, A. A.-General.

Done at Appomattox Court House, Va., this ninth (9th) day of April, 1865.

The parole is the same given by all officers, and is countersigned as follows:—

The above-named officers will not be disturbed by United States authorities as long as they observe their parole, and the laws in force where they may reside.

George H. Sharp, General Assistant Provost-Marshal.

The obligation of officers for the subdivisions under their command is in form as follows:—

I, the undersigned, commanding officer of ——, do, for the within-named prisoners of war, belonging to the Army of Northern Virginia, who have been this day surrendered by General Robert E. Lee, Confederate States Army, commanding said army, to Lieutenant-General Grant, commanding armies of the United States, hereby give my solemn parole of honor that the within-named shall not hereafter serve in the armies of the Confederate States, or in military or any capacity whatever against the United States of America, or render aid to the enemies of the latter, until properly exchanged in such manner as shall be mutually approved by the respective authorities.

Done at Appomattox Court-House, Va., this 9th day of April, 1865.

The within-named will not be disturbed by the United States authorities so long as they observe their parole and the laws in force where they reside.

The surrender of Lee was followed by that of the troops in the Shenandoah Valley voluntarily, with few exceptions. Among the commanders were Generals Moseby and Rosser; the latter, you will recollect, tried his generalship on the rear of Sheridan's army, near Fisher's Hill. Oh! how the tidings, flying on lightning wing, set the bells ringing at midnight of that Sabbath! Men wept and shouted for joy even before the dawn of the morning. Then came the marches of glad processions, with music and banners, and the crowded sanctuaries with prayer and praise. Never, perhaps, before did such a tide of grateful, jubilant gladness sweep over a nation, half of whose families were in mourning for the slain heroes. A Christian Republic was exultant, but giving God the glory! Meanwhile, the peerless Sherman, after a brief rest in his Southern marches, April 10th, the day after General Lee's surrender, started after his old antagonist, Johnston. Kilpatrick, on that day, moved his cavalry out on the road to Raleigh, and next day, the 11th, the infantry started in very light marching order. The march was, however, quite deliberate and easy, as the railroad, broken up by the enemy between Raleigh and Goldsboro', was to be repaired. On the 13th, Raleigh was reached, and occupied with only a slight skirmish on the outskirts, Johnston fall-

THE SURRENDER OF GENERAL LEE TO GENERAL GRANT.

ing back toward Hillsboro'. The enemy had destroyed his small navy-yard at Halifax, on the Roanoke, in consequence of the surrender of Lee. A ram and a gunboat, partially completed, were burned. On the 15th, news came to the same place that Governor Vance was captured by our cavalry between Hillsboro' and Raleigh, on the 13th instant.

After the terms of the surrender were arranged, General Grant immediately left the army for Washington, without stopping to visit the fallen Capital, or pausing longer by the way than was requisite for refreshment. On the 13th of April, 1865, he reached Washington, established his head-quarters, and went to the War Department, where he met the President and Secretary Stanton. He assured them that the rebellion was virtually at an end, and that the Government might at once cut down its expenses. That evening the Secretary telegraphed the following important dispatch northward, the first that bore to the nation the welcome news that peace was at hand :—

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON,
April 13—6 P. M.

To Major-General DIX, New York:—

The Department, after mature consideration and consultation with the Lieutenant-General upon the results of the recent campaign, has come to the following determinations, which will be carried into effect by appropriate orders to be immediately issued.

First.—To stop all drafting and recruiting in the loyal States.

Second.—To curtail purchases for arms, ammunition, quartermaster and commissary supplies, and reduce the military establishment in its several branches.

Third.—To reduce the number of general and staff officers to the actual necessities of the service.

Fourth.—To remove all military restrictions upon trade and commerce, so far as may be consistent with public safety.

As soon as these measures can be put in operation, it will be made known by public order.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

General Grant remained at the Capital, to assist the Government in reducing the expenses of the military departments.

To gratify the multitude, and enjoy needed relaxation,

the President attended Ford's Theater on the evening of April 14th. He was no patron of dissipation, or of amusements which are represented by the corrupt modern stage. He said, when hesitating about going that night, "*If I do not go, the people will be disappointed.*" He went, and the telegrams which flew over the land told the result.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *April* 15—1:30 A. M.

Major-General DIX, New York:—

This evening, at about 9:30 P. M., at Ford's Theatre, the President, while sitting in his private box with Mrs. Lincoln, Miss Harris, and Major Rathburn, was shot by an assassin, who suddenly entered the box and approached behind the President. The assassin then leaped upon the stage, brandishing a large dagger or knife, and made his escape in the rear of the theatre. The pistol ball entered the back of the President's head and penetrated nearly through the head. The wound is mortal. The President has been insensible ever since it was inflicted, and is now dying.

About the same hour, an assassin, whether the same or not, entered Mr. Seward's apartments, and, under pretense of having a prescription was shown to the Secretary's sick chamber. The assassin immediately rushed to the bed and inflicted two or three stabs on the throat and two on the face. It is hoped the wounds may not be mortal. My apprehension is that they will prove fatal. The nurse alarmed Mr. Frederick Seward, who was in an adjoining room, and he hastened to the door of his father's room, when he met the assassin, who inflicted upon him one or more dangerous wounds. The recovery of Frederick Seward is doubtful. It is not probable that the President will live through the night.

General Grant and wife were advertised to be at the theatre last evening, but he started to Burlington at six o'clock.

At a Cabinet meeting, at which General Grant was present, the subject of the state of the country and the prospect of a speedy peace were discussed. The President was very cheerful and hopeful, and spoke very kindly of General Lee and others of the Confederacy, and of the establishment of government in Virginia.

All the members of the Cabinet, except Mr. Seward, are now in attendance upon the President. I have seen Mr. Seward, but he and Frederick were both unconscious.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *April* 15.

Major-General DIX:—

Abraham Lincoln died this morning at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

The nation was stunned; then broken-hearted. Such

demonstrations of grief have no parallel in the world's history—so manifold, profound, and general, attending the tidings even in distant lands. The funeral ceremonies on the 19th were of the most impressive character.

The evidence adduced at the trial of Payne and his associate conspirators clearly proved that it was their design to murder General Grant during the evening. The dagger which Booth flourished was undoubtedly intended for him. Providence did not permit the additional crime, and General Grant was spared to his country. On learning of the assassination of President Lincoln, he returned to Washington, attended the funeral of his noble friend, and was one of the mourners who followed the remains to the Capitol.

During these scenes, General Sherman had opened negotiations with General Johnston for the formal surrender of his army. But the terms, which, without the assassin's exhibition of the *animus* of the rebellion, would have been deemed too liberal, though undesignedly so by the brave Sherman, were rejected by the Government, in the hands of the new President, with feelings of horror and grief, awakened by the terrible tragedy. General Grant was ordered to take the field, and on April 26th followed the surrender of General Johnston to General Sherman, on the same conditions as those accorded to Lee. The transaction finely illustrated the magnanimity of General Grant's char acter, and his high opinion of the gifted hero of the Georgia campaign. The Lieutenant-General in a few modest words, on April 26th, recounted the last great capitulation:—"Johnston surrendered the forces in his command, embracing all from here to Chattahoochie, to General Sherman, on the basis agreed upon between Lee and myself for the Army of Northern Virginia."

The victorious leader then returned to Washington, and two days after the date of his dispatch, under his direction, was issued the subjoined order, along with another, directing the corps of the Potomac Army to march by way of Richmond to Washington for a grand review, to be followed by the disbanding of the troops.

Order for reducing the expenses of the Military Department.

War Department, Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, *April* 28, 1865.

Ordered, First. That the chiefs of the respective bureaus of this department proceed immediately to reduce the expenses of their respective departments to what is absolutely necessary, in view of an immediate reduction of the forces in the field and garrisons, and the speedy termination of hostilities, and that they severally make out statements of the reductions they deem practicable.

Second. That the Quartermaster-General discharge all ocean transports not required to bring home troops in remote departments. All river and inland transportation will be discharged, except that required for the necessary supplies of troops in the field. Purchases of horses, mules, wagons, and other land transportation will be stopped; also purchases of forage, except what is required for immediate consumption. All purchases for railroad construction and transportation will also be stopped.

Third. That the Commissary General of Subsistence stop the purchase of supplies in his department for such as may, with what is on hand, be required for the forces in the field on the 1st of June next.

Fourth. That the Chief of Ordnance stop all purchase of arms, ammunition and material therefor, and reduce the manufacturing of arms and ordnance stores in Government arsenals, as rapidly as can be done without injury to the service.

Fifth. That the Chief of Engineers stop work on all field fortifications, and other works, except those for which specific appropriations have been made by Congress for completion, or that may be required for the proper protection of works in progress.

Sixth. That all soldiers in hospitals, who require no further medical treatment, be honorably discharged from service, with immediate payment. All officers and enlisted men who have been prisoners of war and are now on furlough or at parole camps, and all recruits in rendezvous, except those for the regular army, will be likewise honorably discharged. Officers, whose duty it is under the regulations of the service to make out rolls and other final papers connected with the final discharge and payment of soldiers, are directed to make payment without delay, so that the order may be carried into effect immediately.

Seventh. The Adjutant-General of the army will cause immediate returns to be made by all commanders in the field, garrisons, detachments and forts, of ther respective forces, with a view to their immediate reduction.

Eighth. The Quartermasters of Subsistence, Ordnance, Engineers, and Provost-Marshal General's Departments, will reduce the number of clerks and employés to that absolutely required for closing the business of their

respective Departments, and will, without delay, report to the Secretary of War the number required of each class or grade. The Surgeon-General will make a similar reduction of surgeons, nurses, and attendants in his bureau.

Ninth. The chiefs of the respective bureaus will immediately cause proper returns to be made out of public property in their charge, and a statement of property in each that may be sold upon advertisement and public sale, without prejudice to the service.

Tenth. That the Commissary of Prisoners will have rolls made out of the name, residence, time and place of capture, and occupation of all prisoners of war who will take the oath of allegiance to the United States, to the end that such as are disposed to become good and loyal citizens of the United States, and who are proper objects of Executive clemency, may be relieved, upon terms that the President shall deem fit and consistent with the public safety.

By order of the Secretary of War.

W. A. Nichols, A. A.-G

Official—Thos. M. Vincent, A. A.-G.

On the 4th of May, 1865, General Richard Taylor, commanding the rebel forces in Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana, surrendered to Major-General Canby, and this closed the conflict east of the Mississippi river.

Beyond it, Kirby Smith showed a determination to hold out to the last and prolong the war. General Grant resolved to bring him also to terms, and a powerful expedition was fitted out at Fortress Monroe, under the command of Major-General Philip Sheridan. He proceeded by way of the Mississippi river to New Orleans, but, before reaching that point, Smith had heard of the surrender of Lee, Johnston, and Taylor, and he, too, accepted the terms granted to Lee, and surrendered the forces under his command.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GENERAL GRANT'S MOVEMENTS AFTER THE SURRENDER.

General Grant visits Burlington and Philadelphia.—A munificent Gift.—General Grant's Acceptance of it.—Returns to Washington.—Capture of Jeff. Davis.—The Grand Review.—General Grant makes a Tour to New York and New England.—Goes to the British Provinces.—Incidents at Quebec.—Journey to the West.—Scenes along the Route.—At President Lincoln's Tomb.—Among his Old Friends.—General Grant's Character.

MAY 2d, General Grant visited his home in Burlington, New Jersey, which had been the residence of his family since he entered upon his eastern campaign, returning to Philadelphia on the 3d, to take possession of the elegantly furnished and tasteful mansion on West Chestnut street, presented to him by the citizens. He then repaired to Washington, and was present at the grand review of our returning legions—a spectacle, in grandeur and impressive associations, never approached before on this continent.

June 8th, General Grant was in New York. The Astor House was his temporary home. The Sixty-first Massachusetts, returning from the battle-field, passed the hotel, and were told that the chief those brave troops had followed was there. Then went up such a shout as never before rang over that resort of distinguished men; for strong, brave hearts, which had beat calmly in battle, were making an effort to express the fullness and intensity of their devotion to him who had led them to victory.

At the Union League Rooms he was importuned again for a speech, and responded with his accustomed brevity: "Gentlemen, I bid you good-night. I am much obliged to you for this reception."

In August, the Lieutenant-General started on a tour to New York, Canada, and the West. At Albany, the capital of the Empire State, the excited crowd followed his very shadow.

From Boston, Governor Andrew dispatched Adjutant-General Schouler to Albany, with a letter of invitation, in the name of the commonwealth, to visit Massachusetts. The commander-in-chief was already *en route* for Boston.

General Grant left Saratoga at seven o'clock on Saturday morning, July 29th, reaching Albany just before ten o'clock A. M. The following persons constituted his party: Lieutenant-General U. S. Grant and Mrs. Julia Grant; Masters Frederick Grant and U. S. Grant, Jun.; Misses Ellen W. Grant and Jessie R. Grant; two servants; Colonel O. E. Babcock; Colonel Hiram Porter; Colonel Adam Badeau, Military Secretary; Colonel E. L. Parker. At Albany an elegant saloon car had been fitted up for the party by Superintendent Gray, of the Western Road, supplied with furniture from Mr. Gray's own residence in Springfield. The car was neatly draped with American flags, and furnished with rich arm chairs. At either end a stuffed eagle, with wings outspread, and a fine portrait of the General formed graceful and significant adornments. The engine was decorated with bunting and floral wreaths, and upon it two silk flags, bearing the names of "Lincoln" and "Grant."

At Chatham Corners, Pittsfield, Springfield, and Worcester, and other towns along the route, spontaneous expressions of grateful admiration by the people were enthusiastic, and unsurpassed since the days of Washington. The crowd at the dépôt in Boston was immense, and so wild with excitement that it was extremely difficult for the police to clear a passage to the carriages waiting to receive the distinguished visitors. It was said by a journalist, who was on the ground, that on the appearance of the party at the entrance of the station, "such cheers rent the air as were never heard in the greeting of any man before. A welcome so ardent and enthusiastic has not been given to any other guest in this city, and in no other we are told has it been equaled." As the cortege moved through Washington and Tremont streets, toward the Revere House, "the streets were thronged; cheer upon cheer rose from the crowds upon the sidewalks, on the balconies, and at the windows. The glorious old flag was displayed at

numerous points, and, as the procession passed the Common, a national salute was fired by a section of Captain French's battery." After supper, at which the Governor presided, Gilmore's full band serenaded the Chief, and, in response to repeated calls for a speech, the Governor said:—

"GENTLEMEN:—The General desires me to say, that he highly appreciates the honor of your call this evening, and that he will be happy to meet his friends and take them by the hand Monday at twelve o'clock."

General Grant and suite attended the Old South Church, of Revolutionary memory, on the following day, and listened to a prayer by the venerable Dr. Jenks, becoming the temple and worship of God, breathing devout patriotism, and to an excellent discourse by the Reverend Mr. Manning, from Matthew xi. 29.

After the reception at Faneuil Hall on Monday, and visiting various places of interest, he left the city for Quebec by way of Portland. From that city he attended commencement at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, whose faculty conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. The reception and the whole occasion was one of the liveliest interest, and memorable in the history of that excellent institution. General Grant also visited Augusta, the capital of Maine, where the demonstrations were similar to those which had everywhere greeted him. And after he had crossed the boundary of the Republic, the subjects of the English queen seemed to forget British sympathy with the rebel cause, and vied with their American cousins in the homage paid to the greatest living captain.

One of the company on board the steamer *Europa*, which conveyed General Grant and his party from Quebec to Montreal, relates several interesting incidents.

When tourists at Quebec learned that General Grant was to go up the river by boat, there was a rush for tickets. Every state-room and berth was speedily engaged. There was a crowd on board, and the steward was transforming the saloon tables into bedsteads. The passengers improved the occasion to stare *ad libitum* at the Lieutenant-General. Many were introduced; many intro-

duced themselves. His uniform courtesy to all was the theme of remark. His departure from Quebec was marked by the same enthusiasm which greeted him on his arrival. The wharf was packed with people, who cheered vociferously. Records one of the party:—

"Among those who called upon him was Sir James Hope, Admiral, commanding her Majesty's navy in America. He drove up to the hotel this afternoon, with three of the officers of his fleet in full dress. A second carriage contained his valet and boxes, enough to freight one of Adams & Co.'s express-wagons. The contrast between the two men was very great. The Admiral is taller than General Grant, and older by fifteen or twenty years, with iron-gray hair, white whiskers trimly brushed, a gray eye, florid face, quick and vigorous in his actions, and a good-natured countenance. General Grant is so well known that I need not give a description of his personal appearance.

"Sir James found a plain man in plain clothes. The Admiral and his officers were gorgeous in gold lace, bright buttons, crimson sashes, chapeaux, nodding plumes, epaulets, and stars. After the call, the Admiral sat down with General Grant and enjoyed a cigar. He gave free expression to his admiration of General Grant. He said that he was surprised to see a man so unostentatious. 'He is not at all like our officers,' he said. The Admiral laid aside his coat, chapeau, and plumes, and appeared in naval undress—of white pants, blue coat, and plain cap.

"It is interesting to hear the comments. There is a large, stout, white-haired man, dressed in Canada gray, accompanied by his wife and daughter on a trip,

"'I intended to spend another day in Quebec,' said he, 'but, when I found General Grant was going up river, I thought I would go in the same boat, and so secured tickets. My wife feels bad not to see Montmorenci, but then she can see General Grant.'

"'How does he impress you?' I asked

"'Oh, he is a gentleman. He is a plain man, and the more I see of him the better I like him. He isn't stuck up at all, but wears his honors quietly,' was the reply.

"On the sofa opposite to me is a young snob, dressed

in a short gray roundabout. He has red whiskers, of the shoebrush pattern, and is quizzing the General through his eye-glasses.

"'Aw, I don't see any thing remarkable about him,' he says to a fellow of the same breed, who sits beside him.

"If the subject of their remarks was exceedingly dignified, and wore full military dress, with epaulets, stars, gold lace and gilt buttons, if he looked haughtily upon everybody present, if he was proud enough not to see any one who was not presented with formality and dignity, doubtless those fellows would see something remarkable in him. They have not sense enough to know that his unostentatious manners, his urbane treatment of all who approach him, is so very remarkable that the people recognize it at once.

"I stood upon the guard when the boat left the wharf at Quebec, and listened to the crowd.

"'He's a brick,' said one.

"'That is the man who licked the rebs.,' said another who stood by his side.

"'I had a brother who fit under him,' said a third.

"Walking around the citadel, I fell into conversation with the soldier who conducted our party. He belongs to the Rifles. 'I had a brother who was under Grant,' said he. 'He was wounded in front of Petersburg, and has got his discharge.'

"'What does he say of General Grant?' I asked.

"'Oh, he says he is a bully boy.'

"Then he began to talk about the fortifications.

"'These are no good. I reckon your guns which you have got would knock these walls to pieces mighty quick.' Then looking across the river, he pointed out the place where the new fortifications are to be erected at Point Levi, and said: 'What good will they do when completed? They may keep a vessel from coming up the river; but if we had war with you, Grant would come up from Maine, and take us on the land side.'

"There was more practical wisdom in what he said than in the whole Board of Admiralty, or whatever board of the home government sat upon the Canadian defense ques-

tion. Canada can't be defended any more than the Confederacy could be defended. Are the English lords and admirals bats, that they don't see it?"

From the Canadas, General Grant extended his tour to the West, the home of his childhood, and also of his riper years. At every stopping-place there was only the variation in the welcome, which the people and circumstances would naturally give to the expression of adulation.

Chicago, the great business mart and metropolis of the West, received the Lieutenant-General with the whole-souled enthusiasm characteristic of her enterprising people. Indeed, he had a series of magnificent receptions all the way from Chicago to Galena, his home. An incident occurred at Elgin, which seems to be a repetition of a like one, on several occasions, during General Grant's recent excursion from Washington to Maine, and through Canada. At Elgin, while the Lieutenant-General was receiving the salutations of the people, standing on the rear platform of the car, a ruffian approached him in the garb of a farmer, seized him violently by the hand, and attempted to jerk him from the platform. Colonel Babcock, who was standing on the lower step of the platform, to protect the General, saw the movement, and struck the ruffian a blow with his cane, and at the same time seized him by the throat and compelled him to loose his vice-like gripe. The General was more excited by the occurrence than he was ever known to be before.

Some pleasant things were related on the occasion of General Grant's visit to the places of his early residence by citizens who had known the Grant family. The Commander's horsemanship is proverbial; being regarded as the best rider in the army.

"There is a hill west of the village of Georgetown that separates the town from the bottom-lands of White Oak Creek. Before the pike was finished, the road went up and over the backbone of the hill, one side of which was frightfully precipitate, the other more gentle and sloping. The 'old folk' named these 'Judgment' and 'Mercy,' respectively; as whoever went over on the perpendicular side might be sure of broken bones, and fortunate if he

escaped without a broken neck. It was over this hill that the villagers hauled their sand and boulders for building and street purposes, from the creek below. Teamsters with stout four-horse teams often got 'stalled' hereabouts, and I suspect were not mindful of the injunctions against profanity in their perplexity. Young Grant, then a lad of ten or eleven years, provided with a two-horse team, passed a good deal of time at this laborious work; but such was his success, that he managed to make two horses do as much work as the four of other men, and never stalled his team. Remarking this, one of the teamsters asked the lad how it happened that he never got stalled, and his reply was, 'I never got stalled myself, and so my horses never get stalled either;' which some might take to be an indication of that determination and resolute purpose which illustrate the career of the General as a soldier."

General Grant stopped for a day at Georgetown, Brown County, Ohio, where he passed several years of his early life. The people poured out from their houses to see him, and he was constrained to make the following speech—the longest he was ever known to deliver:—

Ladies and Gentlemen of Brown County:—You are all aware that I am not in the habit of making speeches. I am glad that I never learned to make speeches when I was young, and now that I am old I have no desire to begin. I had rather start out in any thing else than in making a speech. And now, ladies and gentlemen, I can only say to you that it affords me very much pleasure to get back to Brown County, where my boyhood was spent.

A Union meeting was held in the afternoon on the Fair Grounds, at which the General's father made the following "nubby" speech:—

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to look so many of my old friends in the face again, and have the privilege of saying farewell, for I never expect to see you again.

We have just passed through a severe conflict—a gigantic rebellion, a cruel, bloody, savage, and wicked civil war—a war that is a disgrace to civilization. But how did you get out? When the country was assailed by rebels, its flag fired upon, your friends set forth; they sacrificed the comforts of domestic life, the happiness of their firesides; they put on the army blue, took the death-dealing musket, and slung the knapsack and blanket,

and went forth determined to crush the rebels and put down the rebellion. They did put them down—crushed the rebellion, and subdued the traitors to the Union; and now they are on their marrow-bones seeking pardon, and your friends have returned home to your hearths and hearts.

Now there is a great duty resting upon you. The fight is transferred to the ballot. It is your duty now to vote down this miserable Copperhead faction. It is said we have conquered a peace. This is true; it is not a petty, patched-up Copperhead-Democratic peace; it is one obtained by the sword, and the youngest child is not living who will see the sword again raised against the Government. It is your duty, as patriotic citizens of Brown County, not to allow this old locofoco, Copperhead, Lecompton faction to be galvanized into life, on the pretense that it is the only party that can save the country. I don't know how that could be, unless on the principle that the hair of the dog is good for the bite.

The venerable and worthy Jesse R. Grant appeared hale and intelligent. His education was limited, having no schooling when a boy, excepting that enjoyed in the family of David Todd, father of the late Governor of Ohio, of which he said:—

"And that, as I had to chop wood for two fires, and do other chores, was very little." It was while living on the Reserve that the news came of the death of General Washington. Jesse, then five years of age, observing his mother weeping, asked her what was the matter. "General Washington is dead!" she replied. "Was he any relation of yours?" inquired the wondering child. "And that," said the veteran, "was the first I knew of the Father of his Country."

General Grant visited the tomb of Abraham Lincoln. The burial-place, Oak Ridge, is about two miles from the city, and consists of a tract of land of about eighty-eight acres, which is in future to be considered as the Springfield Burial-ground proper. The remains are still unburied, and lie in the reception-house, just as they came from Washington, watered by the tears of the nation. A guard-tent is pitched opposite to this house of the dead, on a rising knoll, surrounded by trees. Three sentries guard the sacred remains night and day, and the stone doors are kept open, so that the air may circulate freely through the place. An iron gate protects the remains from a close intrusion, although one can see the two coffins—those of the father and of the little son, who was carried here from Washington with him, to their final resting-place.

The scene was deeply impressive, when the great Captain silently stood within the narrow abode of the mortal remains of him from whom he had received his highest honors, and who had reposed implicit and loving confidence in the military leader of the Republic.

While the train was waiting at a station, an old, weather-beaten soldier put his head out of the window, and asked which was General Grant's carriage. "I want to see his dear old face again," he said. "I have served under him two years, and lost this," pointing to the right-arm sleeve of his coat, "for him and the country." The carriage was pointed out to him, and he went off from one car to another to see, as he said, that "dear old face again." The General recognized him and shook hands with him. It made him feel as happy as if that right arm were not rotting on the mud-banks before Richmond.

As the train whirled past Virden, a beautiful bouquet, most tastefully arranged, and with a floral cryptic in it, which is deciphered perhaps by this time, was cleverly thrown into the carriage. It fortunately alighted upon the arm of the Hon. Charles Wilson, of the *Journal*, and was thus saved. Mr. Wilson handed it over to General Grant, who, on examining it, found this inscription on it: 'To General Grant, with the best regards of the ladies of Virden.' This was made secure by a piece of ribbon, and both the General and his lady expressed themselves highly delighted with it. Mrs. Grant carefully wrapt up the inscription and put it into her pocket.

Galena, General Grant's last place of business, spared no endeavor to assure him of the appreciation of his fellow-citizens, among whom he lived, a "thoughtful, reflective, large-minded man—the soul of honor." All business was suspended, and flags fluttered in the air, like unnumbered wings of red, white, and blue.

In the windows of the De Soto Hotel alone were one hundred and eighty of these national emblems. On one side of a triumphal arch was inscribed:

Welcome to our Citizen.

Weldon Railroad,	Richmond,	Petersburg,
Wilderness,	Fair Oaks,	Five Forks.

On the other side:

Hail to the Chief who in triumph advances.

Belmont,	Corinth,	Vicksburg,
Donelson,	Lookout Mountain,	Appomattox C. H.
Shiloh,	Chattanooga,	

The whole was decorated with flags, streamers, and evergreens in the most beautiful manner. This arch is but a few doors from the store where the General used to sell leather.

He was welcomed by the Hon. E. B. Washburne, who said:—

Permit me to say here, General, that as you were the first general officer from our city intrusted with important commands and engaged in active military operations, your loyal fellow-citizens watched your career with unflagging interest, and followed your fortunes with a faith that never faltered. When calumny and detraction swept over you, your friends and neighbors breasted the wave, and your laurels were never withered by any of the soldiers of Jo Daviess, who followed your victorious banners. And when you poured your leaden hail into the rebels, it is no wonder they thought you *hailed* from the "Galena Lead Mines," where the people *sell* that product in time of peace, but *give* it away in time of war.

We welcome you not only to your Galena home but to your own noble and gallant State, which has made a record during the war which makes the hearts of all her loyal sons swell with pride. The blood of her soldiers moistens every battle-field of the Republic. It is in our State where repose the ashes of Lincoln and Douglas. Lincoln, the martyred President, struck down by the assassin hand of slavery, and who illustrated in his life the purest patriotism, the sublimest courage, and the most elevated devotion to the cause of his country and of liberty. Douglas, the illustrious Senator, the gifted statesman, the champion of popular rights, falling, alas! too soon! but with love of country in his heart, and words of patriotism on his lips.

The empire of the Northwest, with its teeming millions of patriotic hearts, is everywhere vocal with its cordial reception, and in the name of our regenerated and disenthralled country, in the name of our restored Union, in the sacred name of liberty, all, all bid you welcome.

General Grant stepped forward and made his *second* public speech, as follows:—

Gentlemen and Fellow-Citizens:—The Rev. Mr. Vincent, who has come out on the train from Chicago, has kindly consented to return my thanks for this hearty welcome, which you have given me.

The reverend gentleman named, who is of the Trinity

Methodist Episcopal Church, Chicago, and who was General Grant's former pastor at Galena, then made a speech for the General.

On a hill, about an eighth of a mile from the town, and overlooking the river and a vast country, including most of the town, is a beautiful residence which the citizens have purchased for the General. I give a description of it, handed me by one who has dared to stand up alone in the cause of freedom, when it cost something to do so. The house is on an acre of ground, the highest and most sightly around the city. The loyal citizens did not wait for a Copperhead city government to build sidewalks, but built them themselves from the dépôt to the house, which cost eleven thousand five hundred dollars, and the furniture four thousand five hundred dollars, purchased by a few of the friends and neighbors of the Lieutenant-General.

Cannons roared, bands played, and the crowds cheered. Carriages were ready, and a procession was formed. After a short march, the stand was reached, and Mr. Washburne welcomed General Grant home. On first coming to the stand, General Grant acknowledged the cheers by bowing and giving a pleasant and modest smile. At the conclusion he spoke a few words, simply thanking the people, as on other occasions. It was expected he would make a speech here at least. The Rev. J. H. Vincent, of Chicago, spoke for him in a few eloquent words.

After this, General Grant and his family were driven to the new house on the hill. As they were about to enter, the bells in the churches on the hills and in the valleys began to ring.

After visiting his father's house, in Covington, Kentucky, and Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, where he was born, he returned to Washington.

November 10th, the City of New York gave the General a reception rarely equaled even in that demonstrative metropolis. The description of his arrival at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, where a magnificent banquet was prepared, and generals, admirals, statesmen, divines, and millionaires were assembled, reminds one of the scene at Erfurth, when Napoleon entered the crowded saloon where Europe's kings

were waiting for him, and the famous Talma dared not begin his entertainment till the conqueror came.

At half-past eight o'clock, cheers from the outside crowd announced the arrival of General Grant at the hotel. There was a waving of the glittering throng, a hushed murmur of "Here he comes," and a general upraising of heads. Two minutes more, and the Lieutenant-General enters, accompanied by his little son, and leaning upon the arm of General Prosper M. Wetmore. Every eye is bent upon the distinguished soldier; every movement indicates a heartfelt enthusiasm for the man, while a general clapping of hands gives outward demonstration of the feelings of all. The parlor intended for the General was not quite ready, and the committee conducted him to their own apartment. On entering, General Grant met General Heintzelman, with whom he shook hands cordially. The throng of ladies and gentlemen followed into the apartment, forming a circle around General Grant, who on entering took a seat. His little son stood in front, on whom the General smiled paternally several times. After a few minutes' delay, General Hooker arrived, and, shaking hands with his distinguished superior, took a seat beside him. Mr. A. T. Stewart then came in and conducted General Grant to the room prepared for his occupation.

He to whom the proud ovation of the evening was paid, though all eyes were attracted to him and steadily bent on him, was perhaps the least affected person in that brilliant assemblage. Indeed, he looked as if he would have preferred to vacate the place which the etiquette of the occasion required him to take, and mingle with the throng that anxiously awaited the moment of presentation, that they might do him "reverence meet." The General was dressed in full uniform, but without sword or belt. The three silver stars on either shoulder denoted his rank of Lieutenant-General of the armies of the United States, while on his breast he carried the insignia of the various corps of the late armies, handsomely and artistically combined. He looked exceedingly well, and his features bore the pleasing smile habitual to him. For a little he allowed his eye to wander over the rich decorations, the banners,

the vases of flowers that seemed to have been culled from every land where flowers are fairest and rarest, over the rich mirrors upon the walls, the flags and streamers, and all the evidence that a people's heart must be in the act of which all this display was but the natural outward accessory and prerequisite. And his heart must have throbbed as that thought presented itself, and then

> "Proudly kindled the chieftain's eye,
> Well pleased, I ween, to see
> The land assemble all its wealth
> Of grace and chivalry,"

to do him honor—an assurance in that, with the first great saviour of the republic, he will also stand as first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen.

About eleven o'clock, the hero sat down to a select banquet in one of the elegant dining apartments of the palatial home for travelers.

A. T. Stewart, Esq., the chairman of the committee, presided at the head of the table, and Judge Bonney at the end. On the right of the President sat Mrs. Grant, while General Grant occupied a seat on the left.

The number of guests in this room was limited to forty, and among them we observed Senator Morgan, Generals Wool, Dix, Ingalls, Barlow, Viele, John Van Buren, Admiral Bell, W. E. Dodge, Peter Cooper, Jonathan Sturges, Mr. Detmold, Bishop Potter, Archbishop McCloskey, Reverends Henry Ward Beecher, Drs. Adams and Thompson, and the wives of these gentlemen.

After the guests had partaken of the choice viands, during which a band, which was stationed outside the hall, discoursed choice music, the company engaged in an animated conversation for some moments. The guest of the evening sat in silence, pondering, no doubt, upon the brilliant spectacle which passed before him. If some would be disposed to call him a conqueror, it might be then said of him "He conquered not for fame, but for freedom; not for ambition, but for country." The man whom the people delighted to honor by this distinguished mark

of their approbation was looked upon as the preserver of the nation, and by his valorous deeds he won

> The nation's love—a priceless gem;
> Who wins it needs no diadem.

The chairman said:—I shall propose the health to you of one whom you delight to honor, as we all know that we are indebted to our distinguished guest more than to any other man living for the blessings that we now enjoy. It is not in my line precisely to make a speech to you. I therefore will propose to you the health, happiness, and long life of General Grant.

General Grant, after a silence of a few minutes, rose and said:—I am greatly indebted to the citizens, ladies, and gentlemen of New York City, for the great kindness that I have received during the ten days that I have been with them. You know it is not my habit to make speeches, and I hope you will excuse me from saying any more; but I do thank them from the bottom of my heart.

Reverend Dr. Thompson was called upon, and responded as follows:—I obey the summons which was brought to me at this instant as emanating from martial law. I am bound to yield obedience to the powers that be, especially when I see them sustained by that military power which has secured to us the permanence of good government, of freedom, and under that government of education and religion, of home and school, of all that we value for ourselves, and that we cherish for our posterity. I will simply say in one word, that, in addition to all that I owe in common with the multitude of my fellow-citizens to our distinguished guest, I recognize a special obligation, as a Christian man, in connection with that work which is my calling, for the interpretation of two grand ideas—the power of patience and the power of faith. While the General sat waiting before Petersburg and Richmond, silent as to his plans, yet in his own mind comprehending all the future, waiting the accomplishment and the development of schemes known only to himself and his coadjutors, he was giving to this nation a lesson in the moral virtue of patience which we shall never forget, and which we, as a people, especially need. At the same time as he sat there thus silent, but ever watchful, he was interpreting to us the workings of Divine Providence—noiseless but sure—seeing the end from the beginning, and marching steadily onward to the accomplishment of that end without prematurely unveiling the plan, but when the work is accomplished unfolding all in its beauty and perfection. I derive, sir, from our illustrious guest lessons in these particulars that shall not only last me through life for my personal comfort and guidance, but shall inspire me in the work to which I am specially devoted. I have learned to-night a little of what that virtue of patience must have been on the battle-field in those long watches and endurances, before the consummation, as I have seen the General so calmly enduring the persistent besieging of his admiring friends.

Reverend Henry Ward Beecher was loudly called for, and responded

in a few happy remarks. He said:—We are gathered together this evening to pay our more than respects, our affectionate respects, to one whom this country is proud of; but not altogether either to him, except as he represents the officers and the men of our whole army, for that honor which we bestow upon General Grant we know will pass through him to them, who admire him as all his countrymen do. I am sure, also, that we can say sincerely that we are not gathered together on such a festive occasion as this to triumph over anybody. We are gathered to triumph for principles established. We are glad and triumph because we have a better future and a real country, united as every country must be that is to stand permanently—united in sympathy and sentiment, and at the bottom on common laws and common principles. I am glad with those that are glad here. I cannot, however, forbear to think that there are thousands and thousands who have made an awful mistake, and yet were sincere and earnest men, over whom we should all be the last to triumph, who can have no victories, nothing but disaster, nothing but sorrow and mourning; the past full of storm and darkness and sadness, while to us the past now grows more and more luminous in proportion as it was dark at the time, and the future is abundantly radiant. These scenes can but faintly express, I think, to our honored guest, what is the place he occupies in the hearts of this great people. His name will be lisped by our children as they come up; it will pass into our schools; it will be in our cottages and farm-houses. I am sure he is of such a make as to be more proud to be remembered and loved in the houses of the common people than in the palaces of the loftiest in the land. His work thus far has been most nobly done, but it is not entirely finished. He is to illustrate another American trait—he and his brother officers and soldiers. It was asked of me in England, "What will become of your army when your war is over? What will you do with them?" My reply was, "What do you do in March with your snow-wreaths?" They melt and no man has any trouble about them, and out of them come the very juices and herbage that is to cover the ground with spring and summer; and has it not been so? When the soldiers were needed, they came as avalanches come, and when they were no longer needed they melted as snow in summer.

Doctor R. Vaughan, editor of the magazine, writes in the last number of the *British Quarterly Review*:—

"In Washington I had the privilege of an introduction to General Grant. The eminent man was in his official department, much the sort of room in which a London attorney might be imagined giving audience to his clients. The General was not in uniform, and plainly dressed. The portraits of him are faithful representations of his square and spacious forehead, and of the settled and regular, but not strongly marked, features below. A military officer was in attendance upon him, who was of old Indian descent, a person somewhat above the ordinary height, whose complexion and features bespoke his origin, but whose civilized experiences

had given him a little more flesh than would seem to have been common among his ancestors.

"This stately descendant from the sons of the old wilderness gave me a cordial grasp of the hand on our being introduced. The manner of the General was simple and quiet. I soon saw he was a man of few words, and had reason to think that his words were usually well chosen. After a few commonplaces had passed, he began to speak freely on public affairs. The tone of the English press concerning the military action of the North seemed to have impressed him unfavorably. 'If your newspapers are to be believed,' said the soldier, who is second to none of his time, 'we never went into the field but to be beaten. I have been in more engagements than any other man in the service, and have not been beaten yet. On the continent of Europe, too, the disposition, it appears, has been to harp on the same string. Friends who have visited your country and France tell me that, go into what circle they might, the talk about America all went one way.'

"In reply, I mentioned some facts which seemed to warrant a somewhat different conclusion. These facts were frankly admitted as tending to show that in England there must after all have been a considerable breadth of sympathy with the North. 'Say what you will,' said the General, 'this war has been the biggest job of its sort that has been done in this world; and it will be a chapter to itself in the history of war—nothing like it has gone before.'

"When about to take my leave, I was pleased to hear the General say, 'Well, I think I shall come to England some day; but it must not be until I can spare something like a twelvemonth for that part of the world.' I did not fail to express my conviction that if he came among us he would find not a few capable of appreciating what he had done, and of doing so generously. Of Lee, the General spoke honorably, describing him as an able man who had made a great mistake. This mistake, I presume, was in committing himself against the Northern cause—the cause, the final success of which the General himself had never doubted."

The military ability of General Grant is variously estimated by even his friends. Some deny that he has genius, and affirm that he succeeded rather by persistence in a chosen line of warfare, and favoring circumstances. Others declare that he planned campaigns "with not less of originality that that displayed by Sherman, but they have always been executed with the deliberation and persistence which are such prominent characteristics of Thomas. Sherman has given us several splendid illustrations of strategy and logistics; as witness his marches in Mississippi, Georgia, and the Carolinas; but his battles will never be quoted as brilliant examples of grand tactics. Thomas has displayed his abilities chiefly in the tactics of the bat

tle-field, and has given us at Mill Spring and Nashville two splendid illustrations of the offensive, and at Chickamauga a magnificent example of defensive battle; but his marches, which are always slow and labored, are never likely to become famous. Grant has excelled in both these important branches of the art of war, and has given us brilliant examples of each; and, though he has shown no extraordinary engineering ability in constructing defenses, he has done better in reducing those of the rebels. He uses the strategy of Sherman to reach his chosen battle-field, and then employs the grand tactics of Thomas to win the victory.

Writes another popular biographer, "it is more difficult to analyze the mental than the moral character of Grant. Indeed, he seems to have no peculiarly striking qualities, so evenly balanced is his whole character. He is a man of great military talent, doing things not so much in a different way from other generals, as with different power." But that "power" is difference enough to stamp him an extraordinary man and general.

When, without the approving counsel of a single subordinate officer, he cut loose from Grand Gulf, and led his vast army straight into a hostile country toward impregnable Vicksburg, he displayed intellect sufficiently broad to comprehend any military situation; and a heart so strong, brave, and calm, that it could bear modestly any pressure of official responsibility.

Then again, his combinations, when his elevation to the control of the United States armies gave him the opportunity to grasp the entire work before the nation, and his wise selection of officers to co-operate with him, will place his name in the ultimate verdict of history with that of Napoleon, Wellington, and Washington.

CHAPTER XXVII.

REPORTS OF GENERALS MEADE, SHERIDAN, SHERMAN, AND GRANT.

General Meade's Report of the Potomac Army.—General Sheridan's account of his Splendid Achievements.—The Story of the Unrivaled Sherman's Great March.—General Grant's Final and Great Report of the closing Campaign of the War.

GENERAL MEADE'S Report of the part taken by his troops in the closing events of the War is a condensed and carefully written history of the Potomac Army under his command:

THE FINAL OPERATIONS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

REPORT OF MAJOR-GENERAL MEADE.

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
April 30, 1865.

COLONEL:—I have the honor to submit herewith a succinct report of the operations of this Army in the recent campaign, resulting in the evacuation of Richmond and Petersburg, and terminating in the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia.

On the 29th ultimo, in pursuance of orders received from the Lieutenant-General commanding, the Second and Fifth Corps were moved across Hatcher's Run, the former by the Vaughan Road, the latter by the old stage road crossing at Perkins's. The Second Corps, holding the extreme left of the line before Petersburg prior to moving, was relieved by Major-General Gibbon, commanding two divisions of the Twenty-fourth Corps.

Major-General Humphreys, commanding Second Corps, was directed, after crossing Hatcher's Run, to take position with his right resting on Hatcher's Run and his left extending to the Quaker road. Major-General Warren, commanding Fifth Corps, was directed at first to take position at the intersection of the Vaughan and Quaker roads, and subsequently, about noon of the 29th, he was ordered to move up the Quaker road beyond Gravelly Run.

These orders were duly executed, and by evening Major-General Humphreys was in position, his right resting near Dabney's Mill, and his left near Gravelly Meeting-House on the Quaker road. In taking this position, Major-General Humphreys encountered but little opposition, meeting only a small force in a line of rifle-pits, who were quickly driven out. Major-

General Warren was delayed in his movement, by having to rebuild the bridge over Gravelly Run. The advance of his column, Brigadier-General Griffin's division, was attacked about 4 P. M., when about a mile and a half beyond Gravelly Run, by Bushrod Johnson's division. A spirited engagement ensued, in which Griffin handsomely repulsed and drove the enemy, capturing over one hundred prisoners.

On the 30th, Major-General Humphreys again advanced, driving the enemy into his main line of works, and by night occupying a line from the Crow House, on Hatcher's Run, to the intersection of the Dabney's Mill and Boydtown plank-road.

Major-General Warren, during this day, advanced on the Quaker road to its intersection with the Boydtown plank, and pushed Ayres's division in a northwesterly direction over to the White Oak road. No fighting of any consequence occurred this day, except picket skirmishing and exchange of artillery shots from the respective lines, now close to each other.

During the night of the 30th, Major-General Humphreys, who had intrenched his line, was directed to relieve Griffin's division, Fifth Corps, by Miles's division, and Major-General Warren was ordered to move both Crawford and Griffin within supporting distance of Ayres, whose position on the extreme left was considered likely to invite attack.

On the 31st, about 10 A. M., Ayres, under General Warren's orders, advanced to dislodge the enemy in position on the White Oak road. Ayres's attack was unsuccessful, and was followed by such a vigorous attack of the enemy that Ayres was compelled to fall back upon Crawford, who, in turn, was so strongly pressed by the enemy as to force both divisions back, in considerable disorder, to the position occupied by Griffin, when the pursuit of the enemy ceased. Immediately on ascertaining the condition of affairs, Major-General Humphreys was ordered to move to Warren's support, and that officer promptly sent Miles's division to attack in flank the force operating against Warren. This movement was handsomely executed by Miles, who, attacking the enemy vigorously, drove him back to his former position on the White Oak road, capturing several colors and many prisoners.

In the mean time Warren advanced with Griffin's division, supported by such portions of Ayres's and Crawford's divisions as could be rallied, and regaining the position held by Ayres in the morning, Griffin attacked with Chamberlain's brigade, driving the enemy and securing a lodgment on the White Oak road.

These operations over, hearing heavy firing to the left and rear, which was presumed to be the cavalry moving up from Dinwiddie Court-House, Warren was directed to send a brigade down the White Oak road to co-operate with the cavalry. This brigade by night reached the crossing of Gravelly Run, by the road leading through J. Boisseau's, where, not meeting any enemy, it bivouacked.

During the night, having been directed to send support to Major-General Sheridan, at Dinwiddie Court-House, Major-General Warren was ordered to move with his whole corps, two divisions by the White Oak

road and one by the Boydtown plank-road. Major-General Humphreys was ordered to extend his left as far as practicable, consistent with its security.

During the foregoing operations, the Sixth and Ninth Corps remained in the lines in front of Petersburg, with orders to watch the enemy closely, and, in the event of the lines in their front being weakened, to attack.

On April 1st, after consultation with the Lieut.-General commanding, believing from the operations on his right that the enemy's lines on his left must be thinly held, orders were sent to Major-Generals Wright and Parke to attack the next morning at 4 A. M. About 7 P. M., intelligence having been received of the brilliant success of the cavalry and Fifth Corps at Five Forks, orders were sent to Generals Parke and Wright to open their batteries and press the enemy's picket-line. At the same time, Miles's division, Second Corps, was detached to the support of Major-General Sheridan, and Major-General Humphreys advised of the intended attacks of the Twenty-fourth, Sixth and Fifth Corps, and directed to hold his two remaining divisions ready to co-operate in the same, should they prove successful.

On the 2d of April, Major-General Wright attacked at 4 P. M., carrying every thing before him, taking possession of the enemy's strong line of works, and capturing many guns and prisoners. After carrying the enemy's lines in his front, and reaching the Boydtown plank-road, Major-General Wright turned to his left and swept down the enemy's line of intrenchments till near Hatcher's Run, where, meeting the head of the Twenty-fourth Corps, Gen. Wright retraced his steps and advanced on the Boydtown plank-road toward Petersburg, encountering the enemy in an inner line of works immediately around the city. Major-General Wright deployed his corps confronting their works in conjunction with the Twenty-fourth and part of the Second Corps.

Major-General Parke's attack, at 4 A. M., was also successful, carrying the enemy's lines, capturing guns and prisoners; but the position of the Ninth Corps, confronting that position of the enemy's line the longest held and most strongly fortified, it was found he held a second and inner line which Major-General Parke was unable to carry. Receiving a dispatch during the morning from Major-General Parke, reporting his being pressed by the enemy, the troops left in City Point defenses, under Brigadier-General Benham and Brevet Brigadier-General Collis, were ordered up to General Parke's support; their prompt arrival enabling them to render material assistance to General Parke in holding his lines.

So soon as Major-General Wright's success was reported, Major-General Humphreys was ordered to advance with the remaining divisions of his corps; Hays, on the right, advanced and captured a redoubt in front of the Crow House, taking a gun and over one hundred prisoners. Mott, on the left, on advancing on the Boydtown plank-road, found the enemy's line evacuated. Hays and Mott pushed forward and joined the Sixth Corps confronting the enemy. Early in the morning, Miles, reporting his return to his position on the White Oak road, was ordered to advance on the Clai-

borne road simultaneously with Mott and Hays. Miles, perceiving the enemy was moving to his right, pursued and overtook him at Sutherland's Station, where a sharp engagement took place, Miles handling his single division with great skill and gallantry, capturing several guns and many prisoners. On receiving intelligence of Miles being engaged, Hays was sent to his support, but did not reach the field till the action was over.

At 3 A. M., of the 2d of April, Major-Generals Parke and Wright reported no enemy in their front, when, on advancing, it was ascertained Petersburg was evacuated.

Wilcox's division, Ninth Corps, was ordered to occupy the town, and the Second, Sixth and Ninth Corps immediately moved up the river, reaching that night the vicinity of Sutherland's Station.

The next three days, the 3d, 4th and 5th, the pursuit was continued along the river and Namozine roads, the Fifth Corps following the cavalry, and the Second and Sixth following the Fifth, the Ninth having been detached to guard the Southside Railroad. The progress of the troops was greatly impeded by the bad character of the road, the presence of the supply trains of the Fifth Corps, and cavalry, and by the frequent changes of position of the cavalry, to whom the right of way was given. On the night of the 4th, receiving a dispatch from Major-General Sheridan that his army was in position at Amelia Court-House, immediate orders were given for the resumption of the march by the troops of the Second and Sixth Corps, reaching Jettersville between 4 and 5 P. M., where the Fifth Corps was found intrenched, expecting an attack. No attack being made, on the morning of the 6th of April the three corps were moved in the direction of Amelia Court-House, with the intention of attacking the enemy if found there ; but soon after moving, intelligence was received that Lee had moved from Amelia Court-House toward Farmville. The directions of the corps were changed, and the Sixth Corps moved from the right to the left. The Second Corps was ordered to move on Deatonsville, and the Fifth and Sixth Corps to move in parallel direction on the right and left, respectively.

The Second Corps soon came up with the enemy and commenced a rear-guard fight, which continued all day till evening, when the enemy was so crowded in attempting to cross Sailor's Creek that he had to abandon a large train. Guns, colors, and prisoners were taken in these successful operations of the Second Corps.

The Sixth Corps, on the left of the Second, came up with the enemy posted on Sailor's Creek. Major-General Wright attacked with two divisions, and completely routed the enemy. In this attack the cavalry, under Major-General Sheridan, was operating on the left of the Sixth Corps, while Humphreys was pressing on the right. The result of the combined operations was the capture of Lieutenant-General Ewell and four other general officers, with most of Ewell's corps.

The next day, the 7th of April, the Fifth Corps was moved to the left toward Prince Edward Court-House. The Second Corps resumed the direct pursuit of the enemy, coming up with him at High Bridge over the

Appomattox. Here the enemy made a feeble stand with his rear-guard, attempting to burn the railroad and common bridge. Being driven off by Humphreys, he succeeded in burning three spans of the railroad bridge, but the common bridge was saved, which Humphreys immediately crossed in pursuit, the enemy abandoning eighteen guns at this point. Humphreys came up with the enemy at the intersection of the High Bridge and Farmville roads, where he was found intrenched behind rail breast-works, evidently making a stand to cover the withdrawal of his trains. Before reaching this point, Humphreys had detached Barlow's division to the left toward Farmville. Near Farmville, Barlow found the enemy, who was about evacuating the place, which operation was hastened by a successful attack of Barlow's.

When Humphreys ascertained the position of the enemy, Barlow was recalled, but did not reach Humphreys till evening, and after an unsuccessful assault had been made by part of Miles's division.

The Sixth Corps moved early in the morning toward Farmville, but finding the road occupied, first by the cavalry and subsequently by the Twenty-fourth Corps, it was too late in the afternoon before it reached that place, where it was found the enemy had destroyed the bridge. On learning the position of Humphreys, orders were sent to Wright to cross and attack in support. By great exertions a bridge for infantry was constructed, over which Wright crossed, but it was nightfall before this could be effected.

The next day, April 8th, the pursuit was continued on the Lynchburg stage road. On the 9th, at 12 M., the head of the Second Corps, when within three miles of Appomattox Court-House, came up with the enemy. At the same time I received a letter from General Lee, asking for a suspension of hostilities, pending negotiations for surrender. Soon after receiving this letter, Brigadier-General Forsyth, of General Sheridan's staff, came through the enemy's lines and notified me that a truce had been made by Major-General Ord, commanding the troops on the other side of Appomattox Court-House. In consequence of this, I replied to General Lee that I should suspend hostilities for two hours. At the expiration of that time, I received the instructions of the Lieutenant-General commanding to continue the armistice till further orders, and about 4 P. M. I received the welcome intelligence of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia.

It has been impossible, in the foregoing brief outline of operations, to do full justice to the several corps engaged; for this purpose, reference must be had to the reports of corps and division commanders, which will be forwarded as soon as received. At the same time I would call attention to the handsome repulse of the enemy by Griffin's division, Fifth Corps, on the 29th ultimo; to the important part taken by the Fifth Corps in the battle of Five Forks; to the gallant assault, on the 2d inst., by the Sixth Corps, in my judgment the decisive movement of the campaign; to the successful attack of the Sixth Corps in the battle of Sailor's Creek; to the gallant assault, on the 2d inst., of the Ninth Corps, and the firmness and tenacity with which the advantages then gained were held against all

assaults of the enemy; to the brilliant attack of Miles's division, Second Corps, at Sutherland's Station; to the energetic pursuit and attack of the enemy by the Second Corps, on the 6th inst., terminating in the battle of Sailor's Creek; and to the prompt pursuit the next day, with Barlow's and Miles's attacks, as all evincing the fact that this army, officers and men, all nobly did their duty, and deserve the thanks of the country. Nothing could exceed the cheerfulness with which all submitted to fatigue and privations to secure the coveted prize—the capture of the Army of Northern Virginia.

The absence of official reports precludes my forwarding any statement of casualties, or lists of the captures of guns, colors, and prisoners. To my staff, general and personal, I am indebted, as I have ever been, for the most zealous and faithful discharge of their duties.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE G. MEADE,
Major-General U. S. A., commanding.

Colonel T. S. BOWERS, Assistant Adjutant-General.

General Sheridan relates well the achievements of the cavalry:—

OPERATIONS OF THE CAVALRY.

REPORT OF MAJOR-GENERAL SHERIDAN.

CAVALRY HEAD-QUARTERS, *May* 16, 1865.

GENERAL:—I have the honor to submit the following narrative of the operations of my command during the recent campaign in front of Petersburg and Richmond, terminating with the surrender of the rebel army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Court-House, Virginia, on April 9th, 1865.

On March 26th, my command, consisting of the First and Third Cavalry Divisions, under the immediate command of Brevet Major-General Wesley Merritt, crossed the James River by the bridge at Jones's Landing, having marched from Winchester, in the Shenandoah Valley, via White House, on the Pamunkey River.

On March 27th this command went into camp at Hancock Station, on the military railroad in front of Petersburg, and on the same day the Second Cavalry Division, which had been serving with the Army of the Potomac, reported to me under the command of Major-General George Crook.

The effective force of these divisions was as follows:—

General Merritt's command, First and Third Divisions	5,700
General Crook's command, Second Division	3,300
Total effective force	9,000

With this force I moved out on the 29th of March, in conjunction with the armies operating against Richmond, and in the subsequent operations I was under the immediate orders of the Lieutenant-General commanding.

I moved by the way of Reams's Station, on the Weldon Railroad, and Malon's Crossing, on the Rowanty Creek, where we were obliged to construct a bridge.

At this point our advance encountered a small picket of the rebel cavalry, and drove it to the left, across Stony Creek, capturing a few prisoners, from whom, and from my scouts, I learned that the enemy's cavalry was at or near Stony Creek Dépôt, on the Weldon Railroad, on our left flank and rear. Believing that it would not attack me, and that by pushing on to Dinwiddie Court-House I could force it to make a wide detour, we continued the march, reaching the Court-House about five o'clock P. M., encountering only a small picket of the enemy, which was driven away by our advance.

It was found necessary to order General Custer's division, which was marching in rear, to remain near Malon's Crossing, on the Rowanty Creek, to assist and protect our trains, which were greatly retarded by the almost impassable roads of that miry section. The First and Second Divisions went into camp, covering the Vaughan, Flat Foot, Boydtown plank and Five Forks roads, which all intersect at Dinwiddie Court-House, rendering this an important point, and from which I was expected to make a cavalry raid on the Southside Railroad, and thence join General Sherman or return to Petersburg, as circumstances might dictate. However, during the night the Lieutenant-General sent me instructions to abandon the contemplated raid and act in concert with the infantry under his immediate command, and turn the right flank of Lee's army, if possible.

Early on the morning of the 30th of March, I directed General Merritt to send the First Division, Brigadier-General Devin commanding, to gain possession of the Five Forks, on White Oak road, and directed General Crook to send General Davies's brigade of his division to the support of General Devin.

Gregg's brigade, of Crook's division, was held on the Boydtown plank-road, and guarded the crossing of Stony Creek, forcing the enemy's cavalry that was moving from Stony Creek Dépôt to form a connection with the right of their army, to make a wide detour, as I had anticipated, on the south side of Stony Creek, and west of Chamberlain's Bed—a very fatiguing march, in the bad condition of the roads. A very heavy rain fell during this day, aggravating the swampy nature of the ground, and rendering the movements of troops almost impossible. General Merritt's reconnoissance developed the enemy in strong force on the White Oak road, in the vicinity of the Five Forks, and there was some heavy skirmishing throughout the day. Next morning, March 31st, General Merritt advanced toward the Five Forks with the First Division, and meeting with considerable opposition, General Devin's brigade, of Crook's division, was ordered to join him, while General Crook, advancing on the left with the two other brigades of his division, encountered the enemy at Chamberlain's Creek,

at a point a little west of Dinwiddie, making demonstrations to cross. Smith's brigade was ordered to hold them in check, and Gregg's brigade to a position on his right. The advance of the First Division got possession of the Five Forks, but in the mean time the Fifth Army Corps, which had advanced toward the White Oak road from the Vaughan road, was attacked and driven back, and, withdrawing from that point, this force of the enemy marched rapidly from the front of the Fifth Corps to the Five Forks, driving in our cavalry advance, and, moving down on roads west of Chamberlain's Creek, attacked General Smith's brigade, but were unable to force his position. Abandoning the attempt to cross in his front, this force of the enemy's infantry succeeded in effecting a crossing higher up the creek, striking General Davies's brigade, of the Second Division, which, after a gallant fight, was forced back upon the left flank of the First Division, thus partially isolating all this force from my main line covering Dinwiddie Court-House.

Orders were at once given to General Merritt to cross this detached force over to the Boydtown plank-road, and march down to Dinwiddie Court-House and come into the line of battle. The enemy, deceived by this movement, followed it up rapidly, making a left wheel, and presenting his rear to my line of battle. When his line was nearly parallel to mine, General Gibbs's brigade of the First Division and General Irvine Gregg's brigade of the Second Division were ordered to attack at once, and General Custer was directed to bring up two of his brigades rapidly, leaving one brigade of his division with the trains that had not yet reached Dinwiddie Court-House. In the gallant attack made by Gibbs and Gregg, the enemy's wounded fell into our hands, and he was forced to face by the rear rank and give up his movement, which, if continued, would have taken in flank and rear the infantry line of the Army of the Potomac. When the enemy had faced to meet this attack a very obstinate and handsomely contested battle ensued, in which, with all his cavalry and two divisions of infantry, the enemy was unable to drive five divisions of our cavalry, dismounted, from an open plain in front of Dinwiddie Court-House. The brunt of their cavalry attack was borne by General Smith's brigade, which had so gallantly held the crossing of Chamberlain's Creek in the morning. His command again held the enemy in check with determined bravery, but the heavy force brought against his right flank finally compelled him to abandon his position on the creek, and fall back to the main line immediately in front of Dinwiddie Court-House. As the enemy's infantry advanced to the attack, our cavalry threw up slight breastworks of rails at some points along our lines, and when the enemy attempted to force this position, they were handsomely repulsed, and gave up the attempt to gain possession of the Court-House. It was after dark when the firing ceased, and the enemy lay on their arms that night not more than one hundred yards in front of our lines. The commands of Generals Devin and Davies reached Dinwiddie Court-House without opposition by way of the Boydtown plank-road, but did not participate in the final action of the day. In this well-contested battle, the most obstinate gallantry was displayed by my

entire command. The brigades commanded by General Gibbs and Colonels Stagg and Fitzhugh, in the First Division; Generals Davies, Gregg, and Smith, in the Second Division; Colonels Pennington and Capehart, in the Third Division, vied with each other in their determined efforts to hold in check the superior force of the enemy: and the skillful arrangement of their troops in this peculiarly difficult country entitles the brigade-commanders to the highest commendation.

Generals Crook, Merritt, Custer, and Devin, by their courage and ability, sustained their commands, and executed the rapid movements of the day with promptness and without confusion.

During the night of the 31st of March my head-quarters were at Dinwiddie Court-House, and the Lieutenant-General notified me that the Fifth Corps would report to me, and should reach me by midnight. This corps had been offered to me on the 30th instant; but very much desiring the Sixth Corps, which had been with me in the Shenandoah Valley, I asked for it, but, on account of the delay which would occur in moving that corps from its position in the lines in front of Petersburg, it could not be sent to me. I respectfully submit herewith my brief accounts of the operations of the day, the response to which was the ordering of the Fifth Corps to my support and my command, as also the dispatch of the Lieutenant-General notifying me of his action. I understood that the Fifth Corps, when ordered to report to me, was in position near S. Dabney's house, in the angle between the Boydtown road and the Five Forks road.

Had General Warren moved according to the expectations of the Lieutenant-General, there would appear to have been but little chance for the escape of the enemy's infantry in front of Dinwiddie Court-House. Ayres's division moved down the Boydtown plank-road during the night, and in the morning moved west, via R. Boisseau's house, striking the Five Forks road about two and a half miles north of Dinwiddie Court-House. General Warren, with Griffin's and Crawford's divisions, moved down the road by Crump's house, coming into the Five Forks road near J. Boisseau's house, between seven and eight o'clock on the morning of the 1st of April. Meantime I moved my cavalry force at daylight against the enemy's lines in front, which gave way rapidly, moving off by the right flank and crossing Chamberlain's Creek. This hasty movement was accelerated by the discovery that two divisions of the Fifth Corps were in their rear, and that one division was moving toward their left and rear.

The following were the instructions sent to General Warren:—

"CAVALRY HEAD-QUARTERS,
DINWIDDIE COURT-HOUSE, *April* 1, 1865—8 A. M.

"To Major-General WARREN, commanding Fifth Army Corps:—

"I am holding in front of Dinwiddie Court-House, on the road leading t Five Forks, for three quarters of a mile, with General Custer's division The enemy are in his immediate front, lying so as to cover the road jus this side of A. Adams's house, which leads out across Chamberlain's Bed o Run. I understand you have a division at J. Boisseau's; if so, you are i

rear of the enemy's line, and almost on his flanks. I will hold on here. Possibly they may attack Custer at daylight; if so, attack instantly and in full force. Attack at daylight, anyhow, and I will make an effort to get the road this side of Adams's house, and if I do, you can capture the whole of them. Any force moving down the road I am holding, or on the White Oak road, will be in the enemy's rear, and in all probability get any force that may escape you by a flank attack. Do not fear my leaving here. If the enemy remains, I shall fight at daylight.

"P. H. Sheridan, Major-General."

As they fell back, the enemy were rapidly followed by General Merritt's two divisions, General Devin on the right and General Custer on the left; General Crook in the rear. During the remainder of the day, General Crook's division held the extreme left and rear, and was not seriously engaged.

I then determined that I would drive the enemy, with the cavalry, to the Five Forks, press them inside of their works, and make a feint to turn their right flank, and meanwhile quietly move up the Fifth Corps with a view to attacking their left flank, crush the whole force, if possible, and drive westward those who might escape, thus isolating them from their army at Petersburg. Happily, this conception was successfully executed. About this time, General McKenzie's division of cavalry, from the Army of the James, reported to me, and consisted of about one thousand effective men. I directed General Warren to hold fast at J. Boisseau's house, refresh his men, and be ready to move to the front when required; and General McKenzie was ordered to rest in front of Dinwiddie Court-House until further orders.

Meantime General Merritt's command continued to press the enemy, and by impetuous charges drove them from two lines of temporary works; General Custer guiding his advance on the widow Gilliam's house, and General Devin on the main Five Forks road. The courage displayed by the cavalry officers and men was superb, and about two o'clock the enemy was behind his works on the White Oak road, and his skirmish line drawn in. I then ordered up the Fifth Corps on the main road, and sent Brevet-Major Gillespie, of the engineers, to turn the head of the column off on the Gravelly Church road, and put the corps in position on this road obliquely to and at a point but a short distance from the White Oak road, and about one mile from the Five Forks. Two divisions of the corps were to form the front line, and one division was to be held in reserve in column of regiments opposite the center.

I then directed General Merritt to demonstrate as though he was attempting to turn the enemy's right flank, and notified him that the Fifth Corps would strike the enemy's left flank, and ordered that the cavalry should assault the enemy's works, as soon as the Fifth Corps became engaged, and that would be determined by the volleys of musketry. I then rode over to where the Fifth Corps was going into position, and found them coming up very slowly. I was exceedingly anxious to attack at once,

for the sun was getting low, and we had to fight or go back. It was no place to intrench, and it would have been shameful to have gone back with no results to compensate for the loss of the brave men who had fallen during the day. In this connection, I will say that General Warren did not exert himself to get up his corps as rapidly as he might have done, and his manner gave me the impression that he wished the sun to go down before dispositions for the attack could be completed. As soon as the corps was in position, I ordered an advance in the following formation: Ayres's division on the left in double lines, Crawford's division on the right in double lines, and Griffin's division in reserve, behind Crawford; and the White Oak road was reached without opposition.

While General Warren was getting into position, I learned that the left of the Second Corps of the Army of the Potomac, on my right, had been swung around from the direction of its line of battle until it fronted on the Boydtown road, and parallel to it, which offered an opportunity to the enemy to march down the White Oak road and attack me in right and rear. General McKenzie was therefore sent up the Camp road, with directions to gain the White Oak road if possible, but to attack at all hazards any enemy found, and if successful, then march down the road and join me. General McKenzie executed this with courage and skill, attacking a force of the enemy on the White Oak road, and driving it toward Petersburg. He then countermarched, and joined me on the White Oak road just as the Fifth Corps advanced to the attack, and I directed him to swing round with the right of the infantry and gain possession of the Ford road at the crossing of Hatcher's Run. The Fifth Corps, on reaching the White Oak road, made a left wheel, and burst on the enemy's left flank and rear like a tornado, and pushed rapidly on, orders having been given that if the enemy was routed there should be no halt to re-form broken lines. As stated before, the firing of the Fifth Corps was the signal to General Merritt to assault, which was promptly responded to, and the works of the enemy were soon carried at several points by our brave cavalrymen. The enemy were driven from their strong line of works and completely routed, the Fifth Corps doubling up their left flank in confusion, and the cavalry of General Merritt dashing on to the White Oak road, capturing their artillery and turning it upon them and riding into their broken ranks, so demoralized them, that they made no serious stand after their line was carried, but took to flight in disorder. Between 5,000 and 6,000 prisoners fell into our hands, and the fugitives were driven westward, and were pursued until long after dark, by Merritt's and McKenzie's cavalry, for a distance of six miles.

During this attack I again became dissatisfied with General Warren. During the engagement, portions of his line gave way when not exposed to a heavy fire, and simply for want of confidence on the part of the troops, which General Warren did not exert himself to inspire. I therefore relieved him from the command of the Fifth Corps, authority for this action having been sent to me before the battle, unsolicited. When the pursuit was given up, I directed General Griffin, who had been ordered to assume com-

mand of the Fifth Corps, to collect his troops at once, march two divisions back to Gravelly Church, and put them into position at right angles to the White Oak road, facing toward Petersburg, while Bartlett's division, Griffin's old, covered the Ford road to Hatcher's Run. General Merritt's cavalry went into camp on the widow Gilliam's plantation, and General McKenzie took position on the Ford road, at the crossing of Hatcher's Run. I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of the troops in this battle, and of the gallantry of their commanding officers, who appeared to realize that the success of the campaign and fate of Lee's army depended upon it. They merit the thanks of the country, and reward of the Government. To Generals Griffin, Ayres, Bartlett, and Crawford, of the Fifth Corps, and to Generals Merritt, Custer, Devin, and McKenzie, of the cavalry, great credit is due; and to their subordinate commanders they will undoubtedly award the praise which is due to them for the hearty co-operation, bravery, and ability, which were everywhere displayed. At daylight on the morning of April 2d, General Miles's division of the Second Corps reported to me, coming over from the Boydtown plank-road. I ordered it to move up the White Oak road, toward Petersburg, and attack the enemy at the intersection of that with the Claiborne road, where he was in position in heavy force, and I followed General Miles immediately, with two divisions of the Fifth Corps. Miles forced the enemy from this position, and pursued with great zeal, pushing him across Hatcher's Run, and following him upon the road to Sutherland's Dépôt. On the north side of the Run I overtook Miles, who was anxious to attack, and had a very fine and spirited division. I gave him permission; but about this time General Humphreys came up, and receiving notice from General Meade that General Humphreys would take command of Miles's division, I relinquished it at once, and facing the Fifth Corps by the rear. I afterward regretted giving up this division, as I believe the enemy could at that time have been crushed at Sutherland's Dépôt. I returned to Five Forks, and marched out on the Ford road, toward Hatcher's Run.

The cavalry had in the mean time been sent westward to cross Hatcher's Run, and break up the enemy's cavalry, which had collected in considerable force north of that stream, but they would not stand to fight, and our cavalry pursued them in a direction due north, to the Namozine road. Crossing Hatcher's Run with the Fifth Corps, the Southside Railroad was struck at Ford's Dépôt, meeting no opposition, and the Fifth Corps marched rapidly toward Sutherland's Dépôt, in flank and rear of the enemy opposing Miles. As he approached that point, the force of the enemy fled before the Fifth Corps could reach them, retreating along the main road by the Appomattox River, the cavalry and Crawford's division of the Fifth Corps engaging them slightly about dusk. On the morning of the 3d our cavalry took up the pursuit, routing the enemy's cavalry, and capturing many prisoners. The enemy's infantry was encountered at Deep Creek, where a severe fight took place. The Fifth Corps followed up the cavalry rapidly, picking up many prisoners, five pieces of abandoned artillery, and a number of wagons. The Fifth Corps, with Crook's division of cavalry,

encamped that night (the 4th) at Deep Creek, on the Namozine road, neither of these commands having been engaged during the day. On the morning of the 4th, General Crook was ordered to strike the Danville Railroad, between Jettersville and Burk's Station, and then move up toward Jettersville. The Fifth Corps moved rapidly to that point, as I had learned from my scouts that the enemy were at Amelia Court-House, and everything indicated that they were collecting at that point. On arriving at Jettersville, about 5 o'clock p. m., I learned without doubt that Lee and his whole army were at Amelia Court-House.

The Fifth Corps was at once ordered to intrench, with a view of holding Jettersville until the main army could come up. It seems to me that this was the only chance the Army of Northern Virginia had to save itself, which might have been done had General Lee promptly attacked and driven back the comparatively small force opposed to him, and pursued his march to Burkesville Junction. A dispatch from General Lee's chief commissary at Danville and Lynchburgh, requiring 200,000 rations to be sent to meet the army at Burkesville, was here intercepted. So soon as I found that the entire army of the enemy was concentrated at Amelia Court-House, I forwarded promptly all the information I had obtained to General Meade and the Lieutenant-General. On the morning of April 5th, General Crook was directed to send General Davies's brigade to make a reconnoissance to Paine's Cross-roads on our left and front, and ascertain if the enemy were making any movement toward that flank to escape. General Davies struck a train of one hundred and eighty wagons, escorted by a considerable force of the enemy's cavalry, which he defeated, capturing five pieces of artillery. He destroyed the wagons, and brought in a large number of prisoners. Gregg's and Smith's brigades of the Second Division were sent out to support Davies, and some heavy fighting ensued—the enemy having sent a strong force of infantry to attack and cut off Davies's brigade, which attempt was unsuccessful. During the afternoon, and after the arrival of the Second Corps at Jettersville, which General Meade requested me to put in position, he being ill, the enemy demonstrated strongly in front of Jettersville against Smith's and Gregg's divisions of Crook's cavalry, but no serious attack was made. Early on the morning of April 6th, General Crook was ordered to move to the left to Deatonsville followed by Custer's and Devin's divisions of General Merritt's command. The Fifth Corps had been returned to the command of General Meade, at his request. I afterward regretted giving up the corps.

When near Deatonsville, the enemy's trains were discovered moving in the direction of Burkesville or Farmville, escorted by heavy masses of infantry and cavalry, and it soon became evident that the whole of Lee's army was attempting to make its escape. Crook was at once ordered to attack the trains, and, if the enemy was too strong, one of the divisions would pass him while he held fast and pressed the enemy, and attack a point further on, and this division was ordered to do the same, and so on, alternating, and this system of attack would enable us finally to strike some weak point. This result was obtained just south of Sailor's Creek,

and on the high ground over that stream. Custer took the road, and, Crook and Devin coming up to his support, sixteen pieces of artillery were captured, and about four hundred wagons destroyed, and many prisoners were taken, and three divisions of the enemy's infantry were cut off from the line of retreat. Meantime Colonel Stagg, commanding the Michigan Brigade of the First Division, was held at a point about two and a half miles south of Deatonsville, and with this force a section of Miller's battery, which shelled the trains with excellent effect, while Colonel Stagg demonstrated to attack them, thus keeping a large force of the enemy from moving against the rest of the cavalry, and holding them until the arrival of the Sixth Corps, which was marching to report to me. I felt so strongly the necessity of holding this large force of the enemy, that I gave permission to General Merritt to order Colonel Stagg's brigade to make a mounted charge against their lines, which was most gallantly done, the men leaving many of their horses dead almost up to the enemy's works.

On the arrival of the head of the Sixth Corps, the enemy commenced withdrawing, Major-General Wright was ordered to put Seymour's division into position at once and advance and carry the road, which was done at a point about two miles or two miles and a half from Deatonsville. As soon as the road was in our possession, Wright was directed to push General Seymour on, the enemy falling back, skirmishing briskly. Their resistance growing stubborn, a halt was called to get up Wheaton's division of the Sixth Corps, which went into position on the left of the road, Seymour being on the right. Wheaton was ordered to guide right, with his right connecting with Seymour's left, and resting on the road. I still felt the great importance of pushing the enemy, and was unwilling to wait for the First Division of the Sixth Corps to get up. I therefore ordered an advance, sending word to General Humphreys, who was on the road to our right, and requesting him to push on, as I felt confident we could break up the enemy. It was apparent, from the absence of artillery fire, and the manner in which they gave way when pressed, that the force of the enemy opposed to us was a heavy rear-guard. The enemy was driven until our lines reached Sailor's Creek, and from the north bank I could see our cavalry on the high ground above the creek and south of it, and the long line of smoke from the burning wagons. A cavalryman, who in a charge cleared the enemy's works and came through their lines, reported to me what was in their front. I regret that I have forgotten the name of this gallant young soldier. As soon as General Wright could get his artillery into position, I ordered the attack to be made on the left, and sent Colonel Stagg's brigade of cavalry to strike and flank the extreme right of the enemy's line. The attack by the infantry was not executed exactly as I had directed, and a portion of our line in the open ground was broken by the terrible fire of the enemy, who were in position on commanding ground south of the creek.

This attack by Wheaton's and Seymour's divisions was splendid, but no more than I had reason to expect from the gallant Sixth Corps. The cav-

alry in rear of the enemy attacked simultaneously, and the enemy, after a gallant resistance, were completely surrounded, and nearly all threw down their arms and surrendered. General Ewell, commanding the enemy's forces, and a number of other general officers, fell into our hands, and a very large number of prisoners. I have never ascertained exactly how many prisoners were taken in this battle. Most of them fell into the hands of the cavalry, but they are no more entitled to claim them than the Sixth Corps, to which command equal credit is due for the good results of this engagement. Both the cavalry and the Sixth Corps encamped south of Sailor's Creek that night, having followed up the small remnant of the enemy's forces for several miles. In reference to the participation of the Sixth Corps in this action, I desire to add that the Lieutenant-General had notified me that this corps would report to me. Major McClellan and Lieutenant-Colonel Franklin, of General Wright's staff, had successively been sent forward to report the progress of the corps in coming up, and on the arrival of Major-General Wright he reported his corps to me, and from that time until after the battle received my orders and obeyed them; but after the engagement was over, and General Meade had communicated with General Wright, the latter declined to make his report to me until ordered to do so by the Lieutenant-General.

On the 7th instant, the pursuit was continued early in the morning by the cavalry, General Crook in the advance. It was discovered that the enemy had not been cut off by the Army of the James, and under the belief that he would attempt to escape on the Danville road, through Prince Edward Court-House, General Merritt was ordered to move his two divisions to that point, passing around the left of the Army of the James. General Crook continued the direct pursuit, encountering the main body of the enemy at Farmville, and again on the north side of the Appomattox, when the enemy's trains were attacked by General Gregg, and a sharp fight with the enemy's infantry ensued, in which General Gregg was unfortunately captured.

On arriving at Prince Edward Court-House, I found General McKenzie, with his division of cavalry from the Army of the James, and ordered him to cross the bridge on the Buffalo River, and make a reconnoissance to Prospect Station, on the Lynchburgh Railroad, and ascertain if the enemy were moving past that point. Meantime I heard from General Crook that the enemy had crossed to the north side of the Appomattox, and General Merritt was then moved on and encamped at Buffalo Creek, and General Crook was ordered to recross the Appomattox and encamp at Prospect Station.

On the morning of the 8th Merritt and McKenzie continued the march to Prospect Station, and Merritt's and Crook's commands then moving on to Appomattox Dépôt, a point on the Lynchburgh Railroad, five miles south of Appomattox Court-House. Shortly after the march commenced, Sergeant White, one of my scouts, notified me that there were four trains of cars at Appomattox Dépôt, loaded with supplies for General Lee's army. Generals Merritt and Crook were at once notified, and the

command pushed on briskly for twenty-eight miles. General Custer had the advance, and, on nearing the dépôt, skillfully threw a force in rear of the trains and captured them. Without halting a moment he pushed on, driving the enemy (who had reached the dépôt about the same time as our cavalry) in the direction of Appomattox Court-House, capturing many prisoners and twenty-five pieces of artillery, a hospital train, and a large park of wagons. General Devin coming up, went in on the right of Custer. The fighting continued till after dark, and the enemy being driven to Appomattox Court-House, I at once notified the Lieutenant-General, and sent word to Generals Ord and Gibbon, of the Army of the James, and General Griffin, commanding the Fifth Corps, who were in the rear, that, if they pressed on, there was now no means of escape for the enemy, who had reached "the last ditch." During the night, although we knew that the remnant of Lee's army was in our front, we held fast with the cavalry to what we had gained, and ran the captured trains back along the railroad to a point where they would be protected by our infantry that was coming up. The Twenty-fourth and Fifth Corps, and one division of the Twenty-fifth Corps, arrived about daylight on the 9th at Appomattox Dépôt.

After consulting with General Ord, who was in command of these corps, I rode to the front, near Appomattox Court-House, and just as the enemy in heavy force was attacking the cavalry with the intention of breaking through our lines, I directed the cavalry, which was dismounted, to fall back, gradually resisting the enemy, so as to give time for the infantry to form its lines and march to the attack, and, when this was done, to move off to the right flank and mount. This was done, and the enemy discontinued his attack as soon as he caught sight of our infantry. I moved briskly around the left of the enemy's line of battle, which was falling back rapidly (heavily pressed by the advance of the infantry), and was about to charge the trains and the confused masses of the enemy when a white flag was presented to General Custer, who had the advance, and who sent the information to me at once that the enemy desired to surrender.

Riding over to the left at Appomattox Court-House, I met Major-General Gordon, of the rebel service, and Major-General Wilcox. General Gordon requested a suspension of hostilities, pending negotiations for a surrender, then being held between Lieutenant-General Grant and General Lee. I notified him that I desired to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood, but as there was nothing definitely settled in the correspondence, and as an attack had been made on my lines with the view to escape, under the impression our force was only cavalry, I must have some assurance of an intended surrender. This General Gordon gave by saying that there was no doubt of the surrender of General Lee's army. I then separated from him, with an agreement to meet these officers again, in half an hour, at Appomattox Court-House. At the specified time, in company with General Ord, who commanded the infantry, I again met this officer, and also Lieutenant-General Longstreet, and received from them the same

assurance, and hostilities ceased until the arrival of Lieutenant-General Grant.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General.

Brevet Major-General JOHN A. RAWLINS, Chief of Staff.

We add General Sherman's own story of his great march through Georgia and the Carolinas.

FROM CHATTANOOGA TO ATLANTA.

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
ATLANTA, GA., *September* 15, 1864.

GENERAL:—I have heretofore, from day to day, by telegraph, kept the War Department and the General-in-Chief advised of the progress of events; but now it becomes necessary to review the whole campaign which has resulted in the capture and occupation of the city of Atlanta.

On the 14th day of March, 1864, at Memphis, Tennessee, I received notice from General Grant, at Nashville, that he had been commissioned Lieutenant-General, and Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the United States, which would compel him to go east, and that I had been appointed to succeed him as commander of the Division of the Mississippi. He summoned me to Nashville for a conference, and I took my departure the same day, and reached Nashville, via Cairo, on the 17th, and accompanied him on his journey eastward as far as Cincinnati. We had a full and complete understanding of the policy and plans for the ensuing campaign, covering a vast area of country, my part of which extended from Chattanooga to Vicksburg. I returned to Nashville, and on the 25th began a tour of inspection, visiting Athens, Decatur, Huntsville, and Larkin's Ferry, Alabama; Chattanooga, Loudon, and Knoxville, Tennessee. During this visit I had interviews with Major-General McPherson, commanding the Army of the Tennessee, at Huntsville; Major-General Thomas, commanding the Army of the Cumberland, at Chattanooga; and Major-General Schofield, commanding the Army of the Ohio, at Knoxville. We arranged in general terms the lines of communication to be guarded, the strength of the several columns and garrisons, and fixed the 1st day of May as the time when all things should be ready. Leaving these officers to complete the details of organization and preparation, I returned to Nashville on the 2d of April, and gave my personal attention to the question of supplies. I found the dépôts at Nashville abundantly supplied, and the railroads in very fair order, and that steps had already been taken to supply cars and locomotives to fill the new and increased demands of the service; but the impoverished condition of the inhabitants of East Tennessee, more especially in the region round about Chattanooga, had forced the commanding officers of posts to issue food to the people. I was compelled to stop this, for a simple calculation showed that a single railroad could not

feed the armies and the people too, and of course the army had the preference; but I endeavored to point the people to new channels of supply. At first my orders operated very hardly, but the prolific soil soon afforded early vegetation, and ox-wagons hauled meat and bread from Kentucky, so that no actual suffering resulted; and I trust that those who clamored at the cruelty and hardships of the day have already seen in the result a perfect justification of my course. At once the storehouses at Chattanooga began to fill, so that by the 1st of May a very respectable quantity of food and forage had been accumulated there, and from that day to this stores have been brought forward in wonderful abundance, with a surplus that has enabled me to feed the army well during the whole period of time, although the enemy has succeeded more than once in breaking our road for many miles at different points.

During the month of April I received from Lieutenant-General Grant a map, with a letter of instructions, which is now at Nashville, but a copy will be procured, and made part of this report. Subsequently I received from him notice that he would move from his camps about Culpepper, Virginia, on the 5th of May, and he wanted me to do the same from Chattanooga. My troops were still dispersed, and the cavalry, so necessary to our success, was yet collecting horses at Nicholasville, Kentucky, and Columbus, Tennessee. On the 27th of April I put all the troops in motion toward Chattanooga, and on the next day went there in person. My aim and purpose was to make the Army of the Cumberland fifty thousand men, that of the Tennessee thirty-five thousand, and that of the Ohio fifteen thousand. These figures were approximated, but never reached, the Army of the Tennessee failing to receive certain divisions that were still kept on the Mississippi, resulting from the unfavorable issue of the Red River expedition. But on the 1st of May the effective strength of the several armies for offensive purposes was about as follows:

ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND—MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS COMMANDING.

Infantry	54,568
Artillery	2,377
Cavalry	3,828
Total	60,773
Guns	130

ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE—MAJOR-GENERAL McPHERSON COMMANDING.

Infantry	22,437
Artillery	1,404
Cavalry	624
Total	24,465
Guns	96

ARMY OF THE OHIO—MAJOR-GENERAL SCHOFIELD COMMANDING.

Infantry	11,183
Artillery	679
Cavalry	1,697
Total	13,559
Guns	28
Grand aggregate number of troops	98,797
Guns	254

About these figures have been maintained during the campaign, the number of men joining from furlough and hospitals about compensating for the loss in battle, and from sickness. These armies were grouped on the morning of May 6th as follows:—That of the Cumberland at and near Ringgold; that of the Tennessee at Gordon's Mill, on the Chickamauga; and that of the Ohio near Red Clay, on the Georgia line, north of Dalton.

The enemy lay in and about Dalton, superior to me in cavalry (Wheeler's), and with three corps of infantry and artillery, viz.: Hardee's, Hood's, and Polk's, the whole commanded by General Joseph Johnston, of the Confederate army. I estimated the cavalry under Wheeler at about ten thousand, and the infantry and artillery at about forty-five thousand or fifty thousand men.

To strike Dalton in front was impracticable, as it was covered by an inaccessible ridge known as the Rocky Face, through which was a pass between Tunnel Hill and Dalton, known as the Buzzard Roost, through which lay the railroad and wagon-road. It was narrow, well obstructed by abatis, and flooded by water caused by dams across Mill Creek. Batteries also commanded it in its whole length, from the spurs on either side, and more especially from a ridge at the further end, like a traverse, directly across its debouche. It was therefore necessary to turn it. On its north front the enemy had a strong line of works behind Mill Creek, so that my attention was at once directed to the south. In that direction I found Snake Creek Gap, affording me a practicable way to reach Resaca, a point on the enemy's railroad line of communication, eighteen (18) miles below Dalton. Accordingly I ordered General McPherson to move rapidly from his position at Gordon's Mill, via Ship's Gap, Villanow, and Snake Creek Gap, directly on Resaca, or the railroad at any point below Dalton, and to make a bold attack. After breaking the railroad well, he was ordered to fall back to a strong defensive position near Snake Creek, and stand ready to fall upon the enemy's flank when he retreated, as I judged he would. During the movement, General Thomas was to make a strong feint of attack in front, while General Schofield pressed down from the north.

General Thomas moved from Ringgold on the 7th, occupying Tunnel Hill facing the Buzzard Roost Gap, meeting with little opposition, and pushing the enemy's cavalry well through the Gap; General McPherson

reached Snake Creek Gap on the 8th, completely surprising a brigade of cavalry, which was coming to watch and hold it; and on the 9th General Schofield pushed down close on Dalton from the north, whilst General Thomas renewed his demonstration against Buzzard Roost and Rocky Faced Ridge, pushing it almost to a battle. One division, General Newton's of the Fourth Corps, General Howard's, carried the Ridge, and, turning south towards Dalton, found the crest too narrow, and too well protected by rock epaulments, to enable him to reach the gorge or pass. Another division, General Geary's, of the Twentieth Corps, General Hooker's, also made a bold push for the summit, to the south of the pass, but the narrow road as it approached the summit was too strongly held by the enemy to be carried. This, however, was only designed as a demonstration, and worked well, for General McPherson was thereby enabled to march within a mile of Resaca almost unopposed. He found Resaca too strong to be carried by assault, and although there were many good roads leading from north to south, endangering his left flank from the direction of Dalton, he could find no road by which he could rapidly cross over to the railroad, and accordingly he fell back and took strong position near the west end of Snake Creek Gap. I was somewhat disappointed at the result, still appreciated the advantage gained, and on the 10th ordered General Thomas to send General Hooker's corps to Snake Creek Gap in support of General McPherson, and to follow with another corps, the Fourteenth, General Palmer's, leaving General Howard with the Fourth Corps to continue to threaten Dalton in front, whilst the rest of the army moved rapidly through Snake Creek Gap. On the same day General Schofield was ordered to follow by the same route, and on the 11th the whole army, excepting General Howard's corps, and some cavalry left to watch Dalton, was in motion on the west side of Rocky Faced Ridge for Snake Creek Gap and Resaca.

The next day, we moved against Resaca, General McPherson on the direct road, preceded by General Kilpatrick's cavalry; General Thomas to come up on his left, and General Schofield on his. General Kilpatrick met and drove the enemy's cavalry from a cross-road within two miles of Resaca, but received a wound which disabled him and gave the command of his brigade to Colonel Murray, who, according to his orders, wheeled out of the road, leaving General McPherson to pass. General McPherson struck the enemy's infantry pickets near Resaca, and drove them within their fortified lines and occupied a ridge of "bald" hills, his right on the Oostanaula, about two miles below the railroad bridge, and his left abreast the town. General Thomas came up on his left, facing Camp Creek, and General Schofield broke his way through the dense forest to General Thomas's left. Johnston had left Dalton, and General Howard entered it and pressed his rear. Nothing saved Johnston's army at Resaca but the impracticable nature of the country, which made the passage of troops across the Valley almost impossible. This fact enabled his army to reach Resaca from Dalton, along the comparatively good roads constructed beforehand, partly from the topographical nature of the country, and partly from the foresight

of the rebel chief. At all events, on 14th of May we found the rebel army in a strong position behind Camp Creek, occupying the forts at Resaca, and his right on some high chestnut hills to the north of the town. I at once ordered a pontoon bridge to be laid across the Oostanaula, at Lay's Ferry, in the direction of Calhoun; a division of the Sixteenth Corps, commanded by General Sweeney, to cross and threaten Calhoun; also, the cavalry division of General Garrard to move from its position at Villanow down toward Rome, to cross the Oostanaula and break the railroad below Calhoun and above Kingston, if possible; and with the main army I pressed against Resaca at all points. General McPherson got across Camp Creek near its mouth, and made a lodgment close up to the enemy's works, on hills that commanded, with short-range artillery, the railroad and trestle bridges; and General Thomas, pressing close along Camp Creek Valley, threw General Hooker's corps across the head of the creek to the main Dalton road, and down to it close on Resaca.

General Schofield came up close on his left, and a heavy battle ensued during the afternoon and evening of the 15th, during which General Hooker drove the enemy from several strong hills, captured a four-gun battery and many prisoners. That night, Johnston escaped, retreating south across the Oostanaula, and the next morning we entered the town in time to save the road bridge, but the railroad bridge was burned.

The whole army started in pursuit, General Thomas directly on his heels, General McPherson by Lay's Ferry, and General Schofield by obscure roads to the left. We found in Resaca another four-gun battery and a good lot of stores.

General McPherson, during the 16th, got across at Lay's Ferry. General Thomas had to make some additional bridges at Resaca, but General Schofield had more trouble, and made a wide circuit to the left by Fue's and Field's Ferries across the Connasauga and Coosawattee Rivers, which form the Oostanaula. On the 17th, all the armies moved south by as many different roads as we could find, and General Thomas had sent, by my orders, a division, General Jeff. C. Davis, along the west bank of Oostanaula, to Rome. Near Adairsville, we again found signs of the rebel army, and of a purpose to fight, and, about sunset of that day, General Newton's division, in the advance, had a pretty sharp encounter with his rear-guard; but the next morning he was gone, and we pushed on through Kingston to a point four miles beyond, where we found him again in force, on ground comparatively open, and well adapted to a grand battle. We made the proper dispositions—General Schofield approaching Cassville from the north, to which point General Thomas had also directed General Hooker's corps; and I had drawn General McPherson's army from Woodland to Kingston, to be in close support.

On the 19th, the enemy was in force about Cassville, with strong forts, but, as our troops converged on him, again he retreated in the night-time across the Etowah River, burning the road and railroad bridges near Cartersville, but leaving us in complete possession of the most valuable country above the Etowah River.

Holding General Thomas's army about Cassville, General McPherson's about Kingston, and General Schofield's at Cassville dépôt and toward the Etowah bridge, I gave the army a few days' rest, and also time to bring forward supplies for the next stage of the campaign. In the mean time, General Jeff. C. Davis had got possession of Rome, with its forts, some eight or ten guns of heavy caliber, and its valuable mills and foundries. We also secured possession of two good bridges across the Etowah River, near Kingston, giving us the means of crossing toward the south. Satisfied that the enemy could and would hold us in check at the Allatoona Pass, I resolved, without even attempting it in front, to turn it by a circuit to the right, and having supplied our wagons for twenty days' absence from our railroad, I left a garrison at Rome and Kingston, and, on the 23d, put the army in motion for "Dallas."

General McPherson crossed the Etowah at the mouth of Conasene Creek, near Kingston, and moved for his position to the south of Dallas, via Van Wert. General Davis's division moved directly from Rome for Dallas by Van Wert. General Thomas took the road via Euharlee and Burnt Hickory, while General Schofield moved by other roads more to the east, aiming to come up on General Thomas's left.

General Thomas's head of column skirmished with the enemy's cavalry about Burnt Hickory, and captured a courier with a letter of General Johnston's, showing that he had detected the move, and was preparing to meet us about Dallas. The country was very rugged, mountainous, and densely wooded, with few and obscure roads.

On the 25th of May, General Thomas was moving from Burnt Hickory for Dallas, his troops on three roads, General Hooker having the advance. When he approached the Pumpkin Vine Creek, on the main Dallas road, he found a respectable force of the enemy's cavalry at a bridge to his left. He rapidly pushed them across the creek, saving the bridge, though on fire, and followed out eastward about two miles, where he first encountered infantry, whose pickets he drove some distance, until he encountered the enemy's line of battle, and his leading division, General Geary's, had a severe encounter. General Hooker's other two divisions were on other roads, and he ordered them in, although the road he was then following, by reason of the presence of the enemy, led him north of Dallas about four miles.

It was near four o'clock, P. M., before General Hooker got his whole corps well in hand, when he deployed two divisions, and, by my order, made a bold push to secure possession of a point known as the "New Hope" Church, where three roads meet—from Ackworth, Marietta, and Dallas. Here a hard battle was fought, and the enemy was driven back to New Hope Church; but, having hastily thrown up some parapets, and a stormy, dark night having set in, General Hooker was unable to drive the enemy from those roads. By the next morning, we found the enemy well intrenched, substantially in front of the road leading from Dallas to Marietta. We were, consequently, compelled to make dispositions on a larger scale. General McPherson was moved up to Dallas, General Thomas was deployed against New Hope Church, and General Schofield was directed toward our left, so

as to strike and turn the enemy's right. General Garrard's cavalry operated with General McPherson, and General Stoneman with General Schofield. General McCook looked to our rear.

Owing to the difficult nature of the ground and dense forests, it took us several days to deploy close to the enemy, when I resolved gradually to work toward our left, and, when all things were ready, to push for the railroad east of Allatoona. In making our development before the enemy about New Hope, many severe, sharp encounters occurred between parts of the army, details of which will be given at length in the reports of subordinate commanders. On the 28th, General McPherson was on the point of closing to his left on General Thomas, in front of New Hope Church, to enable me with the rest of the army to extend still more to the left and to envelop the enemy's right, when suddenly the enemy made a bold and daring assault on him at Dallas.

Fortunately our men had erected good breastworks, and gave the enemy a terrible and bloody repulse. After a few days' delay, for effect, I renewed my orders to General McPherson to move to his left about five miles, and occupy General Thomas's position in front of New Hope Church, and Generals Thomas and Schofield were ordered to move a corresponding distance to their left. This move was effected with ease and safety on the 1st of June, and, by pushing our left well around, we occupied all the roads leading back to Allatoona and Ackworth; after which, I pushed General Stoneman's cavalry rapidly into Allatoona, at the east end of the Pass, and General Garrard's cavalry around by the rear to the west end of the Pass. Both of these commands reached the points designated without trouble, and we thereby accomplished our real purpose of turning the Allatoona Pass.

Ordering the railroad bridge across the Etowah to be at once rebuilt, I continued working by the left, and on the 4th of June had resolved to leave Johnston in his intrenched position at New Hope Church, and move to the railroad about Ackworth, when he abandoned his intrenchments, after which we moved readily to Ackworth, and reached the railroad on the 6th of June. I at once examined in person the Allatoona Pass and found it admirably adapted to our use as a secondary base, and gave the necessary orders for its defense and garrison, and, as soon as the railroad bridge was finished across the Etowah, our stores came forward to our camps by rail.

At Ackworth, General Blair overtook us on the 8th of June with two divisions of the Seventeenth Corps that had been on furlough, and one brigade of cavalry, Colonel Long's, of General Garrard's division, which had been awaiting horses at Columbia. This accession of force about compensated for our losses in battle and the detachment left at Resaca, Rome, Kingston, and Allatoona.

On the 9th of June, our communications in the rear being secure and supplies ample, we moved forward to Big Shanty.

Kenesaw, the bold and striking Twin Mountain, lay before us, with a high range of chestnut hills trending off to the northeast, terminating to our view in another peak called Brushy Mountain. To our right was the smaller hill called Pine Mountain, and beyond it in the distance Lost Moun-

tain. All these, though links in a continuous chain, present a sharp conical appearance, prominent in the vast landscape that presents itself from any of the hills that abound in that region. Kenesaw, Pine Mountain, and Lost Mountain form a triangle, Pine Mountain the apex, and Kenesaw and Lost Mountain the base, covering perfectly the town of Marietta and the railroad back to the Chattahoochie. On each of these peaks the enemy had his signal-stations. The summits were covered with batteries, and the spurs were alive with men, busy in felling trees, digging pits, and preparing for the grand struggle impending.

The scene was enchanting—too beautiful to be disturbed by the harsh clamors of war; but the Chattahoochie lay beyond, and I had to reach it. On approaching close to the enemy, I found him occupying a line full two miles long, more than he could hold with his force. General McPherson was ordered to move toward Marietta, his right on the railroad, General Thomas on Kenesaw and Pine Mountain, and General Schofield off toward Lost Mountain; General Garrard's cavalry on the left, General Stoneman's on the right, and General McCook looking to our rear and communications. Our dépôt was at Big Shanty.

By the 11th of June our lines were close up, and we made dispositions to break the line between Kenesaw and Pine Mountains. General Hooker was on its right and front, General Howard on its left and front, and General Palmer between it and the railroad. During a sharp cannonading from General Howard's right or General Hooker's left, General Polk was killed on the 14th, and on the morning of the 15th Pine Mountain was found abandoned by the enemy. Generals Thomas and Schofield advanced, and found him again strongly intrenched along the line of rugged hills connecting Kenesaw and Lost Mountains. At the same time General McPherson advanced his line, gaining substantial advantage on the left. Pushing our operations on the center as vigorously as the nature of the ground would permit, I had again ordered an assault on the center, when, on the 17th, the enemy abandoned Lost Mountain and the long line of admirable breastworks connecting it with Kenesaw. We continued to press at all points, skirmishing in dense forests of timber and across most difficult ravines, until we found him again strongly posted and intrenched, with Kenesaw as his salient, his right wing thrown back to cover Marietta, and his left behind Nose's Creek, covering his railroad back to the Chattahoochie. This enabled him to contract his lines and strengthen them accordingly.

From Kenesaw he could look down upon our camps and observe every movement, and his batteries thundered away, but did us little harm, on account of the extreme hight, the shot and shell passing harmlessly over our heads as we lay close up against his mountain town.

During our operations about Kenesaw the weather was villainously bad, and the rain fell almost continuously for three weeks, rendering our narrow wooded roads mere mud gulleys, so that a general movement would have been impossible; but our men daily worked closer and closer to the intrenched foe, and kept up an incessant picket firing, galling to him. Every

opportunity was taken to advance our general lines closer and closer to the enemy.

General McPherson watching the enemy on Kenesaw and working his left forward, General Thomas swinging as it were on a grand left wheel, his left on Kenesaw connecting with General McPherson, and General Schofield all the time working to the south and east along the old Sandtown road. On the 22d General Hooker had advanced his line, with General Schofield on his right, the enemy, Hood's corps, with detachments from the others, suddenly sallied and attacked. The blow fell mostly on General Williams's division of General Hooker's corps, and a brigade of General Hascall's division of General Schofield's army.

The ground was comparatively open, and although the enemy drove in the skirmish lines—an advanced regiment of General Schofield, sent out purposely to hold him in check until some preparations could be completed for his reception—yet when he reached our line of battle he received a terrible repulse, leaving his dead, wounded, and many prisoners in our hands. This is known as the affair of the "Kulp House." Although inviting the enemy at all times to commit such mistakes, I could not hope for him to repeat them after the examples of Dallas and the "Kulp House," and upon studying the ground I had no alternative in my turn but to assault his lines or turn his position. Either course had its difficulties and dangers. And I perceived that the enemy and our own officers had settled down into a conviction that I would not assault fortified lines.

All looked to me to "outflank." An army to be efficient must not settle down to one single mode of offense, but must be prepared to execute any plan which promises success. I waited, therefore, for the moral effect, to make a successful assault against the enemy behind his breastworks, and resolved to attempt it at that point where success would give the largest fruits of victory. The general point selected was the left center; because, if I could thrust a strong head of column through at that point, by pushing it boldly and rapidly two and one-half miles, it would reach the railroad below Marietta, cut off the enemy's right and center from its line of retreat, and then, by turning on either part, it could be overwhelmed and destroyed. Therefore, on the 24th of June, I ordered that an assault should be made at two points south of Kenesaw on the 27th, giving three days' notice for preparation and reconnoissance; one to be made near Little Kenesaw by General McPherson's troops, and the other about a mile further south by General Thomas's troops. The hour was fixed, and all the details given in Field Orders, No. 28, of June 24. On the 27th of June the two assaults were made at the time and in the manner prescribed, and both failed, costing us many valuable lives, among them those of Generals Harker and McCook; Colonel Rice and others badly wounded. Our aggregate loss was near three thousand, while we inflicted comparatively little loss on the enemy, who lay behind his well-formed breastworks. Failure as it was, and for which I assume the entire responsibility, I yet claim it produced good fruits, as it demonstrated to General Johnston that I would assault, and that boldly, and we also gained and held

ground so close to the enemy's parapets that he could not show a head above them.

It would not do to rest long under the influence of a mistake or failure, and accordingly General Schofield was working strong on the enemy's left; and on the 1st of July I ordered General McPherson to be relieved by General Garrard's cavalry in front of Kenesaw, and to rapidly throw his whole army by the right down to and threaten Nickajack Creek and Turner's Ferry across the Chattahoochie, and I also pushed Stoneman's cavalry to the river below Turner's.

General McPherson commenced his movement the night of July 2d, and the effect was instantaneous. The next morning Kenesaw was abandoned, and with the first dawn of day I saw our skirmishers appear on the mountain-top. General Thomas's whole line was then moved forward to the railroad and turned south in pursuit toward the Chattahoochie. In person I entered Marietta at half-past eight in the morning, just as the enemy's cavalry vacated the place. General Logan's corps of General McPherson's army, which had not moved far, was ordered back into Marietta by the main road, and General McPherson and General Schofield were instructed to cross Nickajack and attack the enemy in flank and rear, and, if possible, to catch him in the confusion of crossing the Chattahoochie; but Johnston had foreseen and provided against all this, and had covered his movement well. He had intrenched a strong *tête-du-pont* at the Chattahoochie, with an advanced intrenched line across the road at Smyrna camp-meeting ground, five miles from Marietta.

Here General Thomas found him, his front covered by a good parapet, and his flanks behind the Nickajack and Rottenwood Creeks. Ordering a garrison for Marietta, and General Logan to join his own army near the mouth of Nickajack, I overtook General Thomas at Smyrna. On the 4th of July we pushed a strong skirmish line down the main road, capturing the entire line of the enemy's pits, and made strong demonstrations along Nickajack Creek and about Turner's Ferry. This had the desired effect, and the next morning the enemy was gone, and the army moved to the Chattahoochie, General Thomas's left flank resting on it near Paice's Ferry, General McPherson's right at the mouth of Nickajack, and General Schofield in reserve; the enemy lay behind a line of unusual strength, covering the railroad and pontoon bridges and beyond the Chattahoochie. Heavy skirmishing along our whole front during the 5th demonstrated the strength of the enemy's position, which could alone be turned by crossing the main Chattahoochie River, a rapid and deep stream, only passable at that stage by means of bridges, except at one or two very difficult fords.

To accomplish this result, I judged it would be more easy of execution before the enemy had made more thorough preparation or regained full confidence, and accordingly I ordered General Schofield across from his position on the Sandtown road to Smyrna camp-ground, and next to the Chattahoochie, near the mouth of Soap's Creek, and effect a lodgment on the east bank. This was most successfully and skillfully accomplished on the 7th of July, General Schofield capturing a gun, completely surprising

the guard, laying a good pontoon-bridge and a trestle-bridge, and effecting a strong lodgment on high and commanding ground, with good roads leading to the east. At the same time, General Garrard moved rapidly on Roswell and destroyed the factories which had supplied the rebel armies with cloth for years. Over one of these, the woolen-factory, the nominal owner displayed the French flag, which was not respected, of course. A neutral, surely, is no better than one of our own citizens, and we do not permit our own citizens to fabricate cloth for hostile uses.

General Garrard was then ordered to secure the shallow ford at Roswell, and hold it until he could be relieved by infantry; and as I contemplated transferring the Army of the Tennessee from the extreme right to the left, I ordered General Thomas to send a division of his infantry, that was nearest up to Roswell, to hold the ford until General McPherson could send up a corps from the neighborhood of Nickajack. General Newton's division was sent, and held the ford until the arrival of General Dodge's corps, which was soon followed by General McPherson's whole army. About the same time General Howard had also built a bridge at Powers's Ferry; two miles below, General Schofield had crossed over and taken a position on his right. Thus during the 9th we had secured three good and safe points of passage over the Chattahoochie, above the enemy, with good roads leading to Atlanta, and Johnston abandoned his *tête-du-pont*, burned his bridges, and left us undisputed masters north and west of the Chattahoochie, at daylight of the 10th of July.

This was one, if not the chief, object of the campaign, viz.: the advancement of our lines from the Tennessee to the Chattahoochie; but Atlanta lay before us only eight miles distant, and was too important a place in the hands of an enemy to be left undisturbed with its magazines, stores, arsenals, workshops, foundries, &c., and more especially its railroads, which converge there from the four great cardinal points. But the men had worked hard and needed rest, and we accordingly took a short spell. But, in anticipation of this contingency, I had collected a well-appointed force of cavalry, about two thousand strong, at Decatur, Alabama, with orders, on receiving notice by telegraph, to push rapidly south, cross the Coosa at the railroad bridge or the Ten Islands, and thence by the most direct route to Opelika. There is but one stem of finished railroad connecting the channels of trade and travel between Georgia and Alabama, and Mississippi, which runs from Montgomery to Opelika, and my purpose was to break it up effectually, and thereby cut off Johnston's army from that source of supply and re-enforcement.

General Rousseau, commanding the District of Tennessee, asked permission to command the expedition, and received it. As soon as Johnston was well across the Chattahoochie, and as I had begun to maneuver on Atlanta, I gave the requisite notice, and General Rousseau started punctually on the 10th of July. He fulfilled his orders and instructions to the very letter, whipping the rebel General Clanton *en route;* he passed through Talladega, and reached the railroad on the 16th, about twenty-five miles west of Opelika, and broke it well up to that place. Also t[illegible]ree

miles of the branch toward Columbus and two toward West Point. He then turned north and brought his command safely to Marietta, arriving on the 22d, having sustained a trifling loss, not to exceed thirty men.

The main armies remained quiet in their camps, on the Chattahoochie, until the 16th of July, but the time was employed in collecting stores at Allatoona, Marietta, and Vining's Station, strengthening the railroad guards and garrisons, and improving the piers, bridges, and roads leading across the river. General Stoneman's and McCook's cavalry had scouted well down the river to draw attention in that direction, and all things being ready for a general advance, I ordered it to commence on the 17th; General Thomas to cross at Powers's and Paice's Ferry bridges, and to march by Buckhead; General Schofield was already across at the mouth of Soap's Creek, and to march by Cross Keys, and General McPherson to direct his course from Roswell straight against the Augusta road, at some point east of Decatur, near Stone Mountain. General Garrard's cavalry acted with General McPherson, and Generals Stoneman and McCook watched the river and roads below the railroad. On the 17th, the whole army advanced from their camps and formed a general line along the old Peach-tree road.

Continuing on a general right-wheel, General McPherson reached the Augusta Railroad on the 18th, at a point seven miles east of Decatur, and, with General Garrard's cavalry and General Morgan L. Smith's infantry division of the Fifteenth Corps, broke up a section of about four miles, and General Schofield reached the town of Decatur.

On the 19th, General McPherson turned along the railroad into Decatur, and General Schofield followed a road toward Atlanta, leading by Colonel Howard's house and the distillery, and General Thomas crossed Peach-tree Creek in force by numerous bridges in the face of the enemy's intrenched lines. All found the enemy in more or less force, and skirmished heavily.

On the 20th, all the armies had closed in, converging toward Atlanta, but, as a gap existed between Generals Schofield and Thomas, two divisions of General Howard's corps of General Thomas's army were moved to the left to connect with General Schofield, leaving General Newton's division of the same corps on the Buckhead road. During the afternoon of the 20th, about four P. M., the enemy sallied from his works in force, and fell in line of battle against our right center, composed of General Newton's division of General Howard's corps, on the main Buckhead road; of General Hooker's corps next south, and General Johnson's division of General Palmer's corps. The blow was sudden and somewhat unexpected, but General Newton had hastily covered his front by a line of rail-piles, which enabled him to meet and repulse the attack on him. General Hooker's whole corps was uncovered, and had to fight on comparatively open ground, and it, too, after a very severe battle, drove the enemy back to his intrenchments, and the action in front of General Johnston was comparatively light, that division being well intrenched. The enemy left on the field over five hundred dead, about one thousand wounded severely, seven stands of colors, and many prisoners. His loss could not have fallen short of five thousand, whereas ours was covered by one thousand five hundred killed,

wounded, and missing; the greater loss fell on General Hooker's corps, from its exposed condition.

On the 21st, we felt the enemy in his intrenched position, which was found to crown the hights overlooking the comparatively open ground of the valley of Peach-tree Creek, his right beyond the Augusta road to the east, and his left well toward Turner's Ferry on the Chattahoochie, at a general distance from Atlanta of about four miles.

On the morning of the 22d, somewhat to my surprise, this whole line was found abandoned, and I confess I thought the enemy had resolved to give us Atlanta without further contest; but General Johnston had been relieved of his command, and General Hood substituted. A new policy seemed resolved on, of which the bold attack on our right was the index. Our advancing ranks swept across the strong and well-finished parapet of the enemy, and closed in upon Atlanta, until we occupied a line in the form of a general circle of about two miles radius, when we again found him occupying in force a line of finished redoubts, which had been prepared for more than a year, covering all the roads leading into Atlanta; and we found him also busy in connecting those redoubts with curtains strengthened by rifle trenches, abatis, and chevaux-de-frise.

General McPherson, who had advanced from Decatur, continued to follow substantially the railroad, with the Fifteenth Corps, General Logan; the Seventeenth, General Blair, on its left, and the Sixteenth, General Dodge, on its right; but as the general advance of all the armies contracted the circle, the Sixteenth Corps, General Dodge, was thrown out of line by the Fifteenth connecting on the right with General Schofield, near the Howard House. General McPherson, the night before, had gained a high hill to the south and east of the railroad, where the Seventeenth Corps had, after a severe fight, driven the enemy, and it gave him a most commanding position within easy view of the very heart of the city. He had thrown out working-parties to it, and was making preparations to occupy it in strength with batteries. The Sixteenth Corps, General Dodge, was ordered from right to left to occupy this position, and make it a strong general left flank. General Dodge was moving by a diagonal path or wagon-track leading from the Decatur road in the direction of General Blair's left flank.

About ten A. M., I was in person with General Schofield examining the appearance of the enemy's lines opposite the distillery, where we attracted enough of the enemy's fire of artillery and musketry to satisfy me the enemy was in Atlanta in force, and meant to fight, and had gone to a large dwelling close by, known as the Howard House, where General McPherson joined me. He described the condition of things on his flank, and the disposition of his troops. I explained to him that if we met serious resistance in Atlanta, as present appearances indicated, instead of operating against it by the left, I would extend to the right, and that I did not want him to gain much distance to the left. He then described the hill occupied by General Leggett's division of General Blair's corps as essential to the occupation of any ground to the east and south of the Augusta Railroad, on

account of its commanding nature. I therefore ratified his disposition of troops, and modified a previous order I had sent him in writing to use General Dodge's corps, thrown somewhat in reserve by the closing up of our line, to break up railroad, and I sanctioned its going, as already ordered by General McPherson, to his left, to hold and fortify that position. The general remained with me until near noon, when some reports reaching us that indicated a movement of the enemy on that flank, he mounted and rode away with his staff. I must here also state, that the day before I had detached General Garrard's cavalry to go to Covington, on the Augusta road, forty-two miles east of Atlanta, and from that point to send detachments to break the two important bridges across the Yellow and Ulcofauhatchee Rivers, tributaries of the Ocmulgee; and General McPherson had also left his wagon-train at Decatur, under a guard of three regiments, commanded by Colonel (now General) Sprague. Soon after General McPherson left me at the Howard House, as before described, I heard the sounds of musketry to our left rear; at first mere pattering shots, but soon they grew in volume, accompanied with artillery, and about the same time the sound of guns was heard in the direction of Decatur. No doubt could longer be entertained of the enemy's plan of action, which was to throw a superior force on our left flank, while he held us with his forts in front, the only question being as to the amount of force he could employ at that point. I hastily transmitted orders to all points of our center and right to press forward and give full employment to all the enemy in his lines, and for General Schofield to hold as large a force in reserve as possible, awaiting developments. Not more than half an hour after General McPherson had left me, viz., about half-past twelve o'clock P. M., of the 22d, his adjutant-general, Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, rode up and reported that General McPherson was either dead or a prisoner; that he had ridden from me to General Dodge's column, moving as heretofore described, and had sent off nearly all his staff and orderlies on various errands, and himself had passed into a narrow path or road that led to the left and rear of General Giles A. Smith's division, which was General Blair's extreme left; that a few minutes after he had entered the woods a sharp volley was heard in that direction, and his horse had come out riderless, having two wounds. The suddenness of this terrible calamity would have overwhelmed me with grief, but the living demanded my whole thoughts. I instantly dispatched a staff-officer to General John A. Logan, commanding the Fifteenth Corps, to tell him what had happened; that he must assume command of the Army of the Tennessee, and hold stubbornly the ground already chosen, more especially the hill gained by General Leggett the night before.

Already the whole line was engaged in battle. Hardee's corps had sallied from Atlanta, and by a wide circuit to the east had struck General Blair's left flank, enveloped it, and his right had swung around until it hit General Dodge in motion. General Blair's line was substantially along the old line of the rebel trench, but it was fashioned to fight outward. A space of wooded ground of near half a mile intervened between the head of General Dodge's column and General Blair's line, through which the enemy had

poured, but the last order ever given by General McPherson was to hurry a brigade (Colonel Wangelin's) of the Fifteenth Corps across from the railroad to occupy this gap. It came across on the double-quick and checked the enemy. While Hardee attacked in flank, Stewart's corps was to attack in front, directly out from the main works, but fortunately their attacks were not simultaneous. The enemy swept across the hill which our men were then fortifying, and captured the pioneer company, its tools, and almost the entire working-party, and bore down on our left until he encountered General Giles A. Smith's division of the Seventeenth Corps, who was somewhat "in air," and forced to fight first from one side of the old rifle-parapet and then from the other, gradually withdrawing regiment by regiment, so as to form a flank to General Leggett's division, which held the apex of the hill, which was the only part that was deemed essential to our future plans. General Dodge had caught and held well in check the enemy's right, and punished him severely, capturing many prisoners. Smith (General Giles A.) had gradually given up the extremity of his line and formed a new one, whose right connected with General Leggett, and his left refused, facing southeast. On this ground, and in this order, the men fought well and desperately for near four hours, checking and repulsing all the enemy's attacks. The execution on the enemy's ranks at the angle was terrible, and great credit is due both Generals Leggett and Giles A. Smith, and their men, for their hard and stubborn fighting. The enemy made no further progress on that flank, and by four o'clock P. M. had almost given up the attempt. In the mean time Wheeler's cavalry, unopposed (for General Garrard was absent at Covington by my order), had reached Decatur, and attempted to capture the wagon-trains, but Colonel (now General,) Sprague covered them with great skill and success, sending them to the rear of Generals Schofield and Thomas, and not drawing back from Decatur till every wagon was safe, except three which the teamsters had left, carrying off the mules. On our extreme left the enemy had taken a complete battery of six guns, with its horses (Murray's), of the regular army, as it was moving along unsupported and unapprehensive of danger, in a narrow wooded road in that unguarded space between the head of General Dodge's column and the line-of-battle on the ridge above, but most of the men escaped to the bushes. He also got two other guns on the extreme left flank, that were left on the ground as General Giles A. Smith drew off his men in the manner heretofore described. About four o'clock P. M. there was quite a lull, during which the enemy felt forward on the railroad and main Decatur road, and suddenly assailed a regiment which, with a section of guns, had been thrown forward as a kind of picket, and captured the two guns; he then advanced rapidly, and broke through our lines at that point, which had been materially weakened by the withdrawal of Colonel Martin's brigade, sent by General Logan's order to the extreme left. The other brigade, General Lightburn, which held this part of the line, fell back in some disorder about four hundred yards, to a position held by it the night before, leaving the enemy for a time in possession of two batteries, one of which, a twenty-pounder Parrott battery of four guns,

was most valuable to us, and separating General Woods's and General Harrow's divisions of the Fifteenth Corps, that were on the right and left of the railroad. Being in person close by the spot, and appreciating the vast importance of the connection at that point, I ordered certain batteries of General Schofield to be moved to a position somewhat commanding, by a left-flank fire, and ordered an incessant fire of shells on the enemy within sight, and the woods beyond, to prevent his re-enforcing. I also sent orders to General Logan, which he had already anticipated, to make the Fifteenth Corps regain its lost ground at any cost, and instructed General Woods, supported by General Schofield, to use his division and sweep the parapet down from where he held it until he saved the batteries and recovered the lost ground. The whole was executed in superb style, at times our men and the enemy fighting across the narrow parapet; but at last the enemy gave way, and the Fifteenth Corps regained its position, and all the guns, except the two advanced ones, which were out of view, and had been removed by the enemy within his main work. With this terminated the battle of the 22d, which cost us three thousand seven hundred and twenty-two killed, wounded, and prisoners.

But among the dead was Major-General McPherson, whose body was recovered and brought to me in the heat of battle, and I had sent it in charge of his personal staff back to Marietta, on its way to his Northern home. He was a noble youth, of striking personal appearance, of the highest professional capacity, and with a heart abounding in kindness, that drew to him the affections of all men. His sudden death devolved the command of the Army of the Tennessee on the no less brave and gallant General Logan, who nobly sustained his reputation and that of his veteran army, and avenged the death of his comrade and commander. The enemy left on the field his dead and wounded, and about a thousand well prisoners. His dead alone are computed by General Logan at three thousand two hundred and forty, of which number two thousand two hundred were from actual count, and of these he delivered to the enemy, under a flag of truce sent in by him (the enemy), eight hundred bodies. I entertain no doubt that in the battle of July 22d the enemy sustained an aggregate loss of full eight thousand men. The next day General Garrard returned from Covington, having succeeded perfectly in his mission, and destroyed the bridges at Ulcofauhatchee and Yellow Rivers, besides burning a train of cars, a large quantity of cotton (two thousand bales), and the dépôts of stores at Covington and Conyer's Station, and bringing in two hundred prisoners and some good horses, losing but two men, one of whom was killed by accident. Having, therefore, sufficiently crippled the Augusta road, and rendered it useless to the enemy, I then addressed myself to the task of reaching the Macon road, over which, of necessity, came the stores and ammunition that alone maintained the rebel army in Atlanta.

Generals Schofield and Thomas had closed well up, holding the enemy behind his inner intrenchments. I first ordered the Army of the Tennessee to prepare to vacate its line, and to shift by the right below Proctor's Creek, and General Schofield to extend up to the Augusta road. About

the same time General Rousseau had arrived from his expedition to Opelika, bringing me about two thousand good cavalry, but of course fatigued with its long and rapid march; and, ordering it to relieve General Stoneman at the river about Sandtown, I shifted General Stoneman to our left flank, and ordered all my cavalry to prepare for a blow at the Macon road, simultaneous with the movement of the Army of the Tennessee toward East Point. To accomplish this, I gave General Stoneman the command of his own and General Garrard's cavalry, making an effective force of full five thousand men; and to General McCook I gave his own and the new cavalry brought by General Rousseau, which was commanded by Colonel Harrison, of the Eighth Indiana Cavalry, in the aggregate about four thousand. These two well-appointed bodies were to move in concert, the former by the left around Atlanta to McDonough, and the latter by the right on Fayetteville, and on a certain night, viz., July 28th, they were to meet on the Macon road, near Lovejoy's, and destroy it in the most effectual manner. I estimated this joint cavalry could whip all Wheeler's cavalry, and could otherwise fully accomplish its task, and I think so still. I had the officers in command to meet me, and explained the movement perfectly, and they entertained not a doubt of perfect success. At the very moment almost of starting, General Stoneman addressed me a note asking permission, after fulfilling his orders and breaking the road, to be allowed, with his command proper, to proceed to Macon and Andersonville, and release our prisoners of war confined at those points. There was something most captivating in the idea, and the execution was within the bounds of probability of success. I consented that, after the defeat of Wheeler's cavalry, which was embraced in his orders, and breaking the road, he might attempt it with his cavalry proper, sending that of General Garrard back to its proper flank of the army. Both cavalry expeditions started at the time appointed. I have as yet no report from General Stoneman, who is a prisoner of war at Macon, but I know that he dispatched General Garrard's cavalry to Flat Rock, for the purpose of covering his own movement to McDonough, but for some reason unknown to me he went off toward Covington, and did not again communicate with General Garrard at Flat Rock. General Garrard remained there until the 29th, skirmishing heavily with a part of Wheeler's cavalry, and occupying their attention; but hearing nothing from General Stoneman, he moved back to Conyer's, where, learning that General Stoneman had gone to Covington and south on the east side of the Ocmulgee, he returned and resumed his position on our left. It is known that General Stoneman kept to the east of the Ocmulgee to Clinton, sending detachments off to the east, which did a large amount of damage to the railroad, burning the bridges of Walnut Creek and Oconee, and destroying a large number of cars and locomotives, and with his main force appeared before Macon. He did not succeed in crossing the Ocmulgee at Macon, or in approaching Andersonville, but retired in the direction whence he came, followed by various detachments of mounted men, under a General Iverson. He seems to have become hemmed in, and gave consent to two-thirds of his force to

escape back, whilst he held the enemy in check with the remainder, about seven hundred men, and a section of light guns. One brigade, Colonel Adams, came in almost intact. Another, commanded by Colonel Capron, was surprised on the way back, and scattered; many were captured and killed, and the balance got in mostly unarmed and afoot, and the general himself surrendered his small command, and is now a prisoner at Macon. His mistake was in not making the first concentration with Generals McCook and Garrard, near Lovejoy's, according to his orders, which is yet unexplained.

General McCook, in the execution of his part, went down the west bank of the Chattahoochie to near Rivertown, where he laid a pontoon bridge, with which he was provided, crossed his command, and moved rapidly on Palmetto Station of the West Point road, where he tore up a section of track, leaving a regiment to create a diversion toward Campbelltown, which regiment fulfilled its duty, and returned to camp by way of, and escorting back, the pontoon-bridge train. General McCook then rapidly moved to Fayetteville, where he found a large number of the wagons belonging to the rebel army in Atlanta. These he burned to the number of five hundred, killing eight hundred mules, and carrying along others, and taking two hundred and fifty prisoners, mostly quartermasters and men belonging to the trains. He then pushed for the railroad, reaching it at Lovejoy's Station at the time appointed. He burned the dépôt, tore up a section of the road, and continued to work until forced to leave off to defend himself against an accumulating force of the enemy. He could hear nothing of General Stoneman, and finding his progress east too strongly opposed, he moved south and west, and reached Newman, on the West Point road, where he encountered an infantry force coming from Mississippi to Atlanta, which had been stopped by the break he had made at Palmetto. This force, with the pursuing cavalry, hemmed him in, and forced him to fight. He was compelled to drop his prisoners and captures, and cut his way out, losing some five hundred officers and men. Among them a most valuable officer, Colonel Harrison, who, when fighting his men as skirmishers on foot, was overcome and made prisoner, and is now at Macon. He cut his way out, reached the Chattahoochie, crossed, and got to Marietta without further loss.

General McCook is entitled to much credit for thus saving his command, which was endangered by the failure of General Stoneman to reach Lovejoy's. But, on the whole, the cavalry raid is not deemed a success, for the real purpose was to break the enemy's communications, which, though done, was on so limited a scale that I knew the damages would soon be repaired.

Pursuant to the general plan, the Army of the Tennessee drew out of its lines near the Decatur road during the night of July 26th, and on the 27th moved behind the rest of the army to Proctor's Creek, and south, to prolong our line due south, facing east. On that day, by appointment of the President of the United States, Major-General Howard assumed command of the Army of the Tennessee, and had the general supervision of

the movement, which was made *en échelon*—General Dodge's corps, Sixteenth, on the left, nearest the enemy; General Blair's corps, Seventeenth, next to come up on its right, and General Logan's corps, Fifteenth, to come up on its right and refused as a flank, the whole to gain as much ground, due south from the flank already established on Proctor's Creek, as was consistent with a proper strength. General Dodge's men got into line in the evening of the 27th, and General Blair's came into line on his right early on the morning of the 28th, his right reaching an old meeting-house called Ezra Church, near some large open fields by the Poor-house, on a road known as the Bell's Ferry, or Lickskillet, road. Here the Fifteenth Corps, General Logan's, joined on and refused along a ridge well wooded, which partially commanded a view over the same fields. About ten a. m., all the army was in position, and the men were busy in throwing up the accustomed piles of rails and logs, which, after a while, assumed the form of a parapet. The skill and rapidity with which our men construct them is wonderful, and is something new in the art of war. I rode along his whole line about that time, and as I approached Ezra Church there was considerable artillery firing enfilading the road in which I was riding, killing an orderly's horse just behind my staff. I struck across an open field to where General Howard was standing, in the rear of the Fifteenth Corps, and walked up to the ridge with General Morgan L. Smith, to see if the battery which enfiladed the main road and line of rail-piles could not be disposed of, and heard General Smith give the necessary orders for the deployment of one regiment forward, and another to make a circuit to the right, when I returned to where General Howard was, and remained there until twelve o'clock. During this time there was nothing to indicate serious battle, save the shelling by one, or at most two batteries from beyond the large field in front of the Fifteenth Corps.

Wishing to be well prepared to defeat the enemy if he repeated his game of the 22d, I had the night before ordered General Davis's division of General Palmer's corps, which, by the movement of the Army of the Tennessee, had been left, as it were, in reserve, to move down to Turner's Ferry, and thence toward Whitehall or East Point, aiming to reach the flank of General Howard's new line, hoping that, in case of an attack, this division would in turn catch the attacking force, in flank or rear, at an unexpected moment. I explained it to General Howard, and bade him expect the arrival of such a force in case of battle. Indeed, I expected to hear the fire of its skirmishers by noon. General Davis was sick that day, and Brigadier-General Morgan commanded the division which had marched early for Turner's Ferry; but many of the roads laid down on our maps did not exist at all, and General Morgan was delayed thereby. I rode back to make more particular inquiries as to this division, and had just reached General Davis's head-quarters, at Proctor's Creek, when I heard musketry open heavily on the right. The enemy had come out of Atlanta by the Bell's Ferry road, and formed his masses in the open fields behind a swell of ground, and, after the artillery firing I have described, advanced in parallel lines directly against the Fifteenth Corps, expecting to catch

that flank in air. His advance was magnificent, but founded in an error that cost him sadly, for our men coolly and deliberately cut down his men, and, spite of the efforts of the rebel officers, his ranks broke and fled. But they were rallied again and again, as often as six times at some points, and a few of the rebel officers and men reached our lines of rail-piles only to be killed or hauled over as prisoners.

These assaults occurred from noon until about four P. M., when the enemy disappeared, leaving his dead and wounded in our hands. As many as six hundred and forty-two dead were counted and buried, and still others are known to have been buried which were not counted by the regularly detailed burial-parties.

General Logan on this occasion was conspicuous as on the 22d, his corps being chiefly engaged; but General Howard had drawn from the other corps, Sixteenth and Seventeenth, certain reserves which were near at hand, but not used. Our entire loss is reported less than six hundred, whereas that of the enemy, in killed and wounded, not less than five thousand. Had General Davis's division come up on the Bell's Ferry road, as I calculated, at any time before four o'clock, what was simply a complete repulse would have been a disastrous rout to the enemy. But I can not attribute the failure to want of energy or intelligence, and must charge it, like many other things in this campaign, to the peculiar tangled nature of the forests and absence of roads that would admit the rapid movement of troops.

This affair terminated all efforts of the enemy to check our extensions by the flank, which afterward proceeded with comparative ease; but he met our extensions to the south by rapid and well-constructed forts and rifle-pits, built between us and the railroad to and below East Point, remaining perfectly on the defensive.

Finding that the right flank of the Army of the Tennessee did not reach, I was forced to shift General Schofield to that flank also, and afterward General Palmer's corps of General Thomas's army. General Schofield moved from the left on the 1st of August, and General Palmer's corps followed at once, taking a line below Utoy Creek, and General Schofield prolonged it to a point near East Point. The enemy made no offensive opposition, but watched our movements, and extended his lines and parapets accordingly.

About this time several changes in important commands occurred, which should be noted. General Hooker, offended that General Howard was preferred to him as the successor of General McPherson, resigned his command of the Twentieth Corps, to which General Slocum was appointed; but he was at Vicksburg, and, until he joined, the command of the corps devolved on General H. S. Williams, who handled it admirably. General Palmer also resigned the command of the Fourteenth Corps, and General Jeff. C. Davis was appointed to his place. Major-General D. S. Stanley had succeeded General Howard in the command of the Fourth Corps.

From the 2d to the 5th we continued to extend to the right, demon-

strating strongly on the left and along our whole line. General Reilley's brigade of General Cox's division, General Schofield's army, on the 5th tried to break through the enemy's line about a mile below Utoy Creek, but failed to carry the position, losing about four hundred men, who were caught in the entanglements and abatis; but the next day the position was turned by General Hascall, and General Schofield advanced his whole line close up to and facing the enemy below Utoy Creek. Still he did not gain the desired foothold on either the West Point or Macon Railroad. The enemy's line at that time must have been near fifteen miles long, extending from near Decatur to below East Point. This he was enabled to do by the use of a large force of State militia, and his position was so masked by the shape of the ground that we were unable to discover the weak parts.

I had become satisfied that to reach the Macon road, and thereby control the supplies for Atlanta, I would have to move the whole army; but, before beginning, I ordered down from Chattanooga four four-and-a-half-inch rifled guns, to try their effect. These arrived on the 10th, and were put to work night and day, and did execution on the city, causing frequent fires, and creating confusion; yet the enemy seemed determined to hold his forts, even if the city were destroyed. On the 16th of August I made my orders, No. 57, prescribing the mode and manner of executing the grand movement by the right flank, to begin on the 18th. This movement contemplated the withdrawal of the Twentieth Corps, General Williams, to the intrenched position at the Chattahoochie Bridge, and the march of the main army to the West Point Railroad, near Fairborn, and afterward to the Macon road, at or near Jonesboro', with our wagons loaded with provisions for fifteen days. About the time of the publication of these orders, I learned that Wheeler, with a large mounted force of the enemy, variously estimated from six thousand to ten thousand men, had passed around by the east and north, and had made his appearance on our lines of communication near Adairsville, and had succeeded in capturing nine hundred of our beef-cattle, and had made a break of the railroad near Calhoun. I could not have asked any thing better, for I had provided well against such a contingency, and this detachment left me superior to the enemy in cavalry. I suspended the execution of my orders for the time being, and ordered General Kilpatrick to make up a well-appointed force of about five thousand cavalry, and to move from his camp about Sandtown, during the night of the 18th, to the West Point road, and break it good near Fairborn; then to proceed across to the Macon road, and tear it up thoroughly; to avoid as far as possible the enemy's infantry, but to attack any cavalry he could find. I thought this cavalry would save the necessity of moving the main army across, and that, in case of his success, it would leave me in better position to take full advantage of the result.

General Kilpatrick got off at the time appointed, and broke the West road, and afterward reached the Macon road at Jonesboro', where he whipped Ross's cavalry and got possession of the railroad, which he held for five hours, damaging it considerably. But a brigade of the enemy's in-

fantry, which had been dispatched below Jonesboro' in cars, was run back and disembarked, and, with Jackson's rebel cavalry, made it impossible for him to continue his work. He drew off to the east, and made a circuit, and struck the railroad about Lovejoy's Station, but was again threatened by the enemy, who moved on shorter lines, when he charged through their cavalry, taking many prisoners, of which he brought in seventy, and captured a four-gun battery, which he destroyed, except one gun, which he brought in. He estimated the damage done to the road as enough to interrupt its use for ten days; after which he returned by a circuit north and east, reaching Decatur on the 22d. After an interview with General Kilpatrick, I was satisfied that whatever damage he had done would not produce the result desired, and I renewed my orders for the movement of the whole army. This involved the necessity of raising the siege of Atlanta, taking the field with our main force, and using it against the communications of Atlanta instead of against its intrenchments. All the army commanders were at once notified to send their surplus wagons, incumbrances of all kinds, and sick, back to our intrenched position at the bridge, and that the movement would begin during the night of the 25th. Accordingly, all things being ready, the Fourth Corps, General Stanley, drew out of its lines on our extreme left, and marched to a position below Proctor's Creek. The Twentieth Corps, General Williams, moved back to the Chattahoochie. This movement was made without loss, save a few things left in our camps by thoughtless officers or men. The night of the 26th the movement continued, the Army of the Tennessee drawing out and moving rapidly by a circuit well toward Sandtown and across Camp Creek, the Army of the Cumberland below Utoy Creek, General Schofield, remaining in position. This was effected with the loss of but a single man in the Army of the Tennessee, wounded by a shell from the enemy. The third movement brought the Army of the Tennessee on the West Point Railroad, above Fairborn, the Army of the Cumberland about Red Oak, and General Schofield closed in near Digs and Mins. I then ordered one day's work to be expended in destroying that road, and it was done with a will. Twelve and one-half miles were destroyed, the ties burned, and the iron rails heated and tortured by the utmost ingenuity of old hands at the work. Several cuts were filled up with the trunks of trees, with logs, rock, and earth intermingled with loaded shells, prepared as torpedoes, to explode in case of an attempt to clear them out. Having personally inspected this work, and satisfied with its execution, I ordered the whole army to move the next day eastward by several roads: General Howard on the right, toward Jonesboro'; General Thomas, the center, by Shoal Creek church to Couch's, on the Decatur and Fayetteville road; and General Schofield on the left, about Morrow's mills. An inspection of the map will show the strategic advantages of this position. The railroad from Atlanta to Macon follows substantially the ridge or "divide" between the waters of Flint and Ocmulgee Rivers, and from East Point to Jonesboro' makes a wide bend to the east. Therefore the position I have described, which had been well studied on paper, was my first "objective." It gave me "interior lines," some-

thing our enemy had enjoyed too long, and I was anxious for once to get the inside track, and therefore my haste and desire to secure it.

The several columns moved punctually on the morning of the 29th. General Thomas, on the center, encountered little opposition or difficulty, save what resulted from the narrow roads, and reached his position at Couch's early in the afternoon; General Schofield being closer to the enemy, who still clung to East Point, moved cautiously on a small circle around that point, and came into position toward Rough-and-Ready; and General Howard, having the outer circle, had a greater distance to move. He encountered cavalry, which he drove rapidly to the crossing of Shoal Creek, where the enemy also had artillery. Here a short delay occurred, and some cannonading and skirmishing; but General Howard started them again, and kept them moving, passed the Renfro place on the Decatur road, which was the point indicated for him in the orders of that day; but he wisely and well kept on, and pushed on toward Jonesboro', saved the bridge across Flint River, and did not halt until darkness compelled him, within half a mile of Jonesboro'. Here he rested for the night, and on the morning of August 31st, finding himself in the presence of a heavy force of the enemy, he deployed the Fifteenth Corps, and disposed the Sixteenth and Seventeenth on its flanks. The men covered their front with the usual parapet, and were soon prepared to act offensively or defensively, as the case called for. I was that night with General Thomas at Couch's, and as soon as I learned that General Howard had passed Renfro's, I directed General Thomas to send to that place a division of General Jeff. C. Davis's corps, to move General Stanley's corps, in connection with General Schofield's, toward Rough-and-Ready, and then to send forward due east a strong detachment of General Davis's corps, to feel for the railroad. General Schofield was also ordered to move boldly forward and strike the railroad near Rough-and-Ready. These movements were progressing during the 31st, when the enemy came out of his works at Jonesboro', and attacked General Howard in position described. General Howard was admirably situated to receive him, and repulse the attack thoroughly. The enemy attacked with Lee's and Hardee's corps, and after a contest of over two hours withdrew, leaving over four hundred dead on the ground; and his wounded, of which about three hundred were left in Jonesboro', could not have been less than two thousand five hundred. Hearing the sounds of battle at Jonesboro' about noon, orders were renewed to push the other movements on the left and center, and about four p. m. the reports arrived simultaneously that General Howard had thoroughly repulsed the enemy at Jonesboro'; that General Schofield had reached the railroad a mile below Rough-and-Ready, and was working up the road, breaking it as he went; that General Stanley, of General Thomas's army, had also got the road below General Schofield, and was destroying its working south; and that General Baird, of General Davis's corps, had struck it still lower down, within four miles of Jonesboro.'

Orders were at once given for all the army to turn on Jonesboro', General Howard to keep the enemy busy whilst General Thomas should move

down from the north, with General Schofield on his left. I also ordered the troops, as they moved down, to continue the thorough destruction of the railroad, because we had it then, and I did not know but that events might divert our attention. General Garrard's cavalry was directed to watch the roads to our rear, the north. General Kilpatrick was sent south, down the west bank of Flint, with instructions to attack or threaten the railroad below Jonesboro'. I expected the whole army would close down on Jonesboro' by noon of the 1st of September. General Davis's corps, having a shorter distance to travel, was on time and deployed, facing south, his right in connection with General Howard, and his left on the railroad. General Stanley and General Schofield were coming down along the Rough-and-Ready road, and along the railroad, breaking it as they came. When General Davis joined to General Howard, General Blair's corps on General Howard's left was thrown in reserve, and was immediately sent well to the right below Jonesboro', to act against the flank along with General Kilpatrick's cavalry. About four p. m. General Davis was all ready, and assaulted the enemy's lines across open fields, carrying them very handsomely, and taking as prisoners the greater part of Govan's brigade, including its commander, with two four-gun batteries. Repeated orders were sent to Generals Stanley and Schofield to hurry up, but the difficult nature of the country and the absence of roads are the reasons assigned why these troops did not get well into position for attack before night rendered further operations impossible. Of course, the next morning the enemy was gone, and had retreated south. About two o'clock that night, the sounds of heavy explosions were heard in the direction of Atlanta, distance about twenty miles, with a succession of minor explosions, and what seemed like the rapid firing of cannon and musketry. These continued for about an hour, and again, about four a. m., occurred another series of similar discharges, apparently nearer us, and these sounds could be accounted for on no other hypothesis than of a night attack on Atlanta by General Slocum, or the blowing up of the enemy's magazines. Nevertheless, at daybreak, on finding the enemy gone from his lines at Jonesboro', I ordered a general pursuit south, General Thomas following to the left of the railroad, General Howard on his right, and General Schofield keeping off about two miles to the east. We overtook the enemy again, near Lovejoy's Station, in a strong intrenched position, with his flanks well protected behind a branch of Walnut Creek, to the right, and a confluent of the Flint River to his left. We pushed close up and reconnoitered the ground, and found he had evidently halted to cover his communication with the McDonough and Fayetteville road.

Rumors began to arrive, through prisoners captured, that Atlanta had been abandoned during the night of September 1st, that Hood had blown up his ammunition trains, which accounted for the sounds so plainly heard by us, and which were yet unexplained; that Stewart's corps was then retreating toward McDonough, and that the militia had gone off toward Covington. It was then too late to interpose and prevent their escape, and I was satisfied with the substantial success already gained. Accordingly, I

ordered the work of destroying railroad to cease, and the troops to be held in hand ready for any movement that further information from Atlanta might warrant.

General Jeff. C. Davis's corps had been left above Jonesboro', and General Garrard's cavalry was still further back, and the latter was ordered to send back to Atlanta and ascertain the exact truth and the real situation of affairs. But the same night, viz., of September 4th, a courier arrived from General Slocum reporting the fact that the enemy had evacuated Atlanta, blown up seven trains of cars, and had retreated on the McDonough road. General Slocum had entered and taken possession on the 2d of September.

The object of my movement against the railroad was therefore already reached and concluded, and as it was idle to pursue our enemy in that wooded country, with a view to his capture, I gave orders on the 4th for the army to prepare to move back slowly to Atlanta. On the 5th we drew back to the vicinity of Jonesboro', five miles, where we remained a day. On the 7th we moved to Rough-and-Ready, seven miles, and the next day to the camps selected, viz.: the Army of the Cumberland grouped around about Atlanta, the Army of the Tennessee about East Point, and that of the Ohio at Decatur, where the men now occupy clean and healthy camps.

I have not yet received full or satisfactory accounts of Wheeler's operations to our rear, further than that he broke the road about Calhoun, and then made his appearance at Dalton, where Colonel Laibold held him in check until General Steedman arrived from Chattanooga and drove him off. He then passed up into East Tennessee, and made quite a stay at Athens; but, on the first show of pursuit, he kept on north across the Little Tennessee; and, crossing the Holston near Strawberry Plains, reached the Clinch near Clinton, and passed over toward Sequatchee and McMinnville. Thence he seems to have gone to Murfreesboro' and Lebanon, and across to Franklin. He may have committed damage to the property of citizens, but has injured us but little, the railroads being repaired about as fast as he broke them. From Franklin he has been pursued toward Florence, and out of the State by Generals Rousseau, Steedman, and Granger; but what amount of execution they have done to him is not yet reported. Our roads and telegraph are all repaired, and the cars run with regularity and speed. It is proper to remark in this place, that, during the operations of this campaign, expeditions were sent out from Memphis and Vicksburg to check any movements of the enemy's forces in Mississippi upon our communications. The manner in which this object was accomplished reflects credit upon Generals A. J. Smith, Washburne, Slocum, and Mower; and although General Sturgis's expedition was less successful than the others, it assisted us in the main object to be accomplished.

I must bear full and liberal testimony to the energetic and successful management of our railroads during the campaign. No matter when or where a break has been made, the repair-train seemed on the spot, and the damage was repaired generally before I knew of the break. Bridges have

been built with surprising rapidity, and the locomotive whistle was heard in our advanced camps almost before the echoes of the skirmish fire had ceased. Some of these bridges—those of the Oostanaula, the Etowah, and Chattahoochie—are fine, substantial structures, and were built in inconceivably short time, almost out of material improvised on the spot.

Colonel W. W. Wright, who has charge of the "construction and repairs," is not only a most skillful, but a wonderfully ingenious, industrious, and zealous officer, and I can hardly do him justice. In like manner the officers charged with running the trains have succeeded to my entire satisfaction, and have worked in perfect harmony with the quartermasters and commissaries, bringing forward abundant supplies with such regularity that at no one time have we wanted for provisions, forage, ammunition, or stores of any essential kind.

Colonel L. C. Easton, chief quartermaster, and Colonel A. Beckwith, chief commissary, have also succeeded, in a manner surprising to all of us, in getting forward supplies. I doubt if ever an army was better supplied than this, and I commend them most highly for it, because I know that more solicitude was felt by the Lieutenant-General commanding, and by the military world at large, on this than on any other one problem involved in the success of the campaign.

Captain T. G. Baylor, chief ordnance officer, has in like manner kept the army well supplied at all times with every kind of ammunition. To Captain O. M. Poe, chief engineer, I am more than ordinarily indebted for keeping me supplied with maps and information of roads, and topography, as well as in the more important branch of his duties in selecting lines and military positions. My own personal staff has been small, but select.

Brigadier-General W. F. Barry, an officer of enlarged capacity and great experience, has filled the office of chief of artillery to perfection; and Lieutenant-Colonel E. D. Kitto, chief medical inspector, has done every thing possible to give proper aid and direction to the operations of that important department. I have never seen the wounded removed from the fields of battle, cared for, and afterward sent to proper hospitals in the rear, with more promptness, system, care, and success, than during this whole campaign, covering over one hundred days of actual battle and skirmish.

My aides-de-camp, Major J. C. McCoy, Captain L. M. Dayton, and Captain J. D. Audenried, have been ever zealous and most efficient, carrying my orders day and night to distant points of our extended lines, with an intelligence and zeal that insured the perfect working of machinery, covering from ten to twenty-five miles of ground, when the least error in the delivery and explanation of an order would have produced confusion; whereas in great measure, owing to the intelligence of these officers, orders have been made so clear that these vast armies have moved side by side, sometimes crossing each other's tracks through a difficult country of over a hundred and thirty-eight miles in length, without confusion or trouble.

Captain Dayton has also fulfilled the duties of my adjutant-general, making all orders and carrying on the official correspondence.

Three inspectors-general completed my staff: Brigadier-General J. M. Corse, who has since been assigned the command of a division of the Sixteenth Corps, at the request of General Dodge; Lieutenant-Colonel W. Warner, of the Seventy-sixth Ohio, and Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Ewing, inspector-general of the Fifteenth Corps and captain Thirteenth United States Regulars.

These officers, of singular energy and intelligence, have been of immense assistance to me in handling these large armies.

My three "armies in the field" were commanded by able officers, my equals in rank and experience: Major-General George H. Thomas, Major-General J. M. Schofield, and Major-General O. O. Howard. With such commanders, I had only to indicate the object desired, and they accomplished it. I can not over-estimate their services to the country, and must express my deep and heart-felt thanks that, coming together from different fields, with different interests, they have co-operated with a harmony that has been productive of the greatest amount of success and good feeling. A more harmonious army does not exist.

I now inclose their reports, and those of the corps, division, and brigade commanders, a perusal of which will fill up the sketch which I have endeavored to make. I also submit tabular statements of our losses in battle by wounds and sickness; also, lists of prisoners captured, sent to the rear, and exchanged; also, of the guns and materials of war captured, besides the important country, towns, and arsenals of the enemy that we now "occupy and hold."

All of which is respectfully submitted,

W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General Commanding.

Major-General H. W. HALLECK,
Chief of Staff, Washington, D. C.

General Sherman issued an order, September 4th, to the effect that the city of Atlanta being exclusively required for warlike purposes, all citizens must remove from it; and, to expedite such removal, he entered into a truce with General Hood, and made arrangements with him for forwarding the citizens and their effects beyond the Federal lines. In connection with this event, the following correspondence took place between the authorities of Atlanta and General Sherman:

ATLANTA, GA., *Sept.* 11, 1864.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN—SIR:—The undersigned, Mayor and two members of Council for the city of Atlanta, for the time being the only legal organ of the people of said city to express their wants and wishes, ask leave most earnestly, but respectfully, to petition you to reconsider the order requiring them to leave Atlanta. At first view it struck us that the measure would involve extraordinary hardship and loss, but since we have seen the practical execution of it, so far as it has progressed, and the individual condition of many of the people, and heard the statements as to the

inconveniences, loss, and suffering attending it, we are satisfied that the amount of it will involve in the aggregate consequences appalling and heart-rending.

Many poor women are in an advanced state of pregnancy; others having young children, whose husbands, for the greater part, are either in the army, prisoners, or dead. Some say: "I have such a one sick at my house; who will wait on them when I am gone?" Others say: "What are we to do? we have no houses to go to, and no means, to buy, build, or rent any; no parents, relatives, or friends to go to." Another says: "I will try and take this or that article of property; but such and such things I must leave behind, though I need them much." We reply to them: "General Sherman will carry your property to Rough-and Ready, and then General Hood will take it thence on." And they will reply to that: "But I want to leave the railroad at such a place, and can not get conveyance from thence on."

We only refer to a few facts, to illustrate, in part, how this measure will operate in practice. As you advanced, the people north of us fell back, and before your arrival here a large portion of the people had retired south; so that the country south of this is already crowded, and without sufficient houses to accommodate the people, and we are informed that many are now staying in churches and other outbuildings. This being so, how is it possible for the people still here (mostly women and children) to find shelter, and how can they live through the winter in the woods—no shelter or subsistence—in the midst of strangers who know them not, and without the power to assist them much if they were willing to do so?

This is but a feeble picture of the consequences of this measure. You know the woe, the horror, and the suffering can not be described by words. Imagination can only conceive of it, and we ask you to take these things into consideration. We know your mind and time are continually occupied with the duties of your command, which almost deters us from asking your attention to the matter, but thought it might be that you had not considered the subject in all of its awful consequences, and that, on reflection, you, we hope, would not make this people an exception to all mankind, for we know of no such instance ever having occurred—surely not in the United States. And what has this helpless people done that they should be driven from their homes, to wander as strangers, outcasts, and exiles, and to subsist on charity?

We do not know as yet the number of people still here. Of those who are here, a respectable number, if allowed to remain at home, could subsist for several months without assistance; and a respectable number for a much longer time, and who might not need assistance at any time.

In conclusion, we most earnestly and solemnly petition you to reconsider this order, or modify it, and suffer this unfortunate people to remain at home and enjoy what little means they have.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES M. CALHOUN, Mayor.

E. E. RAWSON, S. C. WELLS, Councilmen.

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE FIELD, ATLANTA, GA., *September* 12, 1864.

JAMES M. CALHOUN, Mayor, E. E. RAWSON, and S. C. WELLS, representing City Council of Atlanta:—

GENTLEMEN:—I have your letter of the 11th, in the nature of a petition to revoke my orders removing all the inhabitants from Atlanta. I have read it carefully, and give full credit to your statements of the distress that will be occasioned by it, and yet shall not revoke my order, simply because my orders are not designed to meet the humanities of the case, but to prepare for the future struggles in which millions, yea hundreds of millions, of good people outside of Atlanta have a deep interest. We must have *Peace*, not only at Atlanta, but in all America. To secure this, we must stop the war that now desolates our once happy and favored country. To stop war, we must defeat the rebel armies that are arrayed against the laws and Constitution which all must respect and obey. To defeat these armies, we must prepare the way to reach them in their recesses, provided with the arms and instruments which enable us to accomplish our purpose.

Now, I know the vindictive nature of our enemy, and that we may have many years of military operations from this quarter, and therefore deem it wise and prudent to prepare in time. The use of Atlanta for war-like purposes is inconsistent with its character as a home for families. There will be no manufactures, commerce or agriculture here for the maintenance of families, and sooner or later want will compel the inhabitants to go. Why not go *now*, when all the arrangements are completed for the transfer, instead of waiting till the plunging shot of contending armies will renew the scene of the past month? Of course I do not apprehend any such thing at this moment, but you do not suppose that this army will be here till the war is over. I can not discuss this subject with you fairly, because I can not impart to you what I propose to do, but I assert that my military plans make it necessary for the inhabitants to go away, and I can only renew my offer of services to make their exodus in any direction as easy and comfortable as possible. You can not qualify war in harsher terms than I will.

War is cruelty, and you can not refine it; and those who brought war on the country deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out. I know I had no hand in making this war, and I know I will make more sacrifices to-day than any of you to secure peace. But you can not have peace and a division of our country. If the United States submits to a division now, it will not stop, but will go on till we reap the fate of Mexico, which is eternal war. The United States does and must assert its authority wherever it has power; if it relaxes one bit to pressure, it is gone, and I know that such is not the national feeling. This feeling assumes various shapes, but always comes back to that of *Union*. Once admit the Union, once more acknowledge the authority of the National Government, and instead of devoting your houses, and streets, and roads, to the dread uses of war, I, and this army, become at once your protectors

and supporters, shielding you from danger, let it come from what quarter it may. I know that a few individuals can not resist a torrent of error and passion such as has swept the South into rebellion; but you can point out, so that we may know those who desire a government and those who insist on war and its desolation.

You might as well appeal against the thunder-storm as against these terrible hardships of war. They are inevitable, and the only way the people of Atlanta can hope once more to live in peace and quiet at home is to stop this war, which can alone be done by admitting that it began in error and is perpetuated in pride. We don't want your negroes or your horses, or your houses or your land, or any thing you have; but we do want and will have a just obedience to the laws of the United States. That we will have, and if it involves the destruction of your improvements, we can not help it. You have heretofore read public sentiment in your newspapers, that live by falsehood and excitement, and the quicker you seek for truth in other quarters the better for you.

I repeat, then, that, by the original compact of the Government, the United States had certain rights in Georgia which have never been relinquished, and never will be; that the South began war by seizing forts, arsenals, mints, custom-houses, &c., &c., long before Mr. Lincoln was installed, and before the South had one jot or tittle of provocation. I, myself, have seen in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, hundreds and thousands of women and children fleeing from your armies and desperadoes, hungry and with bleeding feet. In Memphis, Vicksburg, and Mississippi, we fed thousands upon thousands of the families of rebel soldiers left on our hands, and whom we could not see starve. Now that war comes home to you, you feel very different—you deprecate its horrors, but did not feel them when you sent car-loads of soldiers, and ammunition, and moulded shell and shot to carry war into Kentucky and Tennessee, and desolate the homes of hundreds and thousands of good people, who only asked to live in peace at their old homes, and under the Government of their inheritance. But these comparisons are idle. I want peace, and believe it can only be reached through Union and war, and I will ever conduct war purely with a view to perfect and early success.

But, my dear sirs, when that peace does come, you may call on me for any thing. Then will I share with you the last cracker, and watch with you to shield your homes and families against dangers from every quarter. Now you must go, and take with you the old and feeble; feed and nurse them, and build for them in more quiet places proper habitations to shield them against the weather, until the mad passions of men cool down, and allow the Union and peace once more to settle on your old homes at Atlanta.

Yours, in haste, W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General.

ATLANTA, GA., *September* 20, 1864.

On leaving Atlanta, I should return my thanks to General Sherman, General Slocum, General Ward, Colonel Colburn, Major Peck, Captain

Mott, Captain Stewart, Captain Flagg, and all the other officers with whom I have had business transactions in carrying out the order of General Sherman for the removal of the citizens, and in transacting my private business, for their kindness and their patience in answering the many inquiries I had to make on the duration of the delicate and arduous duties devolving on me as Mayor of this city.

Respectfully, JAS. M. CALHOUN.

FROM ATLANTA TO SAVANNAH, THROUGH THE HEART OF GEORGIA.

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE FIELD, SAVANNAH, GA., *January* 1, 1865.

Major-General H. W. HALLECK, Chief of Staff, Washington City, D. C. :—

GENERAL :—I have the honor to offer my report of the operations of the armies under my command since the occupation of Atlanta, in the early part of September last, up to the present date.

As heretofore reported, in the month of September, the Army of the Cumberland, Major-General Thomas commanding, held the city of Atlanta; the Army of the Tennessee, Major-General Howard commanding, was grouped about East Point; and the Army of the Ohio, Major-General Schofield commanding, held Decatur. Many changes occurred in the composition of those armies, in consequence of the expiration of the time of service of many of the regiments. The opportunity was given to us to consolidate the fragments, reclothe and equip the men, and make preparations for the future campaign. I also availed myself of the occasion to strengthen the garrisons to our rear, to make our communications more secure, and sent Wagner's division of the Fourth Corps and Morgan's division of the Fourteenth Corps back to Chattanooga, and Corse's division of the Fifteenth Corps to Rome. Also a thorough reconnoissance was made of Atlanta, and a new line of works begun, which required a small garrison to hold.

During this month the enemy, whom we had left at Lovejoy's Station, moved westward toward the Chattahoochie, taking position facing us, and covering the West Point Railroad, about Palmetto Station. He also threw a pontoon bridge across the Chattahoochie, and sent cavalry detachments to the west, in the directionof Carrolton and Powder Springs. About the same time President Davis visited Macon and his army at Palmetto, and made harangues referring to an active campaign against us. Hood still remained in command of the Confederate forces, with Cheatham, S. D. Lee, and Stewart, commanding his three corps, and Wheeler in command of his cavalry, which had been largely re-enforced.

My cavalry consisted of two divisions. One was stationed at Decatur, under command of Brigadier-General Garrard; the other, commanded by Brigadier-General Kilpatrick, was posted near Sandtown, with a pontoon

bridge over the Chattahoochie, from which he could watch any movement of the enemy toward the west.

As soon as I became convinced that the enemy intended to assume the offensive, namely, September 28, I sent Major-General Thomas, second in command, to Nashville, to organize the new troops expected to arrive, and to make preliminary preparations to meet such an event.

About the 1st of October some of the enemy's cavalry made their appearance on the west of the Chattahoochie, and one of his infantry corps was reported near Powder Springs, and I received authentic intelligence that the rest of his infantry was crossing to the west of the Chattahoochie. I at once made my orders that Atlanta and the Chattahoochie railroad-bridge should be held by the Twentieth Corps, Major-General Slocum; and on the 4th of October put in motion the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps, and the Fourth, Fourteenth, and Twenty-third Corps to Smyrna camp-ground, and on the 5th moved to the strong position about Kenesaw. The enemy's cavalry had, by a rapid movement, got upon our railroad at Big Shanty, and broken the line of telegraph and railroad, and, with a division of infantry (French's) had moved against Allatoona, where were stored about a million of rations. Its redoubts were garrisoned by three small regiments under Colonel Tourtellotte, Fourth Minnesota.

I had anticipated this movement, and had, by signal and telegraph, ordered General Corse to re-enforce that post from Rome. General Corse had reached Allatoona with a brigade during the night of the 4th, just in time to meet the attack by French's division on the morning of the 5th. In person I reached Kenesaw Mountain, about 10 A. M., of the 5th, and could see the smoke of battle, and hear the faint sounds of artillery. The distance, eighteen miles, was too great for me to make in time to share in the battle, but I directed the Twenty-third Corps, Brigadier-General Cox commanding, to move rapidly from the base of Kenesaw, due west, aiming to reach the road from Allatoona to Dallas, threatening the rear of the forces attacking Allatoona. I succeeded in getting a signal message to General Corse during his fight, notifying him of my presence. The defense of Allatoona by General Corse was admirably conducted, and the enemy repulsed with heavy slaughter. His description of the defense is so graphic that it leaves nothing for me to add; and the movement of General Cox had the desired effect of causing the withdrawal of French's division rapidly in the direction of Dallas.

On the 6th and 7th I pushed my cavalry well toward Burnt Hickory and Dallas, and discovered that the enemy had moved westward, and inferred that he would attempt to break our railroad again in the neighborhood of Kingston. Accordingly, on the morning of the 8th, I put the army in motion through Allatoona Pass to Kingston, reaching that point on the 10th. There I learned that the enemy had feigned on Rome, and was passing the Coosa River on a pontoon bridge, about eleven miles below Rome. I therefore, on the 11th, moved to Rome, and pushed Garrard's cavalry and the Twenty-third Corps, under General Cox, across the Oostenaula, to threaten the flanks of the enemy passing north. Garrard's

SHERMAN BURNS ATLANTA AND MARCHES TOWARDS THE SEA.

cavalry drove a cavalry brigade of the enemy to and beyond the Narrows, leading into the valley of the Chattooga, capturing two field-pieces. The enemy had moved with great rapidity, and made his appearance at Resaca, and Hood had in person demanded its surrender.

I had from Kingston re-enforced Resaca by two regiments of the army of the Tennessee. I at first intended to move the army into the Chattooga Valley, to interpose between the enemy and his line of retreat down the Coosa, but feared that General Hood would in that event turn eastward by Spring Place, and down the Federal road, and therefore moved against him at Resaca. Colonel Weaver, at Resaca, afterward re-enforced by General Raum's brigade, had repulsed the enemy from Resaca; but he had succeeded in breaking the railroad from Filton to Dalton, and as far north as the tunnel. Arriving at Resaca on the evening of the 14th, I determined to strike Hood in flank, or force him to battle, and directed the Army of the Tennessee, General Howard, to move to Snake Creek Gap, which was held by the enemy, while General Stanley, with the Fourth and Fourteenth Corps, moved by Tilton across the mountains to the rear of Snake Creek Gap, in the neighborhood of Villanow.

The Army of the Tennessee found the enemy occupying our old lines in Snake Creek Gap, and on the 15th skirmished for the purpose of holding him there until Stanley could get to his rear. But the enemy gave way about noon, and was followed through the Gap, escaping before General Stanley had reached the further end of the pass. The next day (the 16th) the armies moved directly toward Lafayette, with a view to cut off Hood's retreat. We found him intrenched in Ship's Gap, but the leading division (Wood's) of the Fifteenth Corps rapidly carried the advanced posts held by two companies of a South Carolina regiment, making them prisoners. The remaining eight companies escaped to the main body near Lafayette. The next morning we passed over into the valley of the Chattooga, the Army of the Tennessee moving in pursuit by Lafayette and Alpine, toward Blue Pond, the Army of the Cumberland by Summerville and Melville Post-office to Gaylesville, and the army of the Ohio and Garrard's cavalry from Villanow, Dirttown, and Gover's Gap, to Gaylesville. Hood, however, was little incumbered with trains, and marched with great rapidity, and had succeeded in getting into the narrow gorge formed by the Lookout range abutting against the Coosa River in the neighborhood of Gadsden. He evidently wanted to avoid a fight.

On the 19th all the armies were grouped about Gaylesville, in the rich valley of the Chattooga, abounding in corn and meat, and I determined to pause in my pursuit of the enemy, to watch his movements and live on the country. I hoped that Hood would turn toward Guntersville and Bridgeport. The Army of the Tennessee was posted near Little River, with instructions to feel forward in support of the cavalry, which was ordered to watch Hood in the neighborhood of Will's Valley, and to give me the earliest notice possible of his turning northward. The Army of the Ohio was posted at Cedar Bluff, with orders to lay a pontoon across the Coosa, and to feel forward to Centre, and down in the direction of Blue Moun-

tain. The Army of the Cumberland was held in reserve at Gaylesville, and all the troops were instructed to draw heavily for supplies from the surrounding country. In the mean time communications were opened to Rome, and a heavy force set to work in repairing the damages done to our railroads. Atlanta was abundantly supplied with provisions, but forage was scarce, and General Slocum was instructed to send strong foraging parties out in the direction of South River, and collect all the corn and fodder possible, and to put his own trains in good condition for further service.

Hood's movements and strategy had demonstrated that he had an army capable of endangering at all times my communications, but unable to meet me in open fight. To follow him would simply amount to being decoyed away from Georgia, with little prospect of overtaking and overwhelming him. To remain on the defensive would have been bad policy for an army of so great value as the one I then commanded, and I was forced to adopt a course more fruitful in results than the naked one of following him to the Southwest. I had previously submitted to the Commander-in-Chief a general plan, which amounted substantially to the destruction of Atlanta, and the railroad back to Chattanooga, and sallying forth from Atlanta, through the heart of Georgia, to capture one or more of the great Atlantic seaports. This I renewed from Gaylesville, modified somewhat by the change of events.

On the 26th of October, satisfied that Hood had moved westward from Gadsden across Sand Mountain, I detached the Fourth Corps, Major-General Stanley, and ordered him to proceed to Chattanooga, and report to Major-General Thomas, at Nashville. Subsequently, on the 30th of October, I also detached the Twenty-third Corps, Major-General Schofield, with the same destination, and delegated to Major-General Thomas full power over all the troops subject to my command, except the four corps with which I designed to move into Georgia. This gave him the two divisions under A. J. Smith, then in Missouri, but *en route* for Tennessee; the two corps named, and all the garrisons in Tennessee, as also all the cavalry of my military division, except one division under Brigadier-General Kilpatrick, which was ordered to rendezvous at Marietta. Brevet Major-General Wilson had arrived from the Army of the Potomac, to assume command of the cavalry of my army, and I dispatched him back to Nashville, with all dismounted detachments, and orders as rapidly as possible to collect the cavalry serving in Kentucky and Tennessee, to mount, organize, and equip them, and report to Major-General Thomas for duty. These forces I judged would enable General Thomas to defend the railroad from Chattanooga back, including Nashville and Decatur, and give him an army with which he could successfully cope with Hood, should the latter cross the Tennessee northward.

By the 1st of November, Hood's army had moved from Gadsden, and made its appearance in the neighborhood of Decatur, where a feint was made; he then passed on to Tuscumbia and laid a pontoon bridge opposite Florence. I then began my preparations for the march through Georgia,

having received the sanction of the Commander-in-Chief for carrying into effect my plan, the details of which were explained to all my corps commanders and heads of staff departments, with strict injunctions of secrecy. I had also communicated full details to General Thomas, and had informed him I would not leave the neighborhood of Kingston until he felt perfectly confident that he was entirely prepared to cope with Hood, should he carry into effect his threatened invasion of Tennessee and Kentucky. I estimated Hood's force at thirty-five thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry.

I moved the Army of the Tennessee by slow and easy marches, on the south of the Coosa, back to the neighborhood of Smyrna camp-ground, and the Fourteenth Corps, General Jeff. C. Davis, to Kingston, whither I repaired in person on the 2d of November. From that point I directed all surplus artillery, all baggage not needed for my contemplated march, all the sick and wounded, refugees, etc., to be sent back to Chattanooga; and the four corps above mentioned, with Kilpatrick's cavalry, were put in the most efficient condition possible for a long and difficult march. This operation consumed the time until the 11th of November, when, every thing being ready, I ordered General Corse, who still remained at Rome, to destroy the bridges there, all foundries, mills, shops, warehouses, or other property that could be useful to an enemy, and to move to Kingston. At the same time the railroad in and about Atlanta, and between the Etowah and the Chattahoochie, was ordered to be utterly destroyed.

The garrisons from Kingston northward were also ordered to draw back to Chattanooga, taking with them all public property and all railroad stock, and to take up the rails from Resaca back, saving them, ready to be replaced whenever future interests should demand. The railroad between the Etowah and the Oostenaula was left untouched, because I thought it more than probable we would find it necessary to reoccupy the country as far forward as the line of the Etowah. Atlanta itself is only of strategic value as long as it is a railroad center; and as all the railroads leading to it are destroyed, as well as all its foundries, machine-shops, warehouses, dépôts, etc., it is of no more value than any other point in North Georgia; whereas the line of the Etowah, by reason of its rivers and natural features, possesses an importance which will always continue. From it all parts of Georgia and Alabama can be reached by armies marching with trains down the Coosa or the Chattahoochie valleys.

On the 12th of November my army stood detached and cut off from all communication with the rear. It was composed of four corps, the Fifteenth and Seventeenth, constituting the right wing, under Major-General O. O. Howard; the Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps, constituting the left wing, under Major-General H. W. Slocum—of an aggregate strength of sixty thousand infantry; one cavalry division, in aggregate strength five thousand five hundred, under Brigadier-General Judson Kilpatrick, and the artillery reduced to the minimum of one gun per thousand men.

The whole force moved rapidly and grouped about Atlanta on the 14th of November. In the mean time Captain O. M. Poe had thoroughly destroyed

Atlanta, save its mere dwelling-houses and churches, and the right wing, with General Kilpatrick's cavalry, was put in motion in the direction of Jonesboro' and McDonough, with orders to make a strong feint on Macon, to cross the Ocmulgee above Planters's Mills, and rendezvous in the neighborhood of Gordon in seven days, exclusive of the day of march. On the same day General Slocum moved with the Twentieth Corps by Decatur and Stone Mountain, with orders to tear up the railroad from Social Circle to Madison, to burn the large and important railroad-bridge across the Oconee, east of Madison, and turn south and reach Milledgeville on the seventh day, exclusive of the day of march.

In person I left Atlanta on the 16th, in company with the Fourteenth Corps, brevet Major-General Jeff. C. Davis, by Lithonia, Covington, and Shady Dale, directly on Milledgeville. All the troops were provided with good wagon-trains, loaded with ammunition, and supplies approximating twenty days' bread, forty days' sugar and coffee, a double allowance of salt for forty days, and beef-cattle equal to forty days' supplies. The wagons were also supplied with about three days' forage in grain. All were instructed, by a judicious system of foraging, to maintain this order of things as long as possible, living chiefly, if not solely, upon the country, which I knew to abound in corn, sweet potatoes, and meats.

My first object was, of course, to place my army in the very heart of Georgia, interposing between Macon and Augusta, and obliging the enemy to divide his forces to defend not only those points, but Millen, Savannah, and Charleston. All my calculations were fully realized. During the 22d General Kilpatrick made a good feint on Macon, driving the enemy within his intrenchments, and then drew back to Griswoldsville, where Walcott's brigade of infantry joined him to cover that flank, while Howard's trains were closing up, and his men scattered, breaking up railroads. The enemy came out of Macon and attacked Walcott in position, but was so roughly handled that he never repeated the experiment. On the eighth day after leaving Atlanta, namely, on the 23d, General Slocum occupied Milledgeville and the important bridge across the Oconee there; and Generals Howard and Kilpatrick were in and about Gordon.

General Howard was then ordered to move eastward, destroying the railroad thoroughly in his progress as far as Tennille Station, opposite Sandersville, and General Slocum to move to Sandersville by two roads. General Kilpatrick was ordered to Milledgeville, and thence move rapidly eastward, to break the railroad which leads from Millen to Augusta, then to turn upon Millen and rescue our prisoners of war supposed to be confined at that place. I accompanied the Twentieth Corps from Milledgeville to Sandersville, approaching which place, on the 25th, we found the bridges across Buffalo Creek burned, which delayed us three hours. The next day we entered Sandersville, skirmishing with Wheeler's cavalry, which offered little opposition to the advance of the Twentieth and Fourteenth Corps, entering the place almost at the same moment.

General Slocum was then ordered to tear up and destroy the Georgia Central Railroad, from Station No. 13 (Tennille) to Station No. 10, near

the crossing of Ogeechee; one of his corps substantially following the railroad, the other by way of Louisville, in support of Kilpatrick's cavalry. In person I shifted to the right wing, and accompanied the Seventeenth Corps, General Blair, on the south of the railroad, till abreast of Station No. 9½ (Barton); General Howard, in person, with the Fifteenth Corps, keeping further to the right, and about one day's march ahead, ready to turn against the flank of any enemy who should oppose our progress.

At Barton I learned that Kilpatrick's cavalry had reached the Augusta Railroad about Waynesborough, where he ascertained that our prisoners had been removed from Millen, and therefore the purpose of rescuing them, upon which we had set our hearts, was an impossibility. But as Wheeler's cavalry had hung around him, and as he had retired to Louisville to meet our infantry, in pursuance of my instructions not to risk a battle unless at great advantage, I ordered him to leave his wagons and all incumbrances with the left wing, and moving in the direction of Augusta, if Wheeler gave him the opportunity, to indulge him with all the fighting he wanted. General Kilpatrick, supported by Baird's division of infantry of the Fourteenth Corps, again moved in the direction of Waynesborough, and encountering Wheeler in the neighborhood of Thomas's Station, attacked him in position, driving him from three successive lines of barricades handsomely through Waynesborough and across Brier Creek, the bridges over which he burned; and then, with Baird's division, rejoined the left wing, which in the mean time had been marching by easy stages of ten miles a day in the direction of Lumpkin's Station and Jacksonboro'.

The Seventeenth Corps took up the destruction of the railroad at the Ogeechee, near Station No. 10, and continued it to Millen; the enemy offering little or no opposition, although preparation had seemingly been made at Millen.

On the 3d of December the Seventeenth Corps, which I accompanied, was at Millen; the Fifteenth Corps, General Howard, was south of the Ogeechee, opposite Station No. 7 (Scarboro'); the Twentieth Corps, General Slocum, on the Augusta Railroad, about four miles north of Millen, near Buckhead Church; and the Fourteenth Corps, General Jeff. C. Davis, in the neighborhood of Lumpkin's Station, on the Augusta Railroad. All were ordered to march in the direction of Savannah—the Fifteenth Corps to continue south of the Ogeechee, the Seventeenth to destroy the railroad as far as Ogeechee Church—and four days were allowed to reach the line from Ogeechee Church to the neighborhood of Halley's Ferry, on the Savannah River. All the columns reached their destinations in time, and continued to march on their several roads—General Davis following the Savannah River road, General Slocum the middle road by way of Springfield, General Blair the railroad, and General Howard still south and west of the Ogeechee, with orders to cross to the east bank opposite "Eden Station," or Station No. 2.

As we approached Savannah the country became more marshy and difficult, and more obstructions were met, in the way of felled trees, where the roads crossed the creek, swamps, or narrow causeways; but our pioneer

companies were well organized, and removed the obstructions in an incredibly short time. No opposition from the enemy worth speaking of was encountered until the heads of columns were within fifteen miles of Savannah, where all the roads leading to the city were obstructed more or less by felled timber, with earthworks and artillery. But these were easily turned, and the enemy driven away, so that by the 10th of December the enemy was driven within his lines at Savannah. These followed substantially a swampy creek which empties into the Savannah River about three miles above the city, across to the head of a corresponding stream which empties into the Little Ogeechee. These streams were singularly favorable to the enemy as a cover, being very marshy, and bordered by rice-fields, which were flooded either by the tide-water or by inland ponds, the gates to which were controlled and covered by his heavy artillery.

The only approaches to the city were by five narrow causeways, namely, the two railroads, and the Augusta, the Louisville, and the Ogeechee dirt-roads; all of which were commanded by heavy ordnance, too strong for us to fight with our light field-guns. To assault an enemy of unknown strength, at such a disadvantage, appeared to me unwise, especially as I had so successfully brought my army, almost unscathed, so great a distance, and could surely attain the same result by the operation of time. I therefore instructed my army commanders to closely invest the city from the north and west, and to reconnoiter well the ground in their fronts, respectively, while I gave my personal attention to opening communications with our fleet, which I knew was waiting for us in Tybee, Wassaw, and Ossabaw Sounds.

In approaching Savannah, General Slocum struck the Charleston Railroad near the bridge, and occupied the river-bank as his left flank, where he had captured two of the enemy's river-boats, and had prevented two others (gunboats) from coming down the river to communicate with the city; while General Howard, by his right flank, had broken the Gulf Railroad at Fleming's and way stations, and occupied the railroad itself down to the Little Ogeechee, near "Station No. 1;" so that no supplies could reach Savannah by any of its accustomed channels. We, on the contrary, possessed large herds of cattle, which we had brought along or gathered in the country, and our wagons still contained a reasonable amount of breadstuffs and other necessaries, and the fine rice-crops of the Savannah and Ogeechee Rivers furnished to our men and animals a large amount of rice and rice-straw. We also held the country to the south and west of the Ogeechee as foraging-ground. Still, communication with the fleet was of vital importance, and I directed General Kilpatrick to cross the Ogeechee by a pontoon-bridge, to reconnoiter Fort McAllister, and to proceed to Catherine's Sound, in the direction of Sunbury or Kilkenny Bluff, and open communication with the fleet. General Howard had previously, by my direction, sent one of his best scouts down the Ogeechee in a canoe for a like purpose. But more than this was necessary. We wanted the vessels and their contents; and the Ogeechee River, a navigable stream, close to the rear of our camps, was the proper avenue of supply.

The enemy had burned the road-bridge across the Ogeechee, just below the mouth of the Canoochee, known as "King's Bridge." This was reconstructed in an incredibly short time, in the most substantial manner, by the Fifty-eighth Indiana, Colonel Buel, under the direction of Captain Reese, of the Engineers Corps, and on the 13th of December the second division of the Fifteenth Corps, under command of Brigadier-General Hazen, crossed the bridge to the west bank of the Ogeechee, and marched down with orders to carry by assault Fort McAllister, a strong inclosed redoubt, manned by two companies of artillery and three of infantry, in all about two hundred men, and mounting twenty-three guns *en barbette*, and one mortar. General Hazen reached the vicinity of Fort McAllister about one P. M., deployed his division about that place, with both flanks resting upon the river; posted his skirmishers judiciously behind the trunks of trees whose branches had been used for abatis, and about five P. M. assaulted the place with nine regiments at three points; all of them successfully. I witnessed the assault from a rice-mill on the opposite bank of the river, and can bear testimony to the handsome manner in which it was accomplished.

Up to this time we had not communicated with our fleet. From the signal station at the rice-mill our officers had looked for two days over the rice-fields and salt marsh in the direction of Ossabaw Sound, but could see nothing of it; but while watching the preparations for the assault on Fort McAllister, we discovered in the distance what seemed to be the smoke-stack of a steamer, which became more and more distinct, until, about the very moment of the assault, she was plainly visible below the fort, and our signal was answered. As soon as I saw our colors fairly planted upon the walls of Fort McAllister, in company with General Howard, I went in a small boat down to the fort and met General Hazen, who had not yet communicated with the gunboat below, as it was shut out to him by a point of timber. Determined to communicate that night, I got another small boat and a crew, and pulled down the river till I found the tug *Dandelion*, Captain Williamson, United States Navy, who informed me that Captain Duncan, who had been sent by General Howard, had succeeded in reaching Admiral Dahlgren and General Foster, and that he was expecting them hourly in Ossabaw Sound. After making communications to those officers, and a short communication to the War Department, I returned to Fort McAllister that night, and before daylight was overtaken by Major Strong, of General Foster's staff, advising me that General Foster had arrived in the Ogeechee, near Fort McAllister, and was very anxious to meet me on board his boat. I accordingly returned with him, and met General Foster on board the steamer *Nemaha;* and, after consultation, determined to proceed with him down the Sound, in hopes to meet Admiral Dahlgren. But we did not meet him until we reached Wassaw Sound, about noon. I there went on board the admiral's flagship, the *Harvest Moon*, after having arranged with General Foster to send us from Hilton Head some siege ordnance and some boats suitable for navigating the Ogeechee River. Admiral Dahlgren very kindly furnished me with all

the data concerning his fleet and the numerous forts that guarded the inland channels between the sea and Savannah. I explained to him how completely Savannah was invested at all points, save only the plank-road on the South Carolina shore, known as the "Union Causeway," which I thought I could reach from my left flank across the Savannah River. I explained to him that if he would simply engage the attention of the forts along Wilmington Channel, at Beaulieu and Rosedew, I thought I could carry the defenses of Savannah by assault as soon as the heavy ordnance arrived from Hilton Head. On the 15th the admiral carried me back to Fort McAllister, whence I returned to our lines in the rear of Savannah.

Having received and carefully considered all the reports of division commanders, I determined to assault the lines of the enemy as soon as my heavy ordnance came from Port Royal, first making a formal demand for surrender. On the 17th, a number of thirty-pounder Parrott guns having reached King's Bridge, I proceeded in person to the head-quarters of Major-General Slocum, on the Augusta road, and dispatched thence into Savannah, by flag of truce, a formal demand for the surrender of the place, and on the following day received an answer from General Hardee refusing to surrender.

In the mean time further reconnoissances from our left flank had demonstrated that it was impracticable or unwise to push any considerable force across the Savannah River, for the enemy held the river opposite the city with iron-clad gunboats, and could destroy any pontoons laid down by us between Hutchinson's Island and the South Carolina shore, which would isolate any force sent over from that flank. I therefore ordered General Slocum to get into position the siege guns, and make all the preparations necessary to assault, and report to me the earliest moment when he could be ready, while I should proceed rapidly round by the right, and make arrangements to occupy the Union Causeway from the direction of Port Royal. General Foster had already established a division of troops on the peninsula or neck between the Coosawhatchie and Tullifinney Rivers, at the head of Broad River, from which position he could reach the railroad with his artillery.

I went to Port Royal in person, and made arrangements to re-enforce that command by one or more divisions, under a proper officer, to assault and carry the railroad, and thence turn toward Savannah, until it occupied the causeway in question. I went on board the admiral's flag-ship, the *Harvest Moon*, which put out to sea the night of the 20th. But the wind was high, and increased during the night, so that the pilot judged Ossabaw Bar impassable, and ran into the Tybee, whence we proceeded through the inland channels into Wassaw Sound, and thence through Romney Marsh. But the ebb-tide caught the *Harvest Moon*, and she was unable to make the passage. Admiral Dahlgren took me in his barge, and pulling in the direction of Vernon River, we met the army-tug *Red Legs*, bearing a message from my adjutant, Captain Dayton, of that morning, the 21st, to the effect that our troops were in possession of the enemy's lines, and were

advancing without opposition into Savannah, the enemy having evacuated the place during the previous night.

Admiral Dahlgren proceeded up the Vernon River in his barge, while I transferred to the tug, in which I proceeded to Fort McAllister, and thence to the rice-mill, and on the morning of the 22d rode into the city of Savannah, already occupied by our troops.

I was very much disappointed that Hardee had escaped with his garrison, and had to content myself with the material fruits of victory without the cost of life which would have attended a general assault. The substantial results will be more clearly set forth in the tabular statements of heavy ordnance and other public property acquired, and it will suffice here to state that the important city of Savannah, with its valuable harbor and river, was the chief object of the campaign. With it we acquire all the forts and heavy ordnance in its vicinity, with large stores of ammunition, shot and shells, cotton, rice, and other valuable products of the country. We also gain locomotives and cars, which, though of little use to us in the present condition of the railroads, are a serious loss to the enemy; as well as four steamboats gained, and the loss to the enemy of the iron-clad *Savannah*, one ram, and three transports, blown up or burned by them the night before.

Formal demand having been made for the surrender, and having been refused, I contend that every thing within the line of intrenchments belongs to the United States; and I shall not hesitate to use it, if necessary, for public purposes. But inasmuch as the inhabitants generally have manifested a friendly disposition, I shall disturb them as little as possible, consistently with the military rights of present and future military commanders, without remitting in the least our just rights as captors.

After having made the necessary orders for the disposition of the troops in and about Savannah, I ordered Captain O. M. Poe, chief engineer, to make a thorough examination of the enemy's works in and about Savannah, with a view to making it conform to our future uses. New lines of defenses will be built, embracing the city proper, Forts Jackson, Thunderbolt, and Pulaski retained, with slight modifications in their armament and rear defenses. All the rest of the enemy's forts will be dismantled and destroyed, and their heavy ordnance transferred to Hilton Head, where it can be more easily guarded. Our base of supplies will be established in Savannah, as soon as the very difficult obstructions placed in the river can be partially removed. These obstructions at present offer a very serious impediment to the commerce of Savannah, consisting of crib-work of logs and timber heavily bolted together, and filled with the cobble-stones which formerly paved the streets of Savannah. All the channels below the city were found more or less filled with torpedoes, which have been removed by order of Admiral Dahlgren, so that Savannah already fulfills the important part it was designed in our plans for the future.

In thus sketching the course of events connected with this campaign, I have purposely passed lightly over the march from Atlanta to the sea-shore,

because it was made in four or more columns,, sometimes at a distance of fifteen or twenty miles from each other, and it was impossible for me to attend but one. Therefore, I have left it to the army and corps commanders to describe in their own language the events which attended the march of their respective columns. These reports are herewith submitted, and I beg to refer to them for further details. I would merely sum up the advantages which I conceive have accrued to us by this march.

Our former labors in North Georgia had demonstrated the truth that no large army, carrying with it the necessary stores and baggage, can overtake and capture an inferior force of the enemy in his own country. Therefore, no alternative was left me but the one I adopted, namely, to divide my forces, and with one part act offensively against the enemy's resources, while with the other I should act defensively, and invite the enemy to attack, risking the chances of battle. In this conclusion I have been singularly sustained by the results. General Hood, who, as I have heretofore described, had moved to the westward near Tuscumbia, with a view to decoy me away from Georgia, finding himself mistaken, was forced to choose, either to pursue me or to act offensively against the other part left in Tennessee. He adopted the latter course; and General Thomas has wisely and well fulfilled his part in the grand scheme, in drawing Hood well up into Tennessee, until he could concentrate all his own troops and then turn upon Hood, as he has done, and destroy or fatally cripple his army. That part of my army is so far removed from me, that I leave, with perfect confidence, its management and history to General Thomas.

I was thereby left with a well-appointed army to sever the enemy's only remaining railroad communications eastward and westward, for over one hundred miles, namely, the Georgia State Railroad, which is broken up from Fairburn Station to Madison and the Oconee, and the Central Railroad from Gordon clear to Savannah, with numerous breaks on the latter road from Gordon to Eatonton, and from Millen to Augusta, and the Savannah and Gulf Railroad. We have also consumed the corn and fodder in the region of country thirty miles on either side of a line from Atlanta to Savannah; as also the sweet potatoes, cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry, and have carried away more than ten thousand horses and mules, as well as a countless number of their slaves. I estimate the damage done to the State of Georgia and its military resources at one hundred million dollars, at least twenty millions of which have inured to our advantage, and the remainder is simple waste and destruction. This may seem a hard species of warfare, but it brings the sad realities of war home to those who have been directly or indirectly instrumental in involving us in its attendant calamities.

This campaign has also placed this branch of my army in a position from which other great military results may be attempted, besides leaving in Tennessee and North Alabama a force which is amply sufficient to meet all the chances of war in that region of our country.

Since the capture of Atlanta, my staff is unchanged, save that General

Barry, chief of artillery, has been absent sick since our leaving Kingston. Surgeon Moore, United States Army, is chief medical director, in place of Surgeon Kittoe, relieved to resume his proper duties as a medical inspector. Major Hitchcock, A. A.-G., has also been added to my staff, and has been of great assistance in the field and office. Captain Dayton still remains as my adjutant-general. All have, as formerly, fulfilled their parts to my entire satisfaction.

In the body of my army I feel a just pride. Generals Howard and Slocum are gentlemen of singular capacity and intelligence, thorough soldiers and patriots, working day and night, not for themselves, but for their country and their men. General Kilpatrick, who commanded the cavalry of this army, has handled it with spirit and dash, to my entire satisfaction, and kept a superior force of the enemy's cavalry from even approaching our infantry columns or wagon-trains. His report is full and graphic. All the division and brigade commanders merit my personal and official thanks, and I shall spare no efforts to secure them commissions equal to the rank they have exercised so well. As to the rank and file, they seem so full of confidence in themselves, that I doubt if they want a compliment from me; but I must do them the justice to say that, whether called on to fight, to march, to wade streams, to make roads, clear out obstructions, build bridges, make "corduroy," or tear up railroads, they have done it with alacrity and a degree of cheerfulness unsurpassed. A little loose in foraging, they "did some things they ought not to have done," yet, on the whole, they have supplied the wants of the army with as little violence as could be expected, and as little loss as I calculated. Some of these foraging parties had encounters with the enemy, which would, in ordinary times, rank as respectable battles. The behavior of our troops in Savannah has been so manly, so quiet, so perfect, that I take it as the best evidence of discipline and true courage. Never was a hostile city, filled with women and children, occupied by a large army with less disorder, or more system, order, and good government. The same general and generous spirit of confidence and good feeling pervades the army, which it has ever afforded me special pleasure to report on former occasions.

I avail myself of this occasion to express my heart-felt thanks to Admiral Dahlgren, and the officers and men of his fleet, as also to General Foster and his command, for the hearty welcome given us on our arrival at the coast, and for their steady and prompt co-operation in all measures tending to the result accomplished.

I send herewith a map of the country through which we have passed; reports from General Howard, General Slocum, and General Kilpatrick, and their subordinates respectively; with the usual lists of captured property, killed, wounded, and missing, prisoners of war taken and rescued; as also copies of all papers illustrating the campaign. All of which are respectfully submitted by

Your obedient servant,

W. T. Sherman, Major-General.

FROM SAVANNAH TO GOLDSBORO', THROUGH THE CAROLINAS.

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
GOLDSBORO', N. C., *April* 4, 1865.

GENERAL:—I must now endeavor to group the events of the past three months connected with the armies under my command, in order that you may have as clear an understanding of the late campaign as the case admits of. The reports of the subordinate commanders will enable you to fill up the picture.

I have heretofore explained, how, in the progress of our arms, I was enabled to leave in the West an army under Major-General George H. Thomas, of sufficient strength to meet emergencies in that quarter, while in person I conducted another army, composed of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, and Twentieth Corps, and Kilpatrick's division of cavalry, to the Atlantic slope, aiming to approach the grand theater of war in Virginia, by the time the season would admit of military operations in that latitude. The first lodgment on the coast was made at Savannah, strongly fortified and armed, and valuable to us as a good seaport, with its navigable stream inland. Near a month was consumed there in refitting the army, and in making the proper disposition of captured property, and other local matters; but by the 15th of January I was all ready to resume the march. Preliminary to this, General Howard, commanding the right wing, was ordered to embark his command at Thunderbolt, transport it to Beaufort, South Carolina, and thence, by the 15th of January, make a lodgment on the Charleston Railroad, at or near Pocotaligo. This was accomplished punctually, at little cost, by the Seventeenth Corps, Major-General Blair, and a dépôt for supplies was established near the mouth of Pocotaligo Creek, with easy water communication back to Hilton Head.

The left wing, Major-General Slocum, and the cavalry, Major-General Kilpatrick, were ordered to rendezvous about the same time near Robertsville and Coosawhatchie, South Carolina, with a dépôt of supplies at Pureysburg or Sister's Ferry, on the Savannah River. General Slocum had a good pontoon bridge constructed opposite the city, and the "Union Causeway," leading through the low rice-fields opposite Savannah, was repaired and "corduroyed." But, before the time appointed to start, the heavy rains of January had swelled the river, broken the pontoon bridge, and overflowed the whole "bottom," so that the causeway was four feet under water, and General Slocum was compelled to look higher up for a passage over the Savannah River. He moved up to Sister's Ferry, but even there the river, with its overflowed bottoms, was near three miles wide, and he did not succeed in getting his whole wing across until during the first week of February.

In the mean time, General Grant had sent me Grover's division of the Nineteenth Corps to garrison Savannah, and had drawn the Twenty-third Corps, Major-General Schofield, from Tennessee, and sent it to re-enforce

the commands of Major-Generals Terry and Palmer, operating on the coast of North Carolina, to prepare the way for my coming.

On the 18th of January I transferred the forts and city of Savannah to Major-General Foster, commanding the Department of the South, imparted to him my plans of operation, and instructed him how to follow my movements inland, by occupying in succession the city of Charleston and such other points along the seacoast as would be of any military value to us. The combined naval and land forces under Admiral Porter and General Terry had, on the 15th of January, captured Fort Fisher and the rebel forts at the mouth of Cape Fear River, giving me an additional point of security on the seacoast. But I had already resolved in my own mind, and had so advised General Grant, that I would undertake at one stride to make Goldsboro', and open communication with the sea by the Newbern Railroad, and had ordered Colonel W. W. Wright, superintendent of military railroads, to proceed in advance to Newbern, and to be prepared to extend the railroad out from Newbern to Goldsboro' by the 15th of March. On the 19th of January all preparations were complete, and the orders of march given. My chief quartermaster and commissary, Generals Easton and Beckwith, were ordered to complete the supplies at Sister's Ferry and Pocotaligo, and then to follow our movement coastwise, looking for my arrival at Goldsboro', North Carolina, about March 15th, and opening communication with me from Morehead City.

On the 22d of January I embarked at Savannah for Hilton Head, where I held a conference with Admiral Dahlgren, United States Navy, and Major-General Foster, commanding the Department of the South, and next day proceeded to Beaufort, riding out thence on the 24th to Pocotaligo, where the Seventeenth Corps, Major-General Blair was encamped. The Fifteenth Corps was somewhat scattered—Wood's and Hazen's divisions at Beaufort, John E. Smith marching from Savannah by the coast road, and Corse still at Savannah, cut off by the storms and freshet in the river. On the 25th a demonstration was made against the Combahee Ferry and railroad-bridge across the Salkehatchie, merely to amuse the enemy, who had evidently adopted that river as his defensive line against our supposed *objective*, the city of Charleston. I reconnoitered the line in person, and saw that the heavy rains had swollen the river so that water stood in the swamps, for a breadth of more than a mile, at a depth of from one to twenty feet. Not having the remotest intention of approaching Charleston, a comparatively small force was able, by seeming preparations to cross over, to keep in their front a considerable force of the enemy disposed to contest our advance on Charleston. On the 27th I rode to the camp of General Hatch's division of Foster's command, on the Tullifinney and Coosawhatchie Rivers, and directed those places to be evacuated, as no longer of any use to us. That division was then moved to Pocotaligo to keep up the feints already begun, until we should with the right wing move higher up and cross the Salkehatchie about Rivers's, or Broxton's Bridge. On the 29th I learned that the roads back of Savannah had at last become sufficiently free of the flood to admit of General Slocum putting his wing in motion,

and that he was already approaching Sister's Ferry, whither a gunboat, the *Pontiac*, Captain Luce, kindly furnished by Admiral Dahlgren, had preceded him to cover the crossing. In the mean time, three divisions of the Fifteenth Corps had closed up at Pocotaligo, and the right wing had loaded its wagons and was ready to start. I therefore directed General Howard to move one corps, the Seventeenth, along the Salkehatchie, as high up as Rivers's Bridge, and the other, the Fifteenth, by Hickory Hill, Loper's Cross-roads, Anglesey Post-office, and Beaufort's Bridge. Hatch's division was ordered to remain at Pocotaligo, feigning at the Salkehatchie railroad-bridge and ferry, until our movement turned the enemy's position and forced him to fall behind the Edisto.

The Seventeenth and Fifteenth Corps drew out of camp on the 31st of January, but the real march began on the 1st of February. All the roads northward had for weeks been held by Wheeler's cavalry, who had by details of negro laborers felled trees, burned bridges, and made obstructions to impede our march. But so well organized were our pioneer battalions, and so strong and intelligent our men, that obstructions seemed only to quicken their progress. Felled trees were removed and bridges rebuilt by the heads of columns before the rear could close up. On the 2d of February the Fifteenth Corps reached Loper's Cross-roads, and the Seventeenth was at Rivers's Bridge. From Loper's Cross-roads I communicated with General Slocum, still struggling with the floods of the Savannah River at Sister's Ferry. He had two divisions of the Twentieth Corps, General Williams, on the east bank, and was enabled to cross over on his pontoons the cavalry of Kilpatrick. General Williams was ordered to Beaufort's Bridge, by way of Lawtonville and Allendale, Kilpatrick to Blackville via Barnwell, and General Slocum to hurry the crossing at Sister's Ferry as much as possible, and overtake the right wing on the South Carolina Railroad. General Howard, with the right wing, was directed to cross the Salkehatchie and push rapidly for the South Carolina Railroad, at or near Midway. The enemy held the line of the Salkehatchie in force, having infantry and artillery intrenched at Rivers's and Beaufort's Bridges. The Seventeenth Corps was ordered to carry Rivers's Bridge, and the Fifteenth Corps Beaufort's Bridge. The former position was carried promptly and skillfully by Mower's and Giles A. Smith's division of the Seventeenth Corps, on the 3d of February, by crossing the swamp, nearly three miles wide, with water varying from knee to shoulder deep. The weather was bitter cold, and Generals Mower and Smith led their divisions in person, on foot, waded the swamp, made a lodgment below the bridge, and turned on the rebel brigade which guarded it, driving it in confusion and disorder toward Branchville. Our casualties were one officer and seventeen men killed, and seventy men wounded, who were sent to Pocotaligo. The line of the Salkehatchie being thus broken, the enemy retreated at once behind the Edisto, at Branchville, and the whole army was pushed rapidly to the South Carolina Railroad at Midway, Bamberg (or Lowry's Station), and Graham's Station. The Seventeenth Corps by threatening Branchville, forced the enemy to burn the railroad bridge, and Walker's Bridge below,

across the Edisto. All hands were at once set to work to destroy railroad track. From the 7th to the 10th of February this work was thoroughly prosecuted by the Seventeenth Corps from the Edisto up to Bamberg, and by the Fifteenth Corps from Bamberg up to Blackville. In the mean time General Kilpatrick had brought his cavalry rapidly by Barnwell to Blackville, and had turned toward Aiken, with orders to threaten Augusta, but not to be drawn needlessly into a serious battle. This he skillfully accomplished, skirmishing heavily with Wheeler's cavalry, first at Blackville, and afterward at Williston and Aiken. General Williams, with two divisions of the Twentieth Corps, marched to the South Carolina Railroad at Graham's Station, on the 8th, and General Slocum reached Blackville on the 10th. The destruction of the railroad was continued by the left wing from Blackville up to Windsor. By the 11th of February all the army was on the railroad from Midway to Johnson's Station, thereby dividing the enemy's forces, which still remained at Branchville and Charleston on the one hand, Aiken and Augusta on the other.

We then began the movement on Orangeburg. The Seventeenth Corps crossed the South Fork of Edisto River at Binnaker's Bridge, and moved straight for Orangeburg, while the Fifteenth Corps crossed at Holman's Bridge and moved to Poplar Springs in support. The left wing and cavalry were still at work on the railroad, with orders to cross the South Edisto at New and Guignard's Bridges, move to the Orangeburg and Edgefield road, and there await the result of the attack on Orangeburg. On the 12th the Seventeenth Corps found the enemy intrenched in front of the Orangeburg Bridge, but swept him away by a dash, and followed him, forcing him across the bridge, which was partially burned. Behind the bridge was a battery in position, covered by a cotton and earth parapet, with wings as far as could be seen. General Blair held one division (Giles A. Smith's) close up to the Edisto, and moved the other two to a point about two miles below, where he crossed Force's division by a pontoon bridge, holding Mower's in support. As soon as Force emerged from the swamp, the enemy gave ground, and Giles Smith's division gained the bridge, crossed over, and occupied the enemy's parapet. He soon repaired the bridge, and by four P. M. the whole corps was in Orangeburg, and had begun the work of destruction on the railroad. Blair was ordered to destroy this railroad effectually up to Lewisville, and to push the enemy across the Congaree, and force him to burn the bridges, which he did on the 14th; and without wasting time or labor on Branchville or Charleston, which I knew the enemy could no longer hold, I turned all the columns straight on Columbia. The Seventeenth Corps followed the State road, and the Fifteenth crossed the North Edisto from Poplar Springs at Schilling's Bridge, above the mouth of "Cawcaw Swamp" Creek, and took a country road which came into the State road at Zeigler's. On the 15th, the Fifteenth Corps found the enemy in a strong position at Little Congaree Bridge (across Congaree Creek), with a *tête-de-pont* on the south side, and a well-constructed fort on the north side, commanding the bridge with artillery. The ground in front was very bad, level, and clear, with a fresh deposit of mud from a re-

cent overflow. General Charles R. Woods, who commanded the leading division, succeeded, however, in turning the flank of the *tête-de-pont*, by sending Stone's brigade through a cypress swamp to the left; and following up the retreating enemy promptly, he got possession of the bridge and the fort beyond. The bridge had been partially damaged by fire, and had to be repaired for the passage of artillery, so that night closed in before the head of the column reached the bridge across Congaree River in front of Columbia. That night the enemy shelled our camps from a battery on the east side of the Congaree above Granby. Early next morning (February 16th) the head of the column reached the bank of the Congaree, opposite Columbia, but too late to save the fine bridge which spanned the river at that point. It was burned by the enemy. While waiting for the pontoons to come to the front, we could see people running about the streets of Columbia, and occasionally small bodies of cavalry, but no masses. A single gun of Captain De Grass's battery was firing at their cavalry squads, but I checked his firing, limiting him to a few shots at the unfinished State-House walls, and a few shells at the railroad dépôt to scatter the people who were seen carrying away sacks of corn and meal that we needed. There was no white flag or manifestations of surrender. I directed General Howard not to cross directly in front of Columbia, but to cross the Saluda at the Factory, three miles above, and afterward Broad River, so as to approach Columbia from the north. Within an hour of the arrival of General Howard's head of column at the river opposite Columbia, the head of column of the left wing also appeared, and I directed General Slocum to cross the Saluda at Zion Church, and thence to take roads direct for Winnsboro', breaking up *en route* the railroad and bridges about Alston.

General Howard effected a crossing of the Saluda, near the Factory, on the 16th, skirmishing with cavalry, and the same night made a flying bridge across Broad River, about three miles above Columbia, by which he crossed over Stone's brigade, of Wood's division, Fifteenth Corps. Under cover of this brigade, a pontoon bridge was laid on the morning of the 17th. I was in person at this bridge, and at eleven A. M., learned that the mayor of Columbia had come out in a carriage, and made a formal surrender of the city to Colonel Stone, Twenty-fifth Iowa infantry, commanding third brigade, first division, Fifteenth Corps. About the same time a small party of the Seventeenth Corps had crossed the Congaree in a skiff, and entered Columbia from a point immediately west. In anticipation of the occupation of the city, I had made written orders to General Howard touching the conduct of the troops. These were, to destroy absolutely all arsenals and public property not needed for our own use, as well as all railroads, dépôts, and machinery useful in war to an enemy, but to spare all dwellings, colleges, schools, asylums, and harmless private property. I was the first to cross the pontoon bridge, and in company with General Howard rode into the city. The day was clear, but a perfect tempest of wind was raging. The brigade of Colonel Stone was already in the city, and was properly posted. Citizens and soldiers were on the streets, and general good order prevailed. General Wade Hampton, who commanded the Confederate

rear-guard of cavalry, had, in anticipation of our capture of Columbia, ordered that all cotton, public and private, should be moved into the streets and fired, to prevent our making use of it. Bales were piled everywhere, the rope and bagging cut, and tufts of cotton were blown about in the wind, lodging in the trees and against houses, so as to resemble a snow-storm. Some of these piles of cotton were burning, especially one in the very heart of the city, near the Court-house, but the fire was partially subdued by the labor of our soldiers. During the day the Fifteenth Corps passed through Columbia and out on the Camden road. The Seventeenth did not enter the town at all; and, as I have before stated, the left wing and cavalry did not come within two miles of the town.

Before one single public building had been fired by order, the smoldering fires, set by Hampton's order, were rekindled by the wind, and communicated to the buildings around. About dark they began to spread, and got beyond the control of the brigade on duty within the city. The whole of Woods's division was brought in, but it was found impossible to check the flames, which, by midnight, had become unmanageable, and raged until about four o'clock, A. M., when, the wind subsiding, they were got under control. I was up nearly all night, and saw Generals Howard, Logan, Woods, and others, laboring to save houses and protect families thus suddenly deprived of shelter, and of bedding and wearing apparel. I disclaim on the part of my army any agency in this fire, but, on the contrary, claim that we saved what of Columbia remains unconsumed. And, without hesitation, I charge General Wade Hampton with having burned his own city of Columbia, not with a malicious intent, or as the manifestation of a silly "Roman stoicism," but from folly and want of sense in filling it with lint, cotton, and tinder. Our officers and men on duty worked well to extinguish the flames; but others not on duty, including the officers who had long been imprisoned there, rescued by us, may have assisted in spreading the fire after it had once begun, and may have indulged in unconcealed joy to see the ruin of the capital of South Carolina. During the 18th and 19th, the arsenal, railroad dépôts, machine shops, founderies, and other buildings, were properly destroyed by detailed working parties, and the railroad track torn up and destroyed down to Kingsville and the Wateree Bridge, and up in the direction of Winnsboro'.

At the same time the left wing and cavalry had crossed the Saluda and Broad Rivers, breaking up railroad about Alston, and as high up as the bridge across Broad River, on the Spartanburg road, the main body moving straight for Winnsboro', which General Slocum reached on the 21st of February. He caused the railroad to be destroyed up to Blackstakes Dépôt, and then turned to Rocky Mount, on the Catawba River. The Twentieth Corps reached Rocky Mount on the 22d, laid a pontoon bridge, and crossed over during the 23d. Kilpatrick's cavalry followed, and crossed over in a terrible rain during the night of the 23d, and moved up to Lancaster, with orders to keep up the delusion of a general movement on Charlotte, North Carolina, to which General Beauregard and all the cavalry of the enemy had retreated from Columbia. I was also aware that

Cheatham's Corps, of Hood's old army, was aiming to make a junction with Beauregard at Charlotte, having been cut off by our rapid movement on Columbia and Winnsboro'. From the 23d to the 26th we had heavy rains, swelling the rivers and making the roads almost impassable. The Twentieth Corps reached Hanging Rock on the 26th, and waited there for the Fourteenth Corps to get across the Catawba. The heavy rains had so swollen the river that the pontoon bridge broke, and General Davis had very hard work to restore it and get his command across. At last he succeeded, and the left wing was all put in motion for Cheraw. In the mean time the right wing had broken up the railroad to Winnsboro', and thence turned for Peay's Ferry, where it was crossed over the Catawba before the heavy rains set in, the Seventeenth Corps moving straight on Cheraw via Young's Bridge, and the Fifteenth Corps by Tiller's and Kelley's Bridges. From this latter corps, detachments were sent into Camden to burn the bridge over the Wateree, with the railroad dépôt, stores, etc. A small force of mounted men under Captain Duncan was also dispatched to make a dash and interrupt the railroad from Charleston to Florence, but it met Butler's division of cavalry, and, after a sharp night-skirmish on Mount Elon, was compelled to return unsuccessful. Much bad road was encountered at Lynch's Creek, which delayed the right wing about the same length of time as the left wing had been at the Catawba. On the 2d of March, the leading division of the Twentieth Corps entered Chesterfield, skirmishing with Butler's division of cavalry, and the next day about noon the Seventeenth Corps entered Cheraw, the enemy retreating across the Pedee, and burning the bridge at that point. At Cheraw we found much ammunition and many guns, which had been brought from Charleston on the evacuation of that city. These were destroyed, as also the railroad trestles and bridges down as far as Darlington. An expedition of mounted infantry was also sent down to Florence, but it encountered both cavalry and infantry, and returned, having only broken up in part the branch road from Florence to Cheraw.

Without unnecessary delay the columns were again put in motion, directed on Fayetteville, North Carolina, the right wing crossing the Pedee at Cheraw, and the left wing and cavalry at Sneedsboro'. General Kilpatrick was ordered to keep well on the left flank, and the Fourteenth Corps, moving by Love's Bridge, was given the right to enter and occupy Fayetteville first. The weather continued unfavorable and the roads bad, but the Fourteenth and Seventeenth Corps reached Fayetteville on the 11th of March, skirmishing with Wade Hampton's cavalry, that covered the rear of Hardee's retreating army, which, as usual, had crossed Cape Fear River, burning the bridge. During the march from Pedee, General Kilpatrick had kept his cavalry well on the left and exposed flank. During the night of the 9th of March, his three brigades were divided to picket the roads. General Hampton detecting this, rushed in at daylight and gained possession of the camp of Colonel Spencer's brigade, and the house in which General Kilpatrick and Colonel Spencer had their quarters. The surprise was complete, but General Kilpatrick quickly succeeded in ral-

lying his men, on foot, in a swamp near by, and by a prompt attack, well followed up, regained his artillery, horses, camp, and every thing save some prisoners whom the enemy carried off, leaving their dead on the ground.

The 12th, 13th, and 14th were passed at Fayetteville, destroying absolutely the United States arsenal and the vast amount of machinery which had formerly belonged to the Harper's Ferry United States arsenal. Every building was knocked down and burned, and every piece of machinery utterly broken up and ruined by the First Regiment Michigan Engineers, under the immediate supervision of Colonel O. M. Poe, chief engineer. Much valuable property of great use to the enemy was here destroyed or cast into the river.

Up to this period I had perfectly succeeded in interposing my superior army between the scattered parts of the enemy. But I was then aware that the fragments that had left Columbia under Beauregard had been reenforced by Cheatham's corps from the West, and the garrison of Augusta, and that ample time had been given to move them to my front and flank about Raleigh. Hardee had also succeeded in getting across Cape Fear River ahead of me, and could therefore complete the junction with the other armies of Johnston and Hoke in North Carolina. And the whole, under the command of the skillful and experienced Joe Johnston, made up an army superior to me in cavalry, and formidable enough in artillery and infantry to justify me in extreme caution in making the last step necessary to complete the march I had undertaken.

Previous to reaching Fayetteville, I had dispatched to Wilmington from Laurel Hill Church two of our best scouts with intelligence of our position and my general plans. Both of these messengers reached Wilmington, and on the morning of the 12th of March the army-tug *Davidson*, Captain Ainsworth, reached Fayetteville from Wilmington, bringing me full intelligence of events from the outer world. On the same day this tug carried back to General Terry, at Wilmington, and General Schofield, at Newbern, my dispatches to the effect that on Wednesday, the 15th, we would move for Goldsboro', *feigning* on Raleigh, and ordering them to march straight for Goldsboro', which I expected to reach about the 20th. The same day the gunboat *Eolus*, Captain Young, United States Navy, also reached Fayetteville, and through her I continued to have communication with Wilmington until the day of our actual departure. While the work of destruction was going on at Fayetteville, two pontoon bridges were laid across Cape Fear River, one opposite the town, and the other three miles below.

General Kilpatrick was ordered to move up the plank-road to and beyond Averysboro'. He was to be followed by four divisions of the left wing, with as few wagons as possible; the rest of the train, under escort of the two remaining divisions of that wing, to take a shorter and more direct road to Goldsboro'. In like manner General Howard was ordered to send his trains, under good escort, well to the right, toward Faison's Dépôt and Goldsboro', and to hold four divisions *light*, ready to go to the

aid of the left wing if attacked while in motion. The weather continued very bad, and the roads had become mere quagmire. Almost every foot of it had to be corduroyed to admit the passage of wheels. Still, time was so important that punctually, according to order, the columns moved out from Cape Fear River on Wednesday, the 15th of March. I accompanied General Slocum, who, preceded by Kilpatrick's cavalry, moved up the river or plank-road that day to Kyle's Landing, Kilpatrick skirmishing heavily with the enemy's rear-guard about three miles beyond, near Taylor's Hole Creek. At General Kilpatrick's request, General Slocum sent forward a brigade of infantry to hold a line of barricades.

Next morning the column advanced in the same order, and developed the enemy, with artillery, infantry, and cavalry, in an intrenched position in front of the point where the road branches off toward Goldsboro' through Bentonville. On an inspection of the map, it was manifest that Hardee in retreating from Fayetteville had halted in the narrow swampy neck between Cape Fear and South Rivers in the hopes to hold me, to save time for the concentration of Johnston's armies at some point to his rear—namely, Raleigh, Smithfield, or Goldsboro'. Hardee's force was estimated at twenty thousand men. It was necessary to dislodge him that we might have the use of the Goldsboro' road, as also to keep up the feint on Raleigh as long as possible. General Slocum was therefore ordered to press and carry the position, only difficult by reason of the nature of the ground, which was so soft that horses would sink everywhere, and even men could hardly make their way over the common pine-barren.

The Twentieth Corps, General Williams, had the lead, and Ward's division the advance. This was deployed, and the skirmish line developed the position of a brigade of Charleston heavy artillery, armed as infantry (Rhett's), posted across the road behind a light parapet, with a battery of guns enfilading the approach across a cleared field. General Williams sent a brigade (Case's) by a circuit to his left that turned this line, and by a quick charge broke the brigade, which rapidly retreated back to a second line, better built and more strongly held. A battery of artillery (Winninger's), well-posted under the immediate direction of Major Reynolds, chief of artillery of the Twentieth Corps, did good execution on the retreating brigade; and, on advancing Ward's division over this ground, General Williams captured three guns and two hundred and seventeen prisoners, of which sixty-eight were wounded, and left in a house near by with a rebel officer, four men, and five days' rations. One hundred and eight rebel dead were buried by us. As Ward's division advanced, he developed a second and a stronger line, when Jackson's division was deployed forward on the right of Ward, and the two divisions of Jeff. C. Davis's (Fourteenth) Corps on the left, well toward the Cape Fear. At the same time Kilpatrick, who was acting in concert with General Williams, was ordered to draw back his cavalry and mass it on the extreme right, and, in concert with Jackson's right, to feel forward for the Goldsboro' road. He got a brigade on the road, but it was attacked by McLaws's rebel division furiously, and though it fought well and hard, the brigade drew back to the flank of the

infantry. The whole line advanced late in the afternoon, drove the enemy well within his intrenched line and pressed him so hard, that next morning he was gone, having retreated in a miserable stormy night over the worst of roads. Ward's division of infantry followed to and through Averysboro', developing the fact that Hardee had retreated, not on Raleigh, but on Smithfield. I had the night before directed Kilpatrick to cross South River at a mill-dam to our right and rear, and move up on the east side toward Elevation. General Slocum reports his aggregate loss, in the affair known as that of Averysboro', at twelve officers and sixty-five men killed, and four hundred and seventy-seven wounded. We lost no prisoners. The enemy's loss can be inferred from his dead (one hundred and eight) left for us to bury. Leaving Ward's division to keep up a show of pursuit, Slocum's column was turned to the right, built a bridge across the swollen South River, and took the Goldsboro' road, Kilpatrick crossing to the north, in the direction of Elevation, with orders to move eastward, watching that flank. In the mean time the wagon-trains and guards, as also Howard's column, were wallowing along the miry roads toward Bentonville and Goldsboro'. The enemy's infantry, as before stated, had retreated across our front in the same direction, burning the bridges across Mill Creek. I continued with the head of Slocum's column, and camped the night of the 18th with him on the Goldsboro' road, twenty-seven miles from Goldsboro', about five miles from Bentonville, and where the road from Clinton to Smithfield crosses the Goldsboro' road. Howard was at Lee's Store, only two miles south, and both columns had pickets three miles forward, to where the two roads came together and became common to Goldsboro'.

All the signs induced me to believe that the enemy would make no further opposition to our progress, and would not attempt to strike us in flank while in motion. I therefore directed Howard to move his right wing by the new Goldsboro' road, which goes by way of Falling Creek Church. I also left Slocum and joined Howard's column, with a view to open communications with General Schofield, coming up from Newbern, and Terry, from Wilmington. I found General Howard's column well strung out, owing to the very bad roads, and did not overtake him in person till he had reached Falling Creek Church, with one regiment forward to the cross-roads near Cox's Bridge across the Neuse. I had gone from General Slocum about six miles, when I heard artillery in his direction, but was soon made easy by one of his staff officers overtaking me, explaining that his leading division (Carlin's) had encountered a division of rebel cavalry (Dibbrell's), which he was driving easily. But soon other staff-officers came up, reporting that he had developed near Bentonville the whole of the rebel army, under General Johnston himself. I sent him orders to call up the two divisions guarding his wagon-trains, and Hazen's division of the Fifteenth Corps, still back near Lee's Store; to fight defensively until I could draw up Blair's Corps then near Mount Olive Station, and with the remaining three divisions of the Fifteenth Corps come up on Johnston's left rear from the direction of Cox's Bridge. In the mean time,

while on the road, I received couriers from both Generals Schofield and Terry. The former reported himself in possession of Kinston, delayed somewhat by want of provisions, but able to march so as to make Goldsboro' on the 21st; and Terry was at or near Faison's Dépôt. Orders were at once dispatched to Schofield to push for Goldsboro', and to make dispositions to cross Little River in the direction of Smithfield as far as Millard; to General Terry to move to Cox's Bridge, lay a pontoon bridge, and establish a crossing; and to Blair to make a night march to Falling Creek Church; and at daylight the right wing, General Howard, less the necessary wagon guards, was put in rapid motion on Bentonville. By subsequent reports I learned that General Slocum's head of column had advanced from its camp of March 18, and first encountered Dibbrell's cavalry, but soon found his progress impeded by infantry and artillery. The enemy attacked his head of column, gaining a temporary advantage, and took three guns and caissons of General Carlin's division, driving the two leading brigades back on the main body. As soon as General Slocum realized that he had in his front the whole Confederate army, he promptly deployed the two divisions of the Fourteenth Corps, General Davis, and rapidly brought up on their left the two divisions of the Twentieth Corps, General Williams. These he arranged on the defensive, and hastily prepared a line of barricades. General Kilpatrick also came up at the sound of artillery and massed on the left. In this position the left received six distinct assaults by the combined forces of Hoke, Hardee, and Cheatham, under the immediate command of General Johnston himself, without giving an inch of ground, and doing good execution on the enemy's ranks, especially with our artillery, the enemy having little or none.

Johnston had moved by night from Smithfield with great rapidity, and without unnecessary wheels, intending to overwhelm my left flank before it could be relieved by its co-operating columns. But he "reckoned without his host." I had expected just such a movement all the way from Fayetteville, and was prepared for it. During the night of the 19th, General Slocum got up his wagon-train with its guard of two divisions, and Hazen's division of the Fifteenth Corps, which re-enforcement enabled him to make his position impregnable. The right wing found rebel cavalry watching his approach, but unable to offer any serious opposition until our head of column encountered a considerable body behind a barricade at the forks of the road near Bentonville, about three miles east of the battle-field of the day before. This body of cavalry was, however, quickly dislodged, and the intersection of the roads secured. On moving forward the Fifteenth Corps, General Logan found that the enemy had thrown back his left flank, and had constructed a line of parapet connecting with that toward General Slocum, in the form of a bastion, its salient on the main Goldsboro' road, interposing between General Slocum on the west and General Howard on the east, while the flanks rested on Mill Creek, covering the road back to Smithfield. General Howard was instructed to proceed with due caution until he had made strong connection on his left with General Slocum. This he soon accomplished, and by four P. M. of the 20th a

complete and strong line of battle confronted the enemy in his intrenched position, and General Johnston, instead of catching us in detail, was on the defensive, with Mill Creek and a single bridge to his rear. Nevertheless, we had no object to accomplish by a battle, unless at an advantage, and therefore my general instructions were to press steadily with skirmishers alone, to use artillery pretty freely on the wooded space held by the enemy, and to feel pretty strongly the flanks of his position, which were as usual covered by the endless swamps of this region of country. I also ordered all empty wagons to be sent at once to Kinston for supplies, and other impediments to be grouped near the Neuse, south of Goldsboro', holding the real army in close contact with the enemy, ready to fight him if he ventured outside his parapets and swampy obstructions. Thus matters stood about Bentonville on the 21st of March. On the same day General Schofield entered Goldsboro' with little or no opposition, and General Terry had got possession of the Neuse River at Cox's Bridge, ten miles above, with a pontoon bridge laid and a brigade across, so that the three armies were in actual connection, and the great object of the campaign was accomplished.

On the 21st a steady rain prevailed, during which General Mower's division of the Seventeenth Corps, on the extreme right, had worked well to the right around the enemy's flank, and had nearly reached the bridge across Mill Creek, the only line of retreat open to the enemy. Of course there was extreme danger that the enemy would turn on him all his reserves, and, it might be, let go his parapets to overwhelm Mower. Accordingly I ordered at once a general attack by our skirmish-line from left to right. Quite a noisy battle ensued, during which General Mower was enabled to regain his connection with his own corps by moving to his left rear. Still he had developed a weakness in the enemy's position, of which advantage might have been taken; but that night the enemy retreated on Smithfield, leaving his pickets to fall into our hands, with many dead unburied, and wounded in his field-hospitals. At daybreak of the 22d, pursuit was made two miles beyond Mill Creek, but checked by my order. General Johnston had utterly failed in his attempt, and we remained in full possession of the field of battle.

General Slocum reports the losses of the left wing about Bentonville at nine officers and one hundred and forty-five men killed, fifty-one officers and eight hundred and sixteen men wounded, and three officers and two hundred and twenty-three men missing, taken prisoners by the enemy; total, one thousand two hundred and forty-seven. He buried on the field one hundred and sixty-seven rebel dead, and took three hundred and thirty-eight prisoners. General Howard reports the losses of the right wing at two officers and thirty-five men killed, twelve officers and two hundred and thirty-nine men wounded, and one officer and sixty men missing; total, three hundred and ninety-nine. He also buried one hundred rebel dead, and took one thousand two hundred and eighty-seven prisoners. The cavalry of Kilpatrick was held in reserve, and lost but few, if any, of which I have no report as yet. Our aggregate loss at Bentonville was

one thousand six hundred and forty-three. I am well satisfied that the enemy lost heavily, especially during his assaults on the left wing during the afternoon of the 19th; but, as I have no data, save his dead and wounded left in our hands, I prefer to make no comparisons. Thus, as I have endeavored to explain, we had completed our march on the 21st, and had full possession of Goldsboro', the real "objective," with its two railroads back to the seaports of Wilmington and Beaufort, North Carolina. These were being rapidly repaired by strong working-parties, directed by Colonel W. W. Wright, of the railroad department. A large number of supplies had already been brought forward to Kinston, to which place our wagons had been sent to receive them. I therefore directed General Howard and the cavalry to remain at Bentonville, during the 22d, to bury the dead and remove the wounded, and on the following day all the armies to move to the camps assigned them about Goldsboro', there to rest and receive the clothing and supplies of which they stood in need. In person I went on the 23d to Cox's Bridge to meet General Terry, whom I met for the first time, and on the following day rode into Goldsboro', where I found General Schofield and his army. The left wing came in during the same day and next morning, and the right wing followed on the 24th, on which day the cavalry moved to Mount Olive Station, and General Terry back to Faison's. On the 25th, the Newbern Railroad was finished, and the first train of cars came in, thus giving us the means of bringing from the dépôt at Morehead City full supplies to the army.

It was all-important that I should have an interview with the general-in-chief, and presuming that he could not at this time leave City Point, I left General Schofield in chief command, and proceeded with all expedition by rail to Morehead City, and thence by steamer to City Point, reaching General Grant's head-quarters on the evening of the 27th of March. I had the good fortune to meet General Grant, the President, Generals Meade, Ord, and others of the Army of the Potomac, and soon learned the general state of the military world, from which I had in a great measure been cut off since January. Having completed all necessary business, I re-embarked on the navy steamer *Bat*, Captain Barnes, which Admiral Porter placed at my command, and returned via Hatteras Inlet and Newbern, reaching my own head-quarters in Goldsboro' during the night of the 30th. During my absence, full supplies of clothing and food had been brought to camp, and all things were working well. I have thus rapidly sketched the progress of our columns from Savannah to Goldsboro', but for more minute details must refer to the reports of subordinate commanders and of staff-officers, which are not yet ready, but will in due season be forwarded and filed with this report. I cannot even, with any degree of precision, recapitulate the vast amount of injury done to the enemy, or the quantity of guns and materials of war captured and destroyed. In general terms, we have traversed the country from Savannah to Goldsboro', with an average breadth of forty miles, consuming all the forage, cattle, hogs, sheep, poultry, cured meats, corn-meal, etc. The public enemy, instead of drawing supplies from that region to feed his armies, will be compelled to send provisions

from other quarters to feed the inhabitants. A map herewith, prepared by my chief engineer, Colonel Poe, with the routes of the Fourth Corps and cavalry, will show at a glance the country traversed. Of course, the abandonment to us by the enemy of the whole seacoast, from Savannah to Newbern, North Carolina, with its forts, dock-yards, gunboats, etc., was a necessary incident to our occupation and destruction of the inland routes of travel and supply. But the real object of this march was to place this army in a position easy of supply, whence it could take an appropriate part in the spring and summer campaign of 1865. This was completely accomplished on March 21st, by the junction of the three armies and occupation of Goldsboro'.

In conclusion, I beg to express in the most emphatic manner my entire satisfaction with the tone and temper of the whole army. Nothing seems to dampen their energy, zeal, or cheerfulness. It is impossible to conceive a march involving more labor and exposure, yet I cannot recall an instance of bad temper by the way, or hearing an expression of doubt as to our perfect success in the end. I believe that this cheerfulness and harmony of action reflects upon all concerned quite as much real honor and fame as "battles gained" or "cities won," and I therefore commend all, general staff, officers, and men, for these high qualities, in addition to the more soldierly ones of obedience to orders and the alacrity they have always manifested when danger summoned them "to the front."

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

W. T. SHERMAN,
Major-General Commanding.

Major-General H. W. HALLECK,
Chief of Staff, Washington, D. C.

THE CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN, AND THE SURRENDER OF THE CONFEDERATE FORCES UNDER GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON; WITH GENERAL SHERMAN'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY.

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE FIELD, CITY POINT, VA., *May* 9, 1865.

GENERAL:—My last official report brought the history of events, as connected with the armies in the field subject to my immediate command, down to the 1st of April, when the Army of the Ohio, Major-General J. M. Schofield commanding, lay at Goldsboro', with detachments distributed so as to secure and cover our routes of communication and supply back to the sea at Wilmington and Morehead City; Major-General A. H. Terry, with the Tenth Corps, being at Faison's Dépôt. The Army of the Tennessee, Major-General O. O. Howard commanding, was encamped to the right and front of Goldsboro', and the Army of Georgia, Major-General H. W. Slocum commanding, to its left and front; the cavalry, brevet Major-General J. Kilpatrick commanding, at Mount Olive. All were busy in repairing

the wear and tear of our then recent and hard march from Savannah, or in replenishing clothing and stores necessary for a further progress.

I had previously, by letter, and in person, notified the Lieutenant-General commanding the armies of the United States, that the 10th of April would be the earliest possible moment at which I could hope to have all things in readiness, and we were compelled to use our railroads to the very highest possible limit in order to fulfill that promise. Owing to a mistake in the railroad department, in sending locomotives and cars of the five-foot gauge, we were limited to the use of a few locomotives and cars of the four-foot eight-and-a-half-inch gauge already in North Carolina, with such of the old stock as was captured by Major-General Terry at Wilmington, and on his way up to Goldsboro.' Yet such judicious use was made of these, and such industry displayed in the railroad management by Generals Eaton and Beckwith, and Colonel Wright and Mr. Van Dyne, that by the 10th of April our men were all reclad, the wagons reloaded, and a fair amount of forage accumulated ahead.

In the mean time, Major-General George Stoneman, in command of a division of cavalry, operating from East Tennessee in connection with Major-General George H. Thomas, in pursuance of my orders of January 21, 1865, had reached the railroad about Greensboro', North Carolina, and had made sad havoc with it, and had pushed along it to Salisbury, destroying *en route* bridges, culverts, dépôts, and all kinds of rebel supplies; and had extended the break in the railroad down to the Catawba Bridge.

This was fatal to the hostile armies of Lee and Johnston, who depended on that road for supplies and as their ultimate line of retreat. Major-General J. H. Wilson, also in command of the cavalry corps organized by himself, under Special Field Orders, No.——, of October 24, 1864, at Gaylesville, Alabama, had started from the neighborhood of Decatur and Florence, Alabama, and moved straight into the heart of Alabama, on a route prescribed for General Thomas after he had defeated General Hood at Nashville, Tennessee; but the roads being too heavy for infantry, General Thomas had devolved that duty on that most energetic young cavalry officer, General Wilson, who, imbued with the proper spirit, has struck one of the best blows of the war at the waning strength of the Confederacy. His route was one never before touched by our troops, and afforded him abundance of supplies as long as he was in motion, viz., by Tuscaloosa, Selma, Montgomery, Columbus, and Macon. Though in communication with him, I have not been able to receive as yet his full and detailed reports, which will in due time be published and appreciated.

Lieutenant-General Grant, also in immediate command of the armies about Richmond, had taken the initiative in that magnificent campaign, which in less than ten days compelled the evacuation of Richmond, and resulted in the destruction and surrender of the entire rebel army of Virginia, under command of General Lee. The news of the battles about Petersburg reached me at Goldsboro' on the 6th of April. Up to that time my purpose was to move rapidly northward, feigning on Raleigh, and striking straight for Burkesville, thereby interposing between Johnston and

Lee. But the auspicious events in Virginia had changed the whole military problem, and, in the expressive language of Lieutenant-General Grant, the Confederate armies of Lee and Johnston became the strategic points. General Grant was fully able to take care of the former, and my task was to capture or destroy the latter. Johnston at that time, April 6, had his army well in hand about Smithfield, interposing between me and Raleigh. I estimated his infantry and artillery at thirty-five thousand, and his cavalry from six thousand to ten thousand. He was superior to me in cavalry, so that I held General Kilpatrick in reserve at Mount Olive, with orders to recruit his horses and be ready to make a sudden and rapid march on the 10th of April.

At daybreak on the day appointed, all the heads of columns were in motion straight against the enemy, Major-General H. W. Slocum taking the two direct roads for Smithfield; Major-General O. O. Howard making a circuit by the right, and feigning up the Weldon road to disconcert the enemy's cavalry; Generals Terry and Kilpatrick moving on the west side of the Neuse River, and aiming to reach the rear of the enemy between Smithfield and Raleigh. General Schofield followed General Slocum in support. All the columns met within six (6) miles of Goldsboro', more or less cavalry, with the usual rail-barricades, which were swept before us as chaff; and by ten A. M. of the 11th, the Fourteenth Corps entered Smithfield, the Twentieth Corps close at hand. Johnston had rapidly retreated across the Neuse River, and, having his railroad to lighten up his trains, could retreat faster than we could pursue. The rains had also set in, making the resort to corduroy absolutely necessary to pass even ambulances. The enemy had burned the bridge at Smithfield, and as soon as possible Major-General Slocum got up his pontoons and crossed over a division of the Fourteenth Corps. We there heard of the surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox Court-House, Virginia, which was announced to the armies in orders, and created universal joy. Not an officer or soldier of my armies but expressed a pride and satisfaction that it fell to the lot of the armies of the Potomac and James so gloriously to overwhelm and capture the entire army that had held them so long in check, and their success gave new impulse to finish up our task.

Without a moment's hesitation we dropped our trains, and marched rapidly in pursuit to and through Raleigh, reaching that place at half-past seven o'clock, A. M. on the 13th, in a heavy rain. The next day the cavalry pushed on through the rain to Durham Station, the Fifteenth Corps following as far as Morrisville Station, and the Seventeenth Corps to Jones's Station. On the supposition that Johnston was tied to his railroad, as a line of retreat by Hillsboro', Greenboro', Salisbury, and Charlotte, etc., I had turned the columns across the bend in that road toward Ashboro'. (See Special Field Orders, No. 55.) The cavalry, brevet Major-General J. Kilpatrick commanding, was ordered to keep up a show of pursuit toward the "Company's Shops," in Alamance County; Major-General O. O. Howard to turn to the left by Hackney's Cross-roads, Pittsboro', St. Lawrence, and Ashboro'; Major-General H. W. Slocum to cross Cape Fear

River at Avon's Ferry, and move rapidly by Carthage, Caledonia, and Cox's Mills. Major-General J. M. Schofield was to hold Raleigh, and the road back, and with his spare force to follow an intermediate route.

By the 15th, though the rains were incessant and the roads almost impracticable, Major-General Slocum had the Fourteenth Corps, Brevet Major-General Davis commanding, near Martha's Vineyard, with a pontoon bridge laid across Cape Fear River at Avon's Ferry, with the Twentieth Corps, Major-General Mower commanding, in support; and Major-General Howard had the Fifteenth and Seventeenth Corps stretched out on the roads toward Pittsboro'; while General Kilpatrick held Durham's Station and Chapel Hill University. Johnston's army was retreating rapidly on the roads from Hillsboro' to Greensboro', he himself at Greensboro'.

Although out of place as to time, I here invite all military critics, who study the problems of war, to take their maps and compare the position of my army on the 15th and 16th of April with that of General Halleck about Burkesville and Petersburg, Virginia, on the 26th of April, when, according to his telegram to Secretary Stanton, he offered to relieve me of the task of cutting off Johnston's retreat. Major-General Stoneman at the time was at Statesville, and Johnston's only line of retreat was by Salisbury and Charlotte. It may be that General Halleck's troops can outmarch mine, but there is nothing in their past history to show it. Or it may be that General Halleck can inspire his troops with more energy of action. I doubt that also, save and except in this single instance, when he knew the enemy was ready to surrender or "disperse," as advised by my letter of April 18th, addressed to him when chief of staff at Washington city, and delivered at Washington on the 21st instant by Major Hitchcock, of my staff.

Thus matters stood at the time I received General Johnston's first letter, and made my answer of April 14, copies of which were sent with all expedition to Lieutenant-General Grant and the Secretary of War, with my letter of April 15. I agreed to meet General Johnston in person, at a point intermediate between our pickets, on the 17th, at noon, provided the position of the troops remained *in statu quo*. I was both willing and anxious thus to consume a few days, as it would enable Colonel Wright to finish our railroad to Raleigh. Two bridges had to be built and twelve miles of new road made. We had no iron, except by taking up that on the branch from Goldsboro' to Weldon. Instead of losing by time, I gained in every way, for every hour of delay possible was required to reconstruct the railroad to our rear, and improve the condition of our wagon-roads to the front, so desirable in case the negotiations failed, and we be forced to make the race of near two hundred miles to head off or catch Johnston's army, then retreating toward Charlotte.

At noon, of the day appointed, I met General Johnston for the first time in my life, although we had been exchanging shots constantly since May, 1863. Our interview was frank and soldier-like, and he gave me to understand that further war on the part of the Confederate troops was folly; that the "cause" was lost, and that every life sacrificed after the surrender of Lee's army was the highest possible crime. He admitted

that the terms conceded to General Lee were magnanimous, and all he could ask; but he did want some general concessions that would enable him to allay the natural fears and anxieties of his followers, and enable him to maintain his control over them until they could be got back to the neighborhood of their homes, thereby saving the State of North Carolina the devastation inevitably to result from turning his men loose and unprovided on the spot, and our pursuit across the State.

He also wanted to embrace in the same general proposition the fate of all the Confederate armies that remained in existence. I never made any concession as to his own army, or assumed to deal finally and authoritatively in regard to any other; but it did seem to me that there was presented a chance for peace that might be deemed valuable to the Government of the United States. and was at least worth the few days that would be consumed in reference.

To push an enemy, whose commander had so frankly and honestly confessed his inability to cope with me, were cowardly, and unworthy the brave men I led.

Inasmuch as General Johnston did not feel authorized to pledge his power over the armies in Texas, we adjourned to meet the next day at noon. I returned to Raleigh, and conferred freely with all my general officers, *every one* of whom urged me to conclude terms that might accomplish so complete and desirable an end. All dreaded the weary and laborious march after a fugitive and dissolving army back toward Georgia, almost over the very country where we had toiled so long. There was but one opinion expressed, and if contrary ones were entertained they were withheld, or indulged in only by that class who shun the fight and the march, but are loudest, bravest, and fiercest when danger is past.

I again met General Johnston on the 18th, and we renewed the conversation. He satisfied me then of his power to disband the rebel armies in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, as well as those in his immediate command, viz.: North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia. The points on which he expressed especial solicitude were lest their States were to be dismembered and denied representation in Congress, or any separate political existence whatever; and that the absolute disarming his men would leave the South powerless and exposed to depredations by wicked bands of assassins and robbers.

President Lincoln's message of 1864; his amnesty proclamation; General Grant's terms to General Lee, substantially extending the benefits of that proclamation to all officers above the rank of colonel; the invitation to the Virginia Legislature to reassemble in Richmond, by General Weitzel, with the approval of Mr. Lincoln and General Grant, then on the spot; a firm belief that I had been fighting to re-establish the Constitution of the United States; and last, and not least, the general and universal desire to close a war any longer without organized resistance, were the leading facts that induced me to pen the "memorandum" of April 18th, signed by myself and General Johnston. It was designed to be, and so expressed on its face, as a mere "basis" for reference to the President of the United States and

constitutional commander-in-chief, to enable, if he chose, at one blow to dissipate the military power of the Confederacy, which had threatened the National safety for years. It admitted of modification, alteration, and change. It had no appearance of an ultimatum, and by no false reasoning can it be construed into a usurpation of power on my part. I have my opinions on the question involved, and will stand by the memorandum. "But this forms no part of a military report."

Immediately on my return to Raleigh, I dispatched one of my staff, Major Hitchcock, to Washington, enjoining him to be most prudent, and careful to avoid the spies and informers that would be sure to infest him by the way, and to say nothing to anybody until the President could make known to me his wishes and policy in the matter.

The news of President Lincoln's assassination, on the 14th of April (wrongly reported to me by telegraph as having occurred on the 11th), reached me on the 17th, and was announced to my command on the same day in Special Field Orders, No. 56. I was duly impressed with its horrible atrocity, and probable effect on the country; but when the property and interests of millions still living were involved, I saw no good reason to change my course, but thought rather to manifest real respect for his memory by following, after his death, that policy which, if living, I feel certain he would have approved, or at least not rejected with disdain.

Up to that hour I had never received one word of instruction, advice, or counsel, as to the plan or policy of Government, looking to a restoration of peace on the part of the rebel States of the South. Whenever asked for an opinion on the points involved, I had always evaded the subject. My letter to the mayor of Atlanta has been published to the world, and I was not rebuked by the War Department for it.

My letter to Mr. N—— W——, at Savannah, was shown by me to Mr. Stanton, before its publication, and all that my memory retains of his answer is, that he said, like my letters generally, it was sufficiently emphatic and could not be misunderstood.

But these letters asserted my belief that according to Mr. Lincoln's proclamations and messages, when the people of the South had laid down their arms, and submitted to the lawful power of the United States, *ipso facto*, the war was over as to them; and furthermore, that if any State in rebellion would conform to the Constitution of the United States, cease war, elect senators and representatives to Congress, if admitted (of which each house of Congress alone is the judge), that State becomes instanter as much in the Union as New York or Ohio. Nor was I rebuked for this expression, though it was universally known and commented on at the time. And again Mr. Stanton, in person, at Savannah, speaking of the terrific expenses of the war, and difficulty of realizing the money necessary for the daily wants of Government, impressed me most forcibly with the necessity of bringing the war to a close as soon as possible, for *financial reasons*.

On the evening of April 23d, Major Hitchcock reported his return to Morehead City with dispatches, of which fact General Johnston, at Hills-

boro,' was notified, so as to be ready in the morning for an answer. At 6 o'clock A. M., on the 24th, Major Hitchcock arrived, accompanied by General Grant, and members of his staff, who had not telegraphed the fact of his coming over our exposed road, for prudential reasons.

I soon learned that the memorandum was disapproved, without reasons assigned, and I was ordered to give the forty-eight hours' notice, and resume hostilities at the close of that time, governing myself by the substance of a dispatch then inclosed, dated March 3d, twelve M., at Washington, D. C., from Secretary Stanton to General Grant at City Point, but not accompanied by any part of the voluminous matter so liberally lavished on the public in the New York journals of the 24th of April. That was the first and only time I ever saw that telegram, or had one word of instruction on the important matters involved in it, and it does seem strange to me that every bar-room loafer in New York can read in the morning journals "official" matter that is withheld from a general whose command extends from Kentucky to North Carolina.

Within an hour a courier was riding from Durham's Station toward Hillsborough, with notice to General Johnston of the suspension of the truce, and renewing my demand for the surrender of the armies under his immediate command (see two letters of April 24th, six A. M.), and at twelve M. I had the receipt of his picket officer. I therefore published my Orders No. 62 to the troops, terminating the truce at twelve M. on the 26th, and ordered all to be in readiness to march at that hour, on the routes prescribed in Special Field Orders, No. 55, of April 14th, from the positions held April 18th.

General Grant had orders from the President, through the Secretary of War, to direct military movements, and I explained to him the exact position of the troops, and he approved of it most emphatically, but he did not relieve me, or express a wish to assume command. All things were in readiness, when, on the evening of the 25th, I received another letter from General Johnston, asking another interview to renew negotiations.

General Grant not only approved, but urged me to accept, and I appointed a meeting at our former place at noon of the 26th, the very hour fixed for the renewal of hostilities. General Johnston was delayed by an accident to his train, but at two P. M. arrived. We then consulted, concluded, and signed the final terms of capitulation.

These were taken by me back to Raleigh, submitted to General Grant, and met his immediate approval and signature. General Johnston was not even aware of the presence of General Grant at Raleigh at the time.

Thus was surrendered to us the second great army of the so-called Confederacy; and though undue importance has been given to the so-called negotiations which preceded it, and a rebuke and public disfavor cast on me wholly unwarranted by the facts, I rejoice in saying that it was accomplished without further ruin and devastation to the country; without the loss of a single life to those gallant men who had followed me from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and without subjecting brave men to the ungracious task of pursuing a fleeing foe that did not want to fight. As for myself, I know

my motives, and challenge the instance, during the past four years, where an armed and defiant foe stood before me, that I did not go in for a fight, and I would blush for shame if I had ever insulted or struck a fallen foe.

The instant the terms of surrender were approved by General Grant, I made my Orders, No. 65, assigning to each of my subordinate commanders his share of the work, and, with General Grant's approval, made Special Field Orders, No. 66, putting in motion my old army, no longer required in Carolina, northward for Richmond.

General Grant left Raleigh at nine A. M. of the 27th, and I glory in the fact that, during his three days' stay with me, I did not detect in his language or manner one particle of abatement in the confidence, respect, and affection that have existed between us throughout all the varied events of the past war, and though we have honestly differed in opinion in other cases as well as this, still we respected each other's honest convictions. I still adhere to my then opinions, that by a few general concessions, "glittering generalities," all of which in the end *must* and will be conceded to the organized States of the South, that this day there would not be an armed battalion opposed to us within the broad area of the dominions of the United States. Robbers and assassins must, in any event, result from the disbandment of large armies, but even these should be, and could be, taken care of by the local civil authorities, without being made a charge on the national treasury.

On the evening of the 28th, having concluded all business requiring my personal attention at Raleigh, and having conferred with every army commander, and delegated to him the authority necessary for his future action, I dispatched my head-quarter wagons by land along with the Seventeenth Corps, the office in charge of General Webster, from Newbern to Alexandria, Virginia, by sea, and in person, accompanied only by my personal staff, hastened to Savannah to direct matters in the interior of South Carolina and Georgia.

I had received, across the rebel telegraph wires, cipher dispatches from General Wilson, at Macon, to the effect that he was in receipt of my orders No. 65, and would send General Upton's division to Augusta, and General McCook's division to Tallahassee, to receive the surrender of those garrisons, take charge of the public property, and execute the paroles required by the terms of surrender. He reported a sufficiency of forage for his horses in south-west Georgia, but asked me to send him a supply of clothing, sugar, coffee, etc., by way of Augusta, Georgia, whence he could get it by rail. I therefore went rapidly to Goldsboro' and Wilmington, reaching the latter city at ten A. M. of the 29th, and the same day embarked for Hilton Head, in the blockade-runner *Russia*, Captain A. M. Smith.

I found General Q. A. Gillmore, commanding Department of the South, at Hilton Head, on the evening of April 30th, and ordered him to send to Augusta at once what clothing and small stores he could spare for General Wilson, and open up a line of certain communication and supply with him at Macon. Within an hour the captured steamboats *Jeff. Davis* and *Amazon*, both adapted to the shallow and crooked navigation of the Savannah

River, were being loaded, the one at Savannah and the other at Hilton Head. The former started up the river on the first of May, in charge of a very intelligent officer (whose name I cannot recall) and forty-eight men (all the boat could carry), with orders to occupy temporarily the United States Arsenal at Augusta, and open up communication with General Wilson, at Macon, in the event that General McCook's division of cavalry was not already there. The *Amazon* followed next day, and General Gillmore had made the necessary orders for a brigade of infantry, to be commanded by General Molyneux, to follow by a land march to Augusta, as its permanent garrison; another brigade of infantry was ordered to occupy Orangeburg, South Carolina—the point furthest in the interior that can at present be reached by rail from the sea-coast (Charleston).

On the 1st of May I went on to Savannah, where General Gillmore also joined me, and the arrangements ordered for the occupation of Augusta were consummated. At Savannah I found the city in the most admirable police, under direction of Brevet Major-General Grover, and the citizens manifested the most unqualified joy to hear that, so far as they were concerned, the war was over. All classes, Union men as well as former rebels, did not conceal, however, the apprehensions naturally arising from a total ignorance of the political conditions to be attached to their future state. Any thing at all would be preferable to this dread uncertainty.

On the evening of the 2d of May I returned to Hilton Head, and there, for the first time, received the New York papers of April 28th, containing Secretary Stanton's dispatch of nine A. M. of the 27th of April to General Dix, including General Halleck's from Richmond of nine P. M. the night before, which seems to have been rushed with extreme haste before an excited public, viz., morning of the 28th. You will observe from the dates that these dispatches were running back and forth from Richmond and Washington to New York, and there published, while General Grant and I were together in Raleigh, North Carolina, adjusting, to the best of our ability, the terms of surrender of the only remaining formidable rebel army in existence at the time east of the Mississippi River. Not one word of intimation had been sent to me of the displeasure of the Government with my official conduct, but only the naked disapproval of a skeleton memorandum sent properly for the action of the President of the United States. * * * *

During the night of May 2d, at Hilton Head, having concluded my business in the Department of the South, I began my return to meet my troops, then marching toward Richmond from Raleigh. On the morning of the 3d, we ran into Charleston Harbor, where I had the pleasure to meet Admiral Dahlgren, who had, in all my previous operations from Savannah northward, aided me with a courtesy and manliness that commanded my entire respect and deep affection. Also General Hatch, who, from our first interview at his Tullifinnay camp, had caught the spirit of the move from Pocotaligo northward, and had largely contributed to our joint success in taking Charleston and the Carolina coast. Any one, who is not *satisfied* with war, should go and see Charleston, and he will pray

louder and deeper than ever, that the country may, in the long future, be spared any more war. Charleston and secession being synonymous terms, the city should be left as a sample, so that centuries will pass away before that false doctrine is again preached in our Union.

We left Charleston on the evening of the 3d of May, and hastened with all possible speed back to Morehead City, which we reached at night on the 4th. I immediately communicated by telegraph to General Schofield at Raleigh, and learned from him the pleasing fact that the Lieutenant-General commanding the Armies of the United States had reached the Chesapeake in time to countermand General Halleck's orders, and prevent his violating my truce, invading the area of my command, and driving Johnston's surrendering army into fragments. General Johnston had fulfilled his agreement to the very best of his ability, and the officers, charged with issuing the paroles at Greensboro', reported about thirty thousand (30,000) already made, and that the greater part of the North Carolina troops had gone home without waiting for their papers; but that all of them would, doubtless, come into some one of the military posts, the commanders of which are authorized to grant them. About eight hundred (800) of the rebel cavalry had gone south, refusing to abide the terms of the surrender, and it was supposed they would make for Mexico. I would sincerely advise that they be encouraged to go and stay. They would be a nuisance to any civilized government, whether loose or in prison.

With the exception of some plundering on the part of Lee's and Johnston's disbanded men, all else in North Carolina was quiet. When, to the number of men surrendered at Greensboro', are added those at Tallahassee, Augusta, and Macon, with the scattered squads who will come in at other military posts, I have no doubt fifty thousand (50,000) armed men will be disarmed and restored to civil pursuits, by the capitulation made near Durham's Station, North Carolina, on the 26th of April, and that, too, without the loss of a single life to us.

On the 5th of May I received, and here subjoin, a further dispatch from General Schofield, which contains inquiries I have been unable to satisfy, similar to those made by nearly every officer in my command, whose duty brings him in contact with citizens. I leave you to do what you think expedient to provide the military remedy.

"By Telegraph from Raleigh, N. C., *May* 5, 1865.

"To Major-General W. T. Sherman, Morehead City.

"When General Grant was here, as you doubtless recollect, he said the lines had been extended to embrace this and other States south. The order, it seems, has been modified so as to include only Virginia and Tennessee. I think it would be an act of wisdom to open this State to trade at once. I hope the Government will make known its policy as to the organs of State government without delay. Affairs must necessarily be in a very unsettled state until that is done. The people are now in a mood to accept almost any thing which promises a definite settlement. What is to be done with the freedmen is the question of all, and it is the all-impor-

tant question. It requires prompt and wise action to prevent the negro from becoming a huge elephant on our hands. If I am to govern this State, it is important for me to know it at once. If another is to be sent here, it cannot be done too soon, for he will probably undo the most that I shall have done. I shall be glad to hear from you fully when you have time to write. I will send your message to General Wilson at once.

"J. M. SCHOFIELD, Major-General."

I give this dispatch entire, to demonstrate how intermingled have become civil matters with the military, and how almost impossible it has become for an officer in authority to act a pure military part. There are no longer armed enemies in North Carolina, and a soldier can deal with no other sort. The marshals and sheriffs, with their posse (of which the military may become a part), are the only proper officers to deal with civil criminals and marauders. But I will not be drawn out into a discussion of this subject, but instance the case to show how difficult is the task become to military officers, when men of the rank, education, experience, nerve, and good sense of General Schofield feel embarrassed by them.

General Schofield, at Raleigh, has a well-appointed and well-disciplined command, is in telegraphic communication with the controlling parts of his department, and the remote ones in the direction of Georgia, as well as with Washington, and has military possession of all strategic points.

In like manner, General Gillmore is well situated in all respects, except as to rapid communication with the seat of the General Government. I leave him also with every man he ever asked for, and in full and quiet possession of every strategic point in his department. And General Wilson has, in the very heart of Georgia, the strongest, best appointed, and best equipped cavalry corps that ever fell under my command; and he has now, by my recent action, opened to him a source and route of supply, by way of Savannah River, that simplifies his military problem; so that I think I may, with a clear conscience, leave them, and turn my attention once more to my special command—the army with which I have been associated through some of the most eventful scenes of this or any war.

I hope and believe none of these commanders will ever have reason to reproach me for any "orders" they may have received from me. And the President of the United States may be assured that all of them are in position, ready and willing to execute to the letter, and in spirit, any orders he may give. I shall henceforth cease to give them any orders at all, for the occasion that made them subordinate to me is past; and I shall confine my attention to the army composed of the Fifteenth and Seventeenth, the Fourteenth and Twentieth Corps, unless the commanding general of the armies of the United States orders otherwise.

At four o'clock P. M., of May 9, I reached Manchester, on the James River, opposite Richmond, and found that all the four corps had arrived from

Raleigh, and were engaged in replenishing their wagons for the resumption of the march toward Alexandria.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

W. T. SHERMAN,
Major-General commanding.

General JOHN A. RAWLINGS,
Chief of Staff, Washington, D. C.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY.

SPECIAL FIELD ORDERS—NO. 76.

HEAD-QUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE FIELD, WASHINGTON, D. C., *May* 30, 1865.

THE general commanding announces to the Armies of Tennessee and Georgia, that the time has come for us to part. Our work is done, and armed enemies no longer defy us. Some of you will be retained in service until further orders. And now that we are about to separate, to mingle with the civil world, it becomes a pleasing duty to recall to mind the situation of national affairs, when, but little more than a year ago, we were gathered about the twining cliffs of Lookout Mountain, and all the future was wrapped in doubt and uncertainty. Three armies had come together from distant fields, with separate histories, yet bound by one common cause—the union of our country and the perpetuation of the Government of our inheritance. There is no need to recall to your memories Tunnel Hill, with its Rocky Face Mountain, and Buzzard Roost Gap, with the ugly forts of Dalton behind. We were in earnest, and paused not for danger and difficulty, but dashed through Snake Creek Gap, and fell on Resaca, then on to the Etowah, to Dallas, Kenesaw, and the heats of summer found us on the banks of the Chattahoochie, far from home and dependent on a single road for supplies. Again, we were not to be held back by any obstacle, and crossed over, and fought four heavy battles for the possession of the citadel of Atlanta. That was the crisis of our history. A doubt still clouded our future; but we solved the problem, and destroyed Atlanta, struck boldly across the State of Georgia, secured all the main arteries of life to our enemy, and Christmas found us at Savannah. Waiting there only long enough to fill our wagons, we again began a march, which for peril, labor, and results, will compare with any ever made by an organized army. The floods of the Savannah, the swamps of the Combahee and Edisto, the high hills and rocks of the Santee, the flat quagmires of the Pedee and Cape Fear Rivers, were all passed in midwinter, with its floods and rains, in the face of an accumulating enemy; and after the battles of Averysboro' and Bentonville, we once more came out of the wilderness to meet our friends at Goldsboro'. Even then we paused only long enough to get new clothing, to reload our wagons, and again pushed on to Raleigh, and beyond, until we met our enemy, sueing for peace instead of war, and offering to submit to the injured laws of his

and our country. As long as that enemy was defiant, nor mountains, nor rivers, nor swamps, nor hunger, nor cold, had checked us; but when he, who had fought us hard and persistently, offered submission, your general thought it wrong to pursue him further, and negotiations followed, which resulted, as you all know, in his surrender. How far the operations of the army have contributed to the overthrow of the Confederacy, of the peace which now dawns on us, must be judged by others, not by us. But that you have done all that men could do has been admitted by those in authority; and we have a right to join in the universal joy that fills our land, because the war is over, and our Government stands vindicated before the world by the joint action of the volunteer armies of the United States.

To such as remain in the military service, your general need only remind you that successes in the past are due to hard work and discipline, and that the same work and discipline are equally important in the future. To such as go home he will only say, that our favored country is so grand, so extensive, so diversified, in climate, soil, and productions, that every man may surely find a home and occupation suited to his taste; and none should yield to the natural impotence sure to result from our past life of excitement and adventure. You will be invited to seek new adventure abroad; but do not yield to the temptation, for it will lead only to death and disappointment.

Your general now bids you all farewell, with the full belief that, as in war you have been good soldiers, so in peace you will make good citizens; and if, unfortunately, new war should arise in our country, Sherman's army would be the first to buckle on the old armor, and come forth to defend and maintain the Government of our inheritance and choice.

By order of

Major-General W. T. Sherman.

L. M. Dayton, Assistant Adjutant-General.

General Grant's great report of the campaign which closed the civil war, will have a deep and imperishable interest:—

OFFICIAL REPORT OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GRANT.

Head-Quarters Armies of the United States,
Washington, D. C., *July* 22, 1865.

Sir:—I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of the Armies of the United States from the date of my appointment to command the same:

NECESSITY OF A VERY LARGE FORCE.

From an early period in the rebellion I had been impressed with the idea that active and continuous operations of all the troops that could be

brought into the field, regardless of season and weather, were necessary to a speedy termination of the war. The resources of the enemy and his numerical strength were far inferior to ours; but as an offset to this, we had a vast territory, with a population hostile to the Government, to garrison, and long lines of river and railroad communications to protect, to enable us to supply the operating armies.

The armies in the East and West acted independently and without concert, like a balky team, no two ever pulling together, enabling the enemy to use to great advantage his interior lines of communication for transporting troops from east to west, re-enforcing the army most vigorously pressed, and to furlough large numbers, during seasons of inactivity on our part, to go to their homes and do the work of producing for the support of their armies. It was a question whether our numerical strength and resources were not more than balanced by these disadvantages and the enemy's superior position.

From the first, I was firm in the conviction that no peace could be had that would be stable and conducive to the happiness of the people, both North and South, until the military power of the rebellion was entirely broken.

I therefore determined, first, to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy; preventing him from using the same force at different seasons against first one and then another of our armies, and the possibility of repose for refitting and producing necessary supplies for carrying on resistance. Second, to hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but an equal submission, with the loyal section of our common country, to the constitution and laws of the land.

These views have been kept constantly in mind, and orders given, and campaigns made, to carry them out. Whether they might have been better in conception and execution is for the people, who mourn the loss of friends fallen, and who have to pay the pecuniary cost, to say. All I can say is, that what I have done has been done conscientiously, to the best of my ability, and in what I conceived to be for the best interests of the whole country.

THE SITUATION AT THE TIME OF HIS APPOINTMENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

At the date when this report begins, the situation of the contending forces was about as follows: The Mississippi River was strongly garrisoned by Federal troops from St. Louis, Mo., to its mouth. The line of the Arkansas was also held, thus giving us armed possession of all west of the Mississippi, north of that stream. A few points in Southern Louisiana, not remote from the river, were held by us, together with a small garrison at and near the mouth of the Rio Grande. All the balance of the vast territory of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, was in the almost undisputed pos-

session of the enemy, with an army of probably not less than eighty thousand effective men, that could have been brought into the field had there been sufficient opposition to have brought them out. The let-alone policy had demoralized this force so that probably but little more than one-half of it was ever present in garrison at any one time. But the one-half, or forty thousand men, with the bands of guerrillas scattered through Missouri, Arkansas, and along the Mississippi River, and the disloyal character of much of the population, compelled the use of a large number of troops to keep navigation open on the river, and to protect the loyal people to the west of it. To the east of the Mississippi, we held substantially with the line of the Tennessee and Holston rivers, running eastward to include nearly all of the State of Tennessee. South of Chattanooga, a small foothold had been obtained in Georgia, sufficient to protect East Tennessee from incursions from the enemy's force at Dalton, Georgia. West Virginia was substantially within our lines. Virginia, with the exception of the northern border, the Potomac River, a small area about the mouth of James River, covered by the troops at Norfolk and Fortress Monroe, and the territory covered by the Army of the Potomac, lying along the Rapidan, was in the possession of the enemy. Along the sea-coast, footholds had been obtained at Plymouth, Washington, and Newbern, in North Carolina; Beaufort, Folly and Morris Islands, Hilton Head, Fort Pulaski, and Port Royal, in South Carolina; Fernandina and St. Augustine, in Florida. Key West and Pensacola were also in our possession, while all the important ports were blockaded by the navy. The accompanying map (a copy of which was sent to General Sherman and other commanders in March, 1864) shows by red lines the territory occupied by us at the beginning of the rebellion, and at the opening of the campaign of 1864, while those in blue are the lines which it was proposed to occupy.

Behind the Union lines there were many bands of guerrillas and a large population disloyal to the Government, making it necessary to guard every foot of road or river used in supplying our armies. In the South a reign of military despotism prevailed, which made every man and boy capable of bearing arms a soldier, and those who could not bear arms in the field acted as provosts for collecting deserters and returning them. This enabled the enemy to bring almost his entire strength into the field.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE GRAND CAMPAIGN.

The enemy had concentrated the bulk of his forces east of the Mississippi into two armies, commanded by Generals R. E. Lee and J. E. Johnston, his ablest and best generals. The army commanded by Lee occupied the south bank of the Rapidan, extending from Mine Run westward, strongly intrenched, covering and defending Richmond, the rebel capital, against the Army of the Potomac. The army under Johnston occupied a strongly intrenched position at Dalton, Georgia, covering and defending Atlanta, Georgia, a place of great importance as a railroad center, against the armies under Major-General W. T. Sherman. In addition to these

armies, he had a large cavalry force under Forrest in northeast Mississippi; a considerable force, of all arms, in the Shenandoah Valley, and in the western part of Virginia, and extreme eastern part of Tennessee; and also confronting our sea-coast garrisons, and holding blockaded ports where we had no foothold upon land.

These two armies, and the cities covered and defended by them, were the main objective points of the campaign.

Major-General W. T. Sherman, who was appointed to the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, embracing all the armies and territory east of the Mississippi River to the Alleghanies, and the Department of Arkansas, west of the Mississippi, had the immediate command of the armies operating against Johnston.

Major-General George G. Meade had the immediate command of the Army of the Potomac, from where I exercised general supervision of the movements of all our armies.

INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL SHERMAN.

General Sherman was instructed to move against Johnston's army, to break it up, and to go into the interior of the enemy's country as far as he could, inflicting all the damage he could upon their war resources. If the enemy in his front showed signs of joining Lee, to follow him up to the full extent of his ability, while I would prevent the concentration of Lee upon him if it was in the power of the Army of the Potomac to do so. More specific written instructions were not given, for the reason that I had talked over with him the plans of the campaign, and was satisfied that he understood them, and would execute them to the fullest extent possible.

INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL BANKS.

Major-General N. P. Banks, then on an expedition up Red River against Shreveport, Louisiana (which had been organized previous to my appointment to command), was notified by me on the 15th of March of the importance it was that Shreveport should be taken at the earliest possible day, and that if he found that the taking of it would occupy from ten to fifteen days more time than General Sherman had given his troops to be absent from their command, he would send them back at the time specified by General Sherman, even if it led to the abandonment of the main object of the Red River expedition, for this force was necessary to movements east of the Mississippi; that, should his expedition prove successful, he would hold Shreveport and the Red River with such force as he might deem necessary, and return the balance of his troops to the neighborhood of New Orleans, commencing no move for the further acquisition of territory, unless it was to make that then held by him more easily held; that it might be a part of the spring campaign to move against Mobile; that it certainly would be, if troops enough could be obtained to make it without embarrassing other movements; that New Orleans would be the point of depar-

ture for such an expedition; also, that I had directed General Steele to make a real move from Arkansas, as suggested by him (General Banks), instead of a demonstration, as Steele thought advisable.

On the 31st of March, in addition to the foregoing notification and directions, he was instructed as follows:—

"1. If successful in your expedition against Shreveport, that you turn over the defense of the Red River to General Steele and the navy.

"2. That you abandon Texas entirely, with the exception of your hold upon the Rio Grande. This can be held with four thousand men, if they will turn their attention immediately to fortifying their positions. At least one-half of the force required for this service might be taken from the colored troops.

"3. By properly fortifying on the Mississippi River, the force to guard it from Port Hudson to New Orleans can be reduced to ten thousand men, if not to a less number. Six thousand more would then hold all the rest of the territory necessary to hold until active operations can again be resumed west of the river. According to your last return, this would give you a force of over thirty thousand effective men with which to move against Mobile. To this I expect to add five thousand men from Missouri. If, however, you think the force here stated too small to hold the territory regarded as necessary to hold possession of, I would say concentrate at least twenty-five thousand men of your present command for operations against Mobile. With these and such additions as I can give you from elsewhere, lose no time in making a demonstration, to be followed by an attack upon Mobile. Two or more iron-clads will be ordered to report to Admiral Farragut. This gives him a strong naval fleet with which to co-operate. You can make your own arrangements with the Admiral for his co-operation, and select your own line of approach. My own idea of the matter is that Pascagoula shoud be your base; but, from your long service in the Gulf Department, you will know best about the matter. It is intended that your movements shall co-operate with movements elsewhere, and you cannot now start too soon. All I would now add is, that you commence the concentration of your forces at once. Preserve a profound secresy of what you intend doing, and start at the earliest possible moment.

"U. S. Grant, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General N. P. Banks."

INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL MEADE.

Major-General Meade was instructed that Lee's army would be his objective point; that wherever Lee went, he would go also. For his movement, two plans presented themselves: One to cross the Rapidan below Lee, moving by his right flank; the other above, moving by his left. Each presented advantages over the other, with corresponding objections. By crossing above, Lee would be cut off from all chance of ignoring Richmond, or going North on a raid; but if we took this route, all we did would have to be done while the rations we started with held out. Besides, it separat-

ed us from Butler, so that he could not be directed how to co-operate. If we took the other route, Brandy Station could be used as a base of supplies until another was secured on the York or James River. Of these, however, it was decided to take the lower route.

INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL BUTLER.

The following letter of instruction was addressed to Major-General B. F. Butler:—

"FORTRESS MONROE, VIRGINIA, *April* 2, 1864.

"GENERAL:—In the spring campaign, which it is desirable shall commence at as early a day as practicable, it is proposed to have co-operative action of all the armies in the field, as far as this object can be accomplished.

"It will not be possible to unite our armies into two or three large ones to act as so many units, owing to the absolute necessity of holding on to the territory already taken from the enemy. But, generally speaking, concentration can be practically effected by armies moving to the interior of the enemy's country from the territory they have to guard. By such movement they interpose themselves between the enemy and the country to be guarded, thereby reducing the number necessary to guard important points, or at least occupy the attention of a part of the enemy's force, if no greater object is gained. Lee's army and Richmond being the greater objects toward which our attention must be directed in the next campaign, it is desirable to unite all the force we can against them. The necessity of covering Washington with the Army of the Potomac, and of covering your department with your army, makes it impossible to unite these forces at the beginning of any move. I propose, therefore, what comes nearest this of any thing that seems practicable: The Army of the Potomac will act from its present base, Lee's army being the objective point. You will collect all the forces from your command that can be spared from garrison duty, I should say not less than twenty thousand effective men, to operate on the south side of James River, Richmond being your objective point. To the force you already have will be added about ten thousand men from South Carolina, under Major-General Gillmore, who will command them in person. Major-General W. F. Smith is ordered to report to you, to command the troops sent into the field from your own department.

"General Gillmore will be ordered to report to you at Fortress Monroe, with all the troops on transports, by the 18th instant, or as soon thereafter as practicable. Should you not receive notice by that time to move, you will make such disposition of them and your other forces as you may deem best calculated to deceive the enemy as to the real move to be made.

"When you are notified to move, take City Point with as much force as possible. Fortify, or rather intrench, at once, and concentrate all your troops for the field there as rapidly as you can. From City Point, directions cannot be given at this time for your further movements.

"The fact that has already been stated—that is, that Richmond is to be

your objective point, and that there is to be co-operation between your force and the Army of the Potomac—must be your guide. This indicates the necessity of your holding close to the south bank of the James River as you advance. Then, should the enemy be forced into his intrenchments in Richmond, the Army of the Potomac would follow, and, by means of transports, the two armies would become a unit.

"All the minor details of your advance are left entirely to your direction. If, however, you think it practicable to use your cavalry south of you so as to cut the railroad about Hick's Ford about the time of the general advance, it would be of immense advantage.

"You will please forward for my information, at the earliest practicable day, all orders, details, and instructions you may give for the execution of this order.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General B. F. BUTLER."

On the 16th, these instructions were substantially reiterated. On the 19th, in order to secure full co-operation between his army and that of General Meade, he was informed that I expected him to move from Fortress Monroe the same day that General Meade moved from Culpepper. The exact time I was to telegraph him as soon as it was fixed, and that it would not be earlier than the 27th of April; that it was my intention to fight Lee between Culpepper and Richmond, if he would stand. Should he, however, fall back into Richmond, I would follow up and make a junction with his (General Butler's) army on the James River; that, could I be certain he would be able to invest Richmond on the south side, so as to have his left resting on the James above the city, I would form the junction there: that circumstances might make this course advisable any how; that he should use every exertion to secure footing as far up the south side of the river as he could, and as soon as possible after the receipt of orders to move; that, if he could not carry the city, he should at least detain as large a force as possible.

In co-operation with the main movements against Lee and Johnston, I was desirous of using all other troops necessarily kept in departments remote from the fields of immediate operations, and also those kept in the background for the protection of our extended lines between the loyal States and the armies operating against them.

THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

A very considerable force, under command of Major-General Sigel, was so held for the protection of West Virginia and the frontiers of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Whilst these troops could not be withdrawn to distant fields without exposing the North to invasion by comparatively small bodies of the enemy, they could act directly to their front, and give better protection than if lying idle in garrison. By such movement they would either compel the enemy to detach largely for the protection of his supplies and lines of communication, or he would lose them.

General Sigel was therefore directed to organize all his available force into two expeditions, to move from Beverly and Charleston, under command of Generals Ord and Crook, against the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad. Subsequently, General Ord having been relieved at his own request, General Sigel was instructed, at his own suggestion, to give up the expedition by Beverly, and to form two columns, one under General Crook, on the Kanawha, numbering about ten thousand men, and one on the Shenandoah, numbering about seven thousand men; the one on the Shenandoah to assemble between Cumberland and the Shenandoah, and the infantry and artillery advanced to Cedar Creek, with such cavalry as could be made available at the moment, to threaten the enemy in the Shenandoah Valley, and advance as far as possible, while General Crook would take possession of Lewisburgh with part of his force, and move down the Tennessee Railroad, doing as much damage as he could, destroying the New River Bridge, and the salt-works at Saltville, Virginia.

Owing to the weather and bad condition of the roads, operations were delayed until the 1st of May, when, every thing being in readiness, and the roads favorable, orders were given for a general movement of all the armies not later than the 4th of May.

GENERAL BUTLER'S ATTEMPT UPON RICHMOND.

My first object being to break the military power of the rebellion, and capture the enemy's important strongholds, made me desirous that General Butler should succeed in his movement against Richmond, as that would tend more than any thing else, unless it were the capture of Lee's army, to accomplish this desired result in the East. If he failed, it was my determination, by hard fighting, either to compel Lee to retreat, or so to cripple him, that he could not detach a large force to go North, and still retain enough for the defense of Richmond. It was well understood, by both Generals Butler and Meade, before starting on the campaign, that it was my intention to put both their armies south of the James River, in case of failure to destroy Lee without it.

Before giving General Butler his instructions, I visited him at Fortress Monroe, and in conversation pointed out the apparent importance of getting possession of Petersburg, and destroying railroad communication as far south as possible. Believing, however, in the practicability of capturing Richmond, unless it was re-enforced, I made that the objective point of his operations. As the Army of the Potomac was to move simultaneously with him, Lee could not detach from his army with safety, and the enemy did not have troops elsewhere to bring to the defense of the city in time to meet a rapid movement from the north of James River.

HIGH COMPLIMENT TO GENERAL MEADE.

I may here state that, commanding all the armies as I did, I tried, as far as possible, to leave General Meade in independent command of the

Army of the Potomac. My instructions for that army were all through him, and were general in their nature, leaving all the details and the execution to him. The campaigns that followed proved him to be the right man in the right place. His commanding always in the presence of an officer superior to him in rank has drawn from him much of that public attention that his zeal and ability entitle him to, and which he would otherwise have received.

BEGINNING OF THE GREAT MOVEMENT AND THE BATTLES WITH LEE.

The movement of the Army of the Potomac commenced early on the morning of the 4th of May, under the immediate direction and orders of Major-General Meade, pursuant to instructions. Before night the whole army was across the Rapidan (the Fifth and Sixth Corps crossing at Germania Ford, and the Second in advance), with the greater part of its trains, numbering about four thousand wagons, meeting with but slight opposition. The average distance traveled by the troops that day was about twelve miles. This I regarded as a great success, and it removed from my mind the most serious apprehensions I had entertained—that of crossing the river in the face of an active, large, well-appointed, and ably-commanded army, and how so large a train was to be carried through a hostile country and protected. Early on the 5th, the advance corps (the Fifth, Major-General G. K. Warren commanding) met and engaged the enemy outside his intrenchments near Mine Run. The battle raged furiously all day, the whole army being brought into the fight as fast as the corps could be got upon the field, which, considering the density of the forest and narrowness of the roads, was done with commendable promptness.

General Burnside, with the Ninth Corps, was, at the time the Army of the Potomac moved, left with the bulk of his corps at the crossing of the Rappahannock River and Alexandria Railroad, holding the road back to Bull Run, with instructions not to move until he received notice that a crossing of the Rapidan was secured, but to move promptly as soon as such notice was received. This crossing he was apprised of on the afternoon of the 4th. By six o'clock of the morning of the 6th, he was leading his corps into action near the Wilderness Tavern, some of his troops having marched a distance of over thirty miles, crossing both the Rappahannock and Rapidan Rivers. Considering that a large portion, probably two-thirds of his command, was composed of new troops, unaccustomed to marches and carrying the accouterments of a soldier, this was a remarkable march.

The battle of the Wilderness was renewed by us at five o'clock on the morning of the 6th, and continued with unabated fury until darkness set in, each army holding substantially the same position that they had on the evening of the 5th. After dark the enemy made a feeble attempt to turn our right flank, capturing several hundred prisoners and creating consider-

able confusion. But the promptness of General Sedgwick, who was personally present and commanded that part of our line, soon re-formed it and restored order. On the morning of the 7th, reconnoissances showed that the enemy had fallen behind his intrenched lines, with pickets to the front, covering a part of the battle-field. From this it was evident to my mind that the two days' fighting had satisfied him of his inability to further maintain the contest in the open field, notwithstanding his advantage of position, and that he would wait an attack behind his works. I therefore determined to push on and put my whole force between him and Richmond; and orders were at once issued for a movement by his right flank. On the night of the 7th, the march was commenced toward Spottsylvania Court-House, the Fifth Corps moving on the most direct road. But the enemy, having become apprised of our movement, and having the shorter line, was enabled to reach there first. On the 8th, General Warren met a force of the enemy which had been sent out to oppose and delay his advance, to gain time to fortify the line taken up at Spottsylvania. This force was steadily driven back on the main force, within the recently constructed works, after considerable fighting, resulting in severe loss to both sides. On the morning of the 9th, General Sheridan started on a raid against the enemy's lines of communication with Richmond. The 9th, 10th, and 11th, were spent in maneuvering and fighting, without decisive results. Among the killed on the 9th, was that able and distinguished soldier, Major-General John Sedgwick, commanding the Sixth Army Corps. Major-General H. G. Wright succeeded him in command. Early on the morning of the 12th, a general attack was made on the enemy in position. The Second Corps, Major-General Hancock commanding, carried a salient of his line, capturing most of Johnson's division of Ewell's corps and twenty pieces of artillery. But the resistance was so obstinate that the advantage gained did not prove decisive. The 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th, were consumed in maneuvering and awaiting the arrival of reenforcements from Washington. Deeming it impracticable to make any further attack upon the enemy at Spottsylvania Court-House, orders were issued on the 18th, with a view to a movement to the North Anna, to commence at twelve o'clock on the night of the 19th. Late in the afternoon of the 19th, Ewell's corps came out of its works on our extreme right flank; but the attack was promptly repulsed, with heavy loss. This delayed the movement to the North Anna until the night of the 21st, when it was commenced. But the enemy, again having the shorter line, and being in possession of the main roads, was enabled to reach the North Anna in advance of us, and took position behind it. The Fifth Corps reached the North Anna on the afternoon of the 23d, closely followed by the Sixth Corps. The Second and Ninth Corps got up about the same time, the Second holding the railroad bridge, and the Ninth lying between that and the Jericho Ford. General Warren effected a crossing the same afternoon, and got a position without much opposition. Soon after getting into position, he was violently attacked, but repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. On the 25th, General Sheridan rejoined the Army of the

Potomac from the raid on which he started from Spottsylvania, having destroyed the dépôts at Beaver Dam and Ashland Stations, four trains of cars, large supplies of rations, and many miles of railroad-track; recaptured about four hundred of our men, on their way to Richmond as prisoners of war; met and defeated the enemy's cavalry at Yellow Tavern; carried the first line of works around Richmond (but finding the second line too strong to be carried by assault); recrossed to the north bank of the Chickahominy at Meadow's Bridge, under heavy fire, and moved by a detour to Haxall's Landing, on the James River, where he communicated with General Butler. This raid had the effect of drawing off the whole of the enemy's cavalry force, and making it comparatively easy to guard our trains.

GENERAL BUTLER'S CO-OPERATION—FIGHT AT DRURY'S BLUFF.

General Butler moved his main force up the James River, in pursuance of instructions, on the 4th of May, General Gillmore having joined him with the Tenth Corps. At the same time he sent a force of eighteen hundred cavalry, by way of West Point, to form a junction with him wherever he might get a foothold, and a force of three thousand cavalry, under General Kautz, from Suffolk, to operate against the roads south of Petersburg and Richmond. On the 5th he occupied, without opposition, both City Point and Bermuda Hundred, his movement being a complete surprise. On the 6th he was in position with his main army, and commenced intrenching. On the 7th he made a reconnoissance against the Petersburg and Richmond Railroad, destroying a portion of it after some fighting. On the 9th he telegraphed as follows:—

"Head-Quarters near Bermuda Landing, *May* 9, 1864.

"Our operations may be summed up in a few words. With seventeen hundred cavalry we have advanced up the Peninsula, forced the Chickahominy, and have safely brought them to our present position. These were colored cavalry, and are now holding our advanced pickets toward Richmond.

"General Kautz, with three thousand cavalry from Suffolk, on the same day with our movement up James River, forced the Blackwater, burned the railroad bridge at Stony Creek, below Petersburg, cutting in two Beauregard's force at that point.

"We have landed here, intrenched ourselves, destroyed many miles of railroad, and got a position which, with proper supplies, we can hold against the whole of Lee's army. I have ordered up the supplies.

"Beauregard, with a large portion of his force, was left south by the cutting of the railroads by Kautz. That portion which reached Petersburg, under Hill, I have whipped to-day, killing and wounding many and taking many prisoners, after a severe and well-contested fight.

"General Grant will not be troubled with any further re-enforcements to Lee from Beauregard's force.

"Benjamin F. Butler, Major-General.

"Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War."

On the evening of the 13th and morning of the 14th he carried a portion of the enemy's first line of defenses at Drury's Bluff, or Fort Darling, with small loss. The time thus consumed from the 6th lost to us the benefit of the surprise and capture of Richmond and Petersburg, enabling, as it did, Beauregard to collect his loose forces in North and South Carolina and bring them to the defense of those places. On the 16th the enemy attacked General Butler in his position in front of Drury's Bluff. He was forced back, or drew back, into his intrenchments between the forks of the James and Appomattox Rivers, the enemy intrenching strongly in his front, thus covering his railroads, the city, and all that was valuable to him. His army, therefore, though in a position of great security, was as completely shut off from further operations directly against Richmond as if it had been in a bottle strongly corked. It required but a comparatively small force of the enemy to hold it there.

KAUTZ'S CAVALRY RAID.

On the 12th, General Kautz, with his cavalry, was started on a raid against the Danville Railroad, which he struck at Coalfield, Powhatan, and Chola Stations, destroying them, the railroad track, two freight-trains, and one locomotive, together with large quantities of commissary and other stores; thence crossing to the South Side Road, struck it at Wilson's, Wellsville, and Black and White Stations, destroying the road and station-houses; thence he proceeded to City Point, which he reached on the 18th.

CAPTURE OF PLYMOUTH.

On the 19th of April, and prior to the movement of General Butler, the enemy, with a land force under General Hoke, and an iron-clad ram, attacked Plymouth, North Carolina, commanded by General H. W. Wessels, and our gunboats there, and after severe fighting the place was carried by assault and the entire garrison and armament captured. The gunboat *Smithfield* was sunk and the *Miami* disabled.

THE NINTH CORPS GOES TO HELP MEADE.

The army sent to operate against Richmond having hermetically sealed itself up at Bermuda Hundred, the enemy was enabled to bring the most if not all the re-enforcements brought from the South by Beauregard against the Army of the Potomac. In addition to this re-enforcement, a very considerable one, probably not less than fifteen thousand men were obtained by calling in the scattered troops under Breckinridge from the western part of Virginia.

The position at Bermuda Hundred was as easy to defend as it was difficult to operate from against the enemy. I determined, therefore, to bring from it all available forces, leaving enough only to secure what had been gained, and accordingly, on the 22d, I directed that they be sent forward, under command of Major-General W. F. Smith, to join the Army of the Potomac.

On the 24th of May, the Ninth Army Corps, commanded by Major-General A. E. Burnside, was assigned to the Army of the Potomac, and from this time forward constituted a portion of Major-General Meade's command.

OPERATIONS ABOVE RICHMOND.

Finding the enemy's position on the North Anna stronger than either of his previous ones, I withdrew on the night of the 26th to the north bank of the North Anna, and moved via Hanovertown to turn the enemy's position by his right.

Generals Torbert's and Merritt's divisions of cavalry, under Sheridan, and the Sixth Corps, led the advance; crossed the Pamunky River at Hanovertown after considerable fighting, and on the 28th the two divisions of cavalry had a severe but successful engagement with the enemy at Haw's shop. On the 29th and 30th we advanced, with heavy skirmishing, to the Hanover Court-House and Cold Harbor road, and developed the enemy's position north of the Chickahominy. Late on the evening of the last day the enemy came out and attacked our left, but was repulsed with very considerable loss. An attack was immediately ordered by General Meade along his whole line, which resulted in driving the enemy from a part of his intrenched skirmish line.

On the 31st, General Wilson's division of cavalry destroyed the railroad bridges over the South Anna River, after defeating the enemy's cavalry. General Sheridan, on the same day, reached Cold Harbor, and held it until relieved by the Sixth Corps and General Smith's command, which had just arrived, via White House, from General Butler's army.

On the 1st day of June an attack was made at 5 P. M. by the Sixth Corps and the troops under General Smith, the other corps being held in readiness to advance on the receipt of orders. This resulted in our carrying and holding the enemy's first line of works in front of the right of the Sixth Corps and in front of General Smith. During the attack, the enemy made repeated assaults on each of the corps not engaged in the main attack, but was repulsed with heavy loss in every instance. That night he made several assaults to regain what he had lost in the day, but failed. The 2d was spent in getting troops into position for an attack on the 3d. On the 3d of June we again assaulted the enemy's works, in the hope of driving him from his position. In this attempt our loss was heavy, while that of the enemy, I have reason to believe, was comparatively light. It was the only general attack made from the Rapidan to the James which did not inflict upon the enemy losses to compensate for our own. I would not be understood as saying that all previous attacks resulted in victories to our arms, or accomplished as much as I had hoped from them; but they inflicted upon the enemy severe losses, which tended, in the end, to the complete overthrow of the rebellion.

From the proximity of the enemy to his defenses around Richmond, it was impossible, by any flank movement, to interpose between him and the city. I was still in a condition to either move by his left flank and invest

Richmond from the north side, or continue my move by his right flank to the south side of the James. While the former might have been better as a covering for Washington, yet a full survey of all the ground satisfied me that it would be impracticable to hold a line north and east of Richmond that would protect the Fredericksburg Railroad—a long, vulnerable line, which would exhaust much of our strength to guard, and that would have to be protected to supply the army, and would leave open to the enemy all his lines of communication on the south side of the James. My idea, from the start, had been to beat Lee's army north of Richmond, if possible. Then, after destroying his lines of communication north of the James River, to transfer the army to the south side, and besiege Lee in Richmond, or follow him south, if he should retreat. After the battle of the Wilderness, it was evident that the enemy deemed it of the first importance to run no risks with the army he then had. He acted purely on the defensive behind breastworks, or feebly on the offensive immediately in front of them, and where, in case of repulse, he could easily retire behind them. Without a greater sacrifice of life than I was willing to make, all could not be accomplished that I had designed north of Richmond. I therefore determined to continue to hold substantially the ground we then occupied, taking advantage of any favorable circumstances that might present themselves, until the cavalry could be sent to Charlottesville and Gordonsville, to effectually break up the railroad connection between Richmond and the Shenandoah Valley and Lynchburg; and, when the cavalry got well off, to move the army to the south side of the James River, by the enemy's right flank, where I felt I could cut off all his sources of supply, except by the canal

SHERIDAN'S RAID TOWARD LYNCHBURG.

On the 7th, two divisions of cavalry, under General Sheridan, got off on the expedition against the Virginia Central Railroad, with instructions to Hunter, whom I hoped he would meet near Charlottesville, to join his forces to Sheridan's, and, after the work laid out for them was thoroughly done, to join the Army of the Potomac, by the route laid down in Sheridan's instructions.

FIRST ATTEMPTS ON PETERSBURG.

On the 10th of June, General Butler sent a force of infantry, under General Gillmore, and cavalry, under General Kautz, to capture Petersburg, if possible, and destroy the railroad and common bridges across the Appomattox. The cavalry carried the works on the south side, and penetrated well in toward the town, but were forced to retire. General Gillmore, finding the works which he approached very strong, and deeming an assault impracticable, returned to Bermuda Hundred without attempting one.

Attaching great importance to the possession of Petersburg, I sent back to Bermuda Hundred and City Point General Smith's command, by water, via the White House, to reach there in advance of the Army of the Potomac.

This was for the express purpose of securing Petersburg before the enemy, becoming aware of our intention, could re-enforce the place.

THE COLD HARBOR MOVEMENT.

The movement from Cold Harbor commenced after dark on the evening of the 12th; one division of cavalry, under General Wilson, and the Fifth Corps, crossed the Chickahominy at Long Bridge, and moved out to White Oak Swamp, to cover the crossings of the other corps. The advance corps reached James River, at Wilcox's Landing and Charles City Court-House, on the night of the 13th.

MAGNITUDE AND DIFFICULTIES OF THE MARCH TOWARD RICHMOND.

During three long years the Armies of the Potomac and Northern Virginia had been confronting each other. In that time they had fought more desperate battles than it probably ever before fell to the lot of two armies to fight, without materially changing the vantage-ground of either. The Southern press and people, with more shrewdness than was displayed in the North, finding that they had failed to capture Washington and march on to New York, as they had boasted they would do, assumed that they only defended their capital and Southern territory. Hence, Antietam, Gettysburgh, and all the other battles that had been fought, were by them set down as failures on our part, and victories for them. Their army believed this. It produced a morale which could only be overcome by desperate and continuous hard fighting. The battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor, bloody and terrible as they were on our side, were even more damaging to the enemy, and so crippled him as to make him wary ever after of taking the offensive. His losses in men were probably not so great, owing to the fact that we were, save in the Wilderness, almost invariably the attacking party; and when he did attack it was in the open field. The details of these battles, which, for endurance and bravery on the part of the soldiery, have rarely been surpassed, are given in the report of Major-General Meade, and the subordinate reports accompanying it.

During the campaign of forty-three days, from the Rapidan to James River, the army had to be supplied from an ever-shifting base, by wagons, over narrow roads, through a densely-wooded country, with a lack of wharves at each new base from which to conveniently discharge vessels. Too much credit cannot, therefore, be awarded to the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments for the zeal and efficiency displayed by them. Under the general supervision of the Chief Quartermaster, Brigadier-General R. Ingalls, the trains were made to occupy all the available roads between the army and our water base, and but little difficulty was experienced in protecting them.

THE SHENANDOAH—SIGEL SUPERSEDED BY HUNTER.

The movement of the Kanawha and Shenandoah Valleys, under General Sigel, commenced on the 1st of May. Gen. Crook, who had the immediate command of the Kanawha expedition, divided his forces into two columns, giving one, composed of cavalry, to General Averill. They crossed the mountains by separate routes. Averill struck the Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, near Wytheville, on the 10th, and, proceeding to New River and Christiansburg, destroyed the road, several important bridges and dépôts, including New River Bridge, forming a junction with Crook at Union on the 15th. General Sigel moved up the Shenandoah Valley, met the enemy at New-Market on the 15th, and, after a severe engagement, was defeated with heavy loss, and retired behind Cedar Creek. Not regarding the operations of General Sigel as satisfactory, I asked his removal from command, and Major-General Hunter was appointed to supersede him. His instructions were embraced in the following dispatches to Major-General H. W. Halleck, Chief of Staff of the army:

"NEAR SPOTTSYLVANIA COURT-HOUSE, VA., *May* 20, 1864.

* * * * * * * * *

"The enemy are evidently relying for supplies greatly on such as are brought over the branch road running through Staunton. On the whole, therefore, I think it would be better for General Hunter to move in that direction; reach Staunton and Gordonsville, or Charlottesville, if he does not meet too much opposition. If he can hold at bay a force equal to his own, he will be doing good service. * * * * *

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General H. W. HALLECK."

"JERICHO FORD, VA., *May* 25, 1864.

"If Hunter can possibly get to Charlottesville and Lynchburg, he should do so, living on the country. The railroads and canal should be destroyed beyond possibility of repairs for weeks. Completing this, he could find his way back to his original base, or from about Gordonsville join this army.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General H. W. HALLECK."

HUNTER'S PUSH TOWARD LYNCHBURG.

General Hunter immediately took up the offensive, and, moving up the Shenandoah Valley, met the enemy on the 5th of June at Piedmont, and after a battle of ten hours routed and defeated him, capturing on the field of battle fifteen hundred men, three pieces of artillery, and three hundred stand of small-arms. On the 8th of the same month, he formed a junction with Crook and Averill at Staunton, from which place he moved direct on Lynchburg, via Lexington, which place he reached and invested on the 16th day of June. Up to this time he was very successful, and but for the diffi-

culty of taking with him sufficient ordnance stores over so long a march, through a hostile country, he would no doubt have captured that, to the enemy, important point. The destruction of the enemy's supplies and manufactures was very great. To meet this movement under General Hunter, General Lee sent a force, perhaps equal to a corps, a part of which reached Lynchburg a short time before Hunter. After some skirmishing on the 17th and 18th, General Hunter, owing to a want of ammunition to give battle, retired from before the place. Unfortunately, this want of ammunition left him no choice of route for his return but by way of Kanawha. This lost to us the use of his troops for several weeks from the defense of the North.

Had General Hunter moved by way of Charlottesville, instead of Lexington, as his instructions contemplated, he would have been in a position to have covered the Shenandoah Valley against the enemy, should the force he met have seemed to endanger it. If it did not, he would have been within easy distance of the James River Canal, on the main line of communication between Lynchburg and the force sent for its defense. I have never taken exception to the operations of General Hunter, and I am not now disposed to find fault with him, for I have no doubt he acted within what he conceived to be the spirit of his instructions, and the interests of the service. The promptitude of his movements and his gallantry should entitle him to the commendation of his country.

MEADE'S ARMY CROSSES THE JAMES RIVER.

To return to the Army of the Potomac. The Second Corps commenced crossing the James River on the morning of the 14th, by ferry-boats, at Wilcox's Landing. The laying of the pontoon bridge was completed about midnight of the 14th, and the crossing of the balance of the army was rapidly pushed forward by both bridge and ferry.

THE FIRST VICTORIES BEFORE PETERSBURG.

After the crossing had commenced, I proceeded by a steamer to Bermuda Hundred to give the necessary orders for the immediate capture of Petersburg.

The instructions to General Butler were verbal, and were for him to send General Smith immediately, that night, with all the troops he could give him without sacrificing the position he then held. I told him that I would return at once to the Army of the Potomac, hasten its crossing, and throw it forward to Petersburg by divisions as rapidly as it could be done; that we could re-enforce our armies more rapidly there than the enemy could bring troops against us. General Smith got off as directed, and confronted the enemy's pickets near Petersburg before daylight next morning, but for some reason, that I have never been able to satisfactorily understand, did not get ready to assault his main lines until near sundown. Then, with a part of his command only, he made the assault, and carried the lines north-east of Petersburg from the Appomattox River, for a distance

of over two and a half miles, capturing fifteen pieces of artillery and three hundred prisoners. This was about seven P. M. Between the line thus captured and Petersburg there were no other works, and there was no evidence that the enemy had re-enforced Petersburg with a single brigade from any source. The night was clear—the moon shining brightly—and favorable to further operations. General Hancock, with two divisions of the Second Corps, reached General Smith just after dark, and offered the service of these troops as he (Smith) might wish, waiving rank to the named commander, who he naturally supposed knew best the position of affairs, and what to do with the troops. But instead of taking these troops and pushing at once into Petersburg, he requested General Hancock to relieve a part of his line in the captured works, which was done before midnight.

By the time I arrived the next morning the enemy was in force. An attack was ordered to be made at six o'clock that evening by the troops under Smith and the Second and Ninth Corps. It required until that time for the Ninth Corps to get up and into position. The attack was made as ordered, and the fighting continued with but little intermission until six o'clock the next morning, and resulted in our carrying the advance and some of the main works of the enemy to the right (our left) of those previously captured by General Smith, several pieces of artillery, and over four hundred prisoners.

The Fifth Corps having got up, the attacks were renewed and persisted in with great vigor on the 17th and 18th, but only resulted in forcing the enemy to an interior line from which he could not be dislodged. The advantages in position gained by us were very great. The army then proceeded to envelop Petersburg toward the Southside Railroad; as far as possible, without attacking fortifications.

BUTLER'S ATTEMPT TO CUT THE RICHMOND RAILROAD.

On the 6th the enemy, to re-enforce Petersburg, withdrew from a part of his intrenchments in front of Bermuda Hundred, expecting, no doubt, to get troops from north of the James to take the place of those withdrawn before we could discover it. General Butler, taking advantage of this, at once moved a force on the railroad between Petersburg and Richmond. As soon as I was apprised of the advantage thus gained, to retain it I ordered two divisions of the Sixth Corps, General Wright commanding, that were embarking at Wilcox's Landing, under orders for City Point, to report to General Butler, at Bermuda Hundred, of which General Butler was notified, and the importance of holding a position in advance of his present line urged upon him.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, General Butler was forced back to the line the enemy had withdrawn from in the morning. General Wright, with his two divisions, joined General Butler in the forenoon of the 17th, the latter still holding with a strong picket line the enemy's works. But instead of putting these divisions into the enemy's works to hold them, he

permitted them to halt and rest some distance in the rear of his own line. Between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy attacked and drove in his pickets and re-occupied his old line.

On the night of the 20th and morning of the 21st, a lodgment was effected by General Butler, with one brigade of infantry, on the north bank of the James, at Deep Bottom, and connected the pontoon bridge with Bermuda Hundred.

RESULT OF SHERIDAN'S RAID.

On the 19th, General Sheridan, on his return from his expedition against the Virginia Central Railroad, arrived at the White House just as the enemy's cavalry was about to attack it, and compelled it to retire. The result of this expedition was, that General Sheridan met the enemy's cavalry near Trevillian Station on the morning of the 11th of June, whom he attacked, and after an obstinate contest drove from the field in complete rout. He left his dead and nearly all his wounded in our hands, and about four hundred prisoners and several hundred horses. On the 12th, he destroyed the railroad from Trevillian Station to Louisa Court-House. This occupied until three o'clock, P. M., when he advanced in the direction of Gordonsville. He found the enemy re-enforced by infantry, behind well-constructed rifle-pits, about five miles from the latter place, and too strong to successfully assault. On the extreme right, however, his reserve brigade carried the enemy's works twice, and was twice driven therefrom by infantry. Night closed the contest. Not having sufficient ammunition to continue the engagement, and his animals being without forage (the country furnishing but inferior grazing), and hearing nothing from General Hunter, he withdrew his command to the north side of the North Anna, and commenced his return march, reaching White House at the time before stated. After breaking up the dépôt at that place he moved to the James River, which he reached safely after heavy fighting. He commenced crossing on the 25th, near Fort Powhatan, without further molestation, and rejoined the Army of the Potomac.

THE RAID OF WILSON AND KAUTZ ON THE WELDON AND DANVILLE ROADS.

On the 22d, General Wilson, with his own division of cavalry of the Army of the Potomac, and General Kautz's division of cavalry of the Army of the James, moved against the enemy's railroads south of Richmond. Striking the Weldon Railroad at Ream's Station, destroying the depot and several miles of the road, and the Southside road about fifteen miles from Petersburg, to near Nottoway Station, where he met and defeated a force of the enemy's cavalry, he reached Burkesville Station on the afternoon of the 23d, and from there destroyed the Danville Railroad to Roanoke Bridge, a distance of twenty-five miles, where he found the enemy in force, and in a position from which he could not dislodge him. He then commenced his return march, and on the 28th met the enemy's cavalry in force at the Weldon Railroad crossing of Stony Creek where he had a severe, but not de-

cisive engagement. Thence he made a detour from his left, with a view of reaching Ream's Station (supposing it to be in our possession). At this place, he was met by the enemy's cavalry, supported by infantry, and forced to retire, with the loss of his artillery and trains. In this last encounter, General Kautz, with a part of his command, became separated, and made his way into our lines. General Wilson, with the remainder of his force, succeeded in crossing the Nottoway River and coming in safely on our left and rear. The damage to the enemy in this expedition more than compensated for the losses we sustained. It severed all connection by railroad with Richmond for several weeks.

OPERATIONS ON THE NORTH SIDE OF JAMES RIVER.

With a view of cutting the enemy's railroad from near Richmond to the Anna River, and making him wary of the situation of his army in the Shenandoah, and, in the event of failure in this, to take advantage of his necessary withdrawal of troops from Petersburg, to explode a mine that had been prepared in front of the Ninth Corps, and assault the enemy's lines at that place, on the night of the 26th of July the Second Corps and two divisions of the cavalry corps and Kautz's cavalry were crossed to the north bank of the James River and joined the force General Butler had there. On the 27th, the enemy was driven from his intrenched position, with the loss of four pieces of artillery. On the 28th, our lines were extended from Deep Bottom to New-Market Road; but in getting this position were attacked by the enemy in heavy force. The fighting lasted for several hours, resulting in considerable loss to both sides. The first object of this move having failed, by reason of the very large force thrown there by the enemy, I determined to take advantage of the diversion made, by assaulting Petersburg before he could get his force back there. One division of the Second Corps was withdrawn on the night of the 28th, and moved during the night to the rear of the Eighteenth Corps, to relieve that corps in the line, that it might be foot loose in the assault to be made. The other two divisions of the Second Corps and Sheridan's cavalry were crossed over on the night of the 29th, and moved in front of Petersburg. On the morning of the 30th, between four and five o'clock, the mine was sprung, blowing up a battery and most of a regiment, and the advance of the assaulting column, formed of the Ninth Corps, immediately took possession of the crater made by the explosion, and the line for some distance to the right and left of it, and a detached line in front of it; but for some cause failed to advance promptly to the ridge beyond. Had they done this, I had every reason to believe that Petersburg would have fallen. Other troops were immediately pushed forward, but the time consumed in getting them up enabled the enemy to rally from his surprise (which had been complete), and get forces to this point for its defense. The captured line thus held being untenable, and of no advantage to us, the troops were withdrawn; but not without heavy loss. Thus terminated in disaster what promised to be the most successful assault of the campaign.

WEST VIRGINIA AND THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

Immediately upon the enemy's ascertaining that General Hunter was retreating from Lynchburg by way of the Kanawha River, thus laying the Shenandoah Valley open for raids into Maryland and Pennsylvania, he returned northward and moved down that valley. As soon as this movement of the enemy was ascertained, General Hunter, who had reached the Kanawha River, was directed to move his troops without delay, by river and railroad, to Harper's Ferry; but, owing to the difficulty of navigation, by reason of low water and breaks in the railroad, great delay was experienced in getting there. It became necessary, therefore, to find other troops to check this movement of the enemy. For this purpose the Sixth Corps was taken from the armies operating against Richmond, to which was added the Nineteenth Corps, then fortunately beginning to arrive in Hampton Roads from the Gulf Department, under orders issued immediately after the ascertainment of the result of the Red River expedition. The garrisons of Baltimore and Washington were at this time made up of heavy artillery regiments, hundred-days men, and detachments from the Invalid Corps. One division, under command of General Ricketts, of the Sixth Corps, was sent to Baltimore, and the remaining two divisions of the Sixth Corps, under General Wright, were subsequently sent to Washington. On the 3d of July the enemy approached Martinsburg; General Sigel, who was in command of our forces there, retreated across the Potomac at Shepardstown, and General Weber, commanding at Harper's Ferry, crossed the river and occupied Maryland Heights. On he 6th, the enemy occupied Hagerstown, moving a strong column toward Frederick City. General Wallace with Ricketts's division and his own command, the latter mostly new and undisciplined troops, pushed out from Baltimore with great promptness, and met the enemy in force on the Monocacy, near the crossing of the railroad bridge. His force was not sufficient to insure success, but he fought the enemy, nevertheless, and although it resulted in a defeat to our arms, yet it detained the enemy, and thereby served to enable General Wright to reach Washington with two divisions of the Sixth Corps, and the advance of the Nineteenth Corps before him. From Monocacy the enemy moved on Washington, his cavalry advance reaching Rockville on the evening of the 10th. On the 12th a reconnoissance was thrown out in front of Fort Stevens, to ascertain the enemy's position and force. A severe skirmish ensued, in which we lost about two hundred and eighty in killed and wounded. The enemy's loss was probably greater. He commenced retreating during the night. Learning the exact condition of affairs at Washington, I requested, by telegraph, at 11:45 P. M., on the 12th, the assignment of Major-General H. G. Wright to the command of all the troops that could be made available to operate in the field against the enemy, and directed that he should get outside of the trenches with all the force he could, and push Early to the last moment. General Wright commenced the pursuit on the 13th; on the 18th the enemy was overtaken at Snicker's Ferry, on the Shenandoah, when a sharp skirmish occurred; and

on the 20th General Averill encountered and defeated a portion of the rebel army at Winchester, capturing four pieces of artillery and several hundred prisoners.

Learning that Early was retreating south toward Lynchburg or Richmond, I directed that the Sixth and Nineteenth Corps be got back to the armies operating against Richmond, so that they might be used in a movement against Lee before the return of the troops sent by him into the valley; and that Hunter should remain in the Shenandoah Valley, keeping between any force of the enemy and Washington, acting on the defensive as much as possible. I felt that, if the enemy had any notion of returning, the fact would be developed before the Sixth and Nineteenth Corps could leave Washington. Subsequently the Nineteenth Corps was excepted from the order to return to the James.

EARLY'S LAST RAID TOWARD MARYLAND.

About the 25th it became evident that the enemy was again advancing upon Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the Sixth Corps, then at Washington, was ordered back to the vicinity of Harper's Ferry. The rebel force moved down the valley, and sent a raiding party into Pennsylvania, which on the 30th burned Chambersburg, and then retreated, pursued by our cavalry, toward Cumberland. They were met and defeated by General Kelly, and with diminished numbers escaped into the mountains of West Virginia. From the time of the first raid, the telegraph lines were frequently down between Washington and City Point, making it necessary to transmit messages a part of the way by boat. It took from twenty-four to thirty-six hours to get dispatches through, and return answers back; so that often orders would be given, and then information would be received showing a different state of facts from those on which they were based, causing a confusion, and apparent contradiction of orders, that must have considerably embarrassed those who had to execute them, and rendered operations against the enemy less effective than they otherwise would have been. To remedy this evil, it was evident to my mind that some person should have the supreme command of all the forces in the Departments of West Virginia, Washington, Susquehanna, and the Middle Department, and I so recommended.

On the 2d of August, I ordered General Sheridan to report in person to Major-General Halleck, chief of staff, at Washington, with a view to his assignment to the command of all the forces against Early. At this time, the enemy was concentrated in the neighborhood of Winchester, whilst our forces, under General Hunter, were concentrated on the Monocacy, at the crossing of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, leaving open to the enemy Western Maryland and Southern Pennsylvania. From where I was, I hesitated to give positive orders for the movement of our forces at Monocacy, lest by so doing I should expose Washington. Therefore, on the 4th, I left City Point to visit Hunter's command, and determine for myself what was best to be done. On arrival there, and after consultation with General Hunter, I issued to him the following instructions:

"MONOCACY BRIDGE, MD., *Aug.* 5, 1864—8 P. M.

"GENERAL:—Concentrate all your available force without delay in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, leaving only such railroad guards and garrisons for public property as may be necessary. Use, in this concentrating, the railroads, if by so doing time can be saved. From Harper's Ferry, if it is found that the enemy has moved north of the Potomac in large force, push north, following him and attacking him wherever found; follow him, if driven south of the Potomac, as long as it is safe to do so. If it is ascertained that the enemy has but a small force north of the Potomac, then push south with the main force, detaching under a competent commander a sufficient force to look after the raiders, and drive them to their homes. In detaching such a force, the brigade of cavalry now *en route* from Washington via Rockwell may be taken into account.

"There are now on their way to join you three other brigades of the best cavalry, numbering at least five thousand men and horses. These will be instructed, in the absence of further orders, to join you by the south side of the Potomac. One brigade will probably start to-morrow. In pushing up the Shenandoah Valley, where it is expected you will have to go first or last, it is desirable that nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return. Take all provisions, forage, and stock, wanted for the use of your command; such as cannot be consumed, destroy. It is not desirable that the buildings should be destroyed—they should rather be protected—but the people should be informed that so long as an army can subsist among them recurrences of these raids must be expected, and we are determined to stop them at all hazards.

"Bear in mind the object is to drive the enemy south, and to do this you want to keep him always in sight. Be guided in your course by the course he takes.

"Make your own arrangements for supplies of all kinds, giving regular vouchers for such as may be taken from loyal citizens in the country through which you march.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General D. HUNTER."

The troops were immediately put in motion, and the advance reached Halltown that night.

General Hunter having, in our conversation, expressed a willingness to be relieved from command, I telegraphed to have General Sheridan, then at Washington, sent to Harper's Ferry by the morning train, with orders to take general command of all the troops in the field, and to call on General Hunter at Monocacy, who would turn over to him my letter of instructions. I remained at Monocacy until General Sheridan arrived on the morning of the 6th, and, after a conference with him in relation to military affairs in that vicinity, I returned to City Point by way of Washington.

On the 7th of August, the Middle Department, and the departments of West Virginia, Washington, and Susquehanna, were constituted into the

"middle military division," and Major-General Sheridan was assigned to temporary command of the same.

Two divisions of cavalry, commanded by Generals Torbert and Wilson, were sent to Sheridan from the Army of the Potomac. The first reached him at Harper's Ferry, about the 11th of August.

His operations during the month of August and the fore part of September were both of an offensive and defensive character, resulting in many severe skirmishes, principally by the cavalry, in which we were generally successful, but no general engagement took place. The two armies lay in such a position—the enemy on the west bank of the Opequan Creek, covering Winchester, and our forces in front of Berrysville—that either could bring on a battle at any time. Defeat to us would lay open to the enemy the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania for long distances before another army could be interposed to check him. Under these circumstances, I hesitated about allowing the initiative to be taken. Finally, the use of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which were both obstructed by the enemy, became so indispensably necessary to us, and the importance of relieving Pennsylvania and Maryland from continuously threatened invasion so great, that I determined the risk should be taken. But fearing to telegraph the order for an attack, without knowing more than I did of General Sheridan's feelings as to what would be the probable result, I left City Point on the 15th of September to visit him at his head-quarters, to decide, after conference with him, what should be done. I met him at Charleston, and he pointed out so distinctly how each army lay, what he could do the moment he was authorized, and expressed such confidence of success, that I saw there were but two words of instructions necessary—Go in! For the convenience of forage, the teams for supplying the army were kept at Harper's Ferry. I asked him if he could get out his teams and supplies in time to make an attack on the ensuing Tuesday morning. His reply was, that he could before daylight on Monday. He was off promptly to time, and I may here add that the result was such that I have never since deemed it necessary to visit General Sheridan before giving him orders.

SHERIDAN'S GREAT VICTORY.

Early on the morning of the 19th, General Sheridan attacked General Early at the crossing on Opequan Creek, and after a most sanguinary and bloody battle, lasting until five o'clock in the evening, defeated him with heavy loss, carrying his entire position from Opequan Creek to Winchester, capturing several thousand prisoners, and five pieces of artillery. The enemy rallied and made a stand in a strong position at Fisher's Hill, where he was attacked and again defeated on the 20th. Sheridan pursued him with great energy through Harrisonburg, Staunton, and the gaps of the Blue Ridge. After stripping the upper valley of most of the supplies and provisions for the rebel army, he returned to Strasburg, and took position on the north side of Cedar Creek.

Having received considerable re-enforcements, General Early again returned to the valley, and on the 9th of October his cavalry encountered ours near Strasburg, where the rebels were defeated with the loss of eleven pieces of artillery, and three hundred and fifty prisoners. On the night of the 18th, the enemy crossed the mountains which separated the branches of the Shenandoah, forded the north fork, and early on the morning of the 19th, under cover of the darkness and the fog, surprised and turned our left flank, capturing the batteries which enfiladed our whole line. Our troops fell back with heavy loss and in much confusion, but were finally rallied between Middletown and Newtown. At this juncture, General Sheridan, who was at Winchester when the battle commenced, arrived on the field, arranged his lines just in time to repulse a heavy attack of the enemy, and, immediately assuming the offensive, he attacked in turn with great vigor. The enemy was defeated with great slaughter, and the loss of most of his artillery and trains, and the trophies he had captured in the morning. The wreck of his army escaped during the night, and fled in the direction of Staunton and Lynchburg. Pursuit was made to Mount Jackson. Thus ended this, the enemy's, last attempt to invade the North, via the Shenandoah Valley. I was now enabled to return the Sixth Corps to the Army of the Potomac, and to send one division from Sheridan's army to the Army of the James, and another to Savannah, Georgia, to hold Sherman's new acquisitions on the sea-coast, and thus enable him to move without detaching from his force for that purpose.

Reports from various sources led me to believe that the enemy had detached three divisions from Petersburg to re-enforce Early in the Shenandoah Valley. I therefore sent the Second Corps and Gregg's division of cavalry, of the Army of the Potomac, and a force of General Butler's army, on the night of the 13th of August, to threaten Richmond from the north side of the James, to prevent him from sending troops away, and, if possible, to draw back those sent. In this move we captured six pieces of artillery and several hundred prisoners, detained troops that were under marching orders, and ascertained that but one division (Kershaw's), of the three reputed detached, had gone.

AFFAIRS AROUND PETERSBURG.

The enemy having withdrawn heavily from Petersburg to resist this movement, the Fifth Corps, General Warren commanding, was moved out on the 18th, and took possession of the Weldon Railroad. During the day we had considerable fighting. To regain possession of the road, the enemy made repeated and desperate assaults, but was each time repulsed with great loss. On the night of the 20th, the troops on the north side of the James were withdrawn, and Hancock and Gregg returned to the front of Petersburg. On the 25th, the Second Corps and Gregg's division of cavalry, while at Ream's Station destroying the railroad, were attacked, and after desperate fighting a part of our line gave way, and five pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the enemy.

By the 12th of September a branch railroad was completed from the City Point and Petersburg Railroad to the Weldon Railroad, enabling us to supply, without difficulty, in all weather, the army in front of Petersburg.

The extension of our lines across the Weldon Railroad compelled the enemy to so extend his that it seemed he could have but few troops north of the James, for the defense of Richmond. On the night of the 28th, the Tenth Corps, Major-General Birney, and the Eighteenth Corps, Major-General Ord commanding, of General Butler's army, were crossed to the north side of the James, and advanced on the morning of the 29th, carrying the very strong fortifications and intrenchments below Chapin's Farm, known as Fort Harrison, capturing fifteen pieces of artillery and the Newmarket Road and intrenchments. This success was followed up by a gallant assault upon Fort Gillmore, immediately in front of the Chapin Farm fortifications, in which we were repulsed with heavy loss. Kautz's cavalry was pushed forward on the road to the right of this, supported by infantry, and reached the enemy's inner line, but was unable to get further. The position captured from the enemy was so threatening to Richmond that I determined to hold it. The enemy made several desperate attempts to dislodge us, all of which were unsuccessful, and for which he paid dearly. On the morning of the 30th, General Meade sent out a reconnoissance, with a view to attacking the enemy's line, if it was found sufficiently weakened by withdrawal of troops to the north side. In this reconnoissance we captured and held the enemy's works near Poplar Spring Church. In the afternoon, troops moving to get to the left of the point gained were attacked by the enemy in heavy force, and compelled to fall back until supported by the forces holding the captured works. Our cavalry, under Gregg, was also attacked, but repulsed the enemy with great loss.

On the 7th of October the enemy attacked Kautz's cavalry north of the James, and drove it back with heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the loss of all the artillery, eight or nine pieces. This he followed up by an attack on our intrenched infantry line, but was repulsed with severe slaughter. On the 13th, a reconnoissance was sent out by General Butler, with a view to drive the enemy from some new works he was constructing, which resulted in very heavy loss to us.

On the 27th, the Army of the Potomac, leaving only sufficient men to hold its fortified line, moved by the enemy's right flank. The Second Corps, followed by two divisions of the Fifth Corps, with the cavalry in advance and covering our left flank, forced a passage of Hatcher's Run, and moved up the south side of it toward the Southside Railroad, until the Second Corps and part of the cavalry reached the Boydtown plank-road, where it crosses Hatcher's Run. At this point we were six miles distant from the Southside Railroad, which I had hoped by this movement to reach andhold. But finding that we had not reached the end of the enemy's fortifications, and no place presenting itself for a successful assault by which he might be doubled up and shortened, I determined to withdraw within our fortified line. Orders were given accordingly. Immediately upon receiving a report that General Warren had connected with General Hancock, I

returned to my head-quarters. Soon after I left, the enemy moved out across Hatcher's Run, in the gap between Generals Hancock and Warren, which was not closed as reported, and made a desperate attack on General Hancock's right and rear. General Hancock immediately faced his corps to meet it, and after a bloody combat drove the enemy within his works, and withdrew that night to his old position.

In support of this movement, General Butler made a demonstration on the north side of the James, and attacked the enemy on the Williamsburg road, and also on the York River Railroad. In the former he was unsuccessful; in the latter he succeeded in carrying a work which was afterward abandoned, and his force withdrawn to their former positions.

From this time forward the operations in front of Petersburg and Richmond, until the Spring campaign of 1865, were confined to the defense and extension of our lines, and to offensive movements for crippling the enemy's line of communication, and to prevent his detaching any considerable force to send south. By the 7th of February our lines were extended to Hatcher's Run, and the Weldon Railroad had been destroyed to Hicksford.

SHERMAN'S CAMPAIGN FROM CHATTANOOGA TO ATLANTA.

General Sherman moved from Chattanooga on the 6th of May, with the Armies of the Cumberland, Tennessee, and Ohio, commanded, respectively, by Generals Thomas, McPherson, and Schofield, upon Johnston's army at Dalton; but finding the enemy's positions at Buzzard Roost, covering Dalton, too strong to be assaulted, General McPherson was sent through Snake Gap to turn it, while Generals Thomas and Schofield threatened it in front and on the north. This movement was successful. Johnston, finding his retreat likely to be cut off, fell back to his fortified position at Resaca, where he was attacked on the afternoon of May 15th. A heavy battle ensued. During the night the enemy retreated south. Late on the 17th, his rear-guard was overtaken near Adairsville, and heavy skirmishing followed. The next morning, however, he had again disappeared. He was vigorously pursued and was overtaken at Cassville, on the 19th, but, during the ensuing night, retreated across the Etowah. While these operations were going on, General Jefferson C. Davis's division of Thomas's army was sent to Rome, capturing it, with its forts and artillery and its valuable mills and founderies. General Sherman having given his army a fewdays' rest at this point, again put it in motion on the 23d for Dallas, with a view of turning the difficult pass at Allatoona. On the afternoon of the 25th, the advance, under General Hooker, had a severe battle with the enemy, driving him back to New-Hope Church, near Dallas. Several sharp encounters occurred at this point. The most important was on the 28th, when the enemy assaulted General McPherson at Dallas, but received a terrible and bloody repulse.

On the 4th of June, Johnston abandoned his intrenched position at New-Hope Church and retreated to the strong positions of Kenesaw, Pine, and Lost Mountains. He was forced to yield the two last-named places

and concentrate his army on Kenesaw, where, on the 27th, Generals Thomas and McPherson made a determined but unsuccessful assault. On the night of the 2d of July, Sherman commenced moving his army by the right flank, and on the morning of the 3d found that the enemy, in consequence of this movement, had abandoned Kenesaw and retreated across the Chattahoochie.

General Sherman remained on the Chattahoochie to give his men rest, and get up stores until the 17th of July, when he resumed his operations, crossed the Chattahoochie, destroyed a large portion of the railroad to Augusta, and drove the enemy back to Atlanta. At this place General Hood succeeded General Johnston in command of the rebel army, and, assuming the offensive-defensive policy, made several severe attacks upon Sherman in the vicinity of Atlanta, the most desperate and determined of which was on the 22d of July. About one P. M. of this day, the brave, accomplished, and noble-hearted McPherson was killed. General Logan succeeded him, and commanded the Army of the Tennessee through this desperate battle, and until he was superseded by Major-General Howard on the 26th, with the same success and ability that had characterized him in the command of a corps or division.

In all these attacks the enemy was repulsed with great loss. Finding it impossible to entirely invest the place, General Sherman, after securing his line of communications across the Chattahoochie, moved his main force round by the enemy's left flank upon the Montgomery and Macon roads, to draw the enemy from his fortifications. In this he succeeded, and, after defeating the enemy near Rough-and-Ready, Jonesboro', and Lovejoy's, forcing him to retreat to the south, on the 2d of September occupied Atlanta, the objective point of his campaign.

About the time of this move, the rebel cavalry, under Wheeler, attempted to cut his communications in the rear, but was repulsed at Dalton and driven into East Tennessee, whence it proceeded west to McMinnville, Murfreesboro', and Franklin, and was finally driven south of the Tennessee. The damage done by this raid was repaired in a few days.

During the partial investment of Atlanta, General Rousseau joined General Sherman with a force of cavalry from Decatur, having made a successful raid upon the Atlanta and Montgomery Railroad, and its branches near Opelika. Cavalry raids were also made by Generals McCook, Garrard, and Stoneman, to cut the remaining railroad communication with Atlanta. The first two were successful—the latter disastrous.

A TRIBUTE TO SHERMAN.

General Sherman's movement from Chattanooga to Atlanta was prompt, skillful, and brilliant. The history of his flank movements and battles during that memorable campaign will ever be read with an interest unsurpassed by any thing in history.

His own report and those of his subordinate commanders accompanying it give the details of that most successful campaign.

He was dependent for the supply of his armies upon a single-track railroad from Nashville to the point where he was operating. This passed the entire distance through a hostile country, and every foot of it had to be protected by troops. The cavalry force of the enemy under Forrest, in northern Mississippi, was evidently waiting for Sherman to advance far enough into the mountains of Georgia to make a retreat disastrous, to get upon his line and destroy it beyond the possibility of further use. To guard against this danger, Sherman left what he supposed to be a sufficient force to operate against Forrest in West Tennessee. He directed General Washburn, who commanded there, to send Brigadier-General S. D. Sturgis in command of this force to attack him. On the morning of the 10th of June, General Sturgis met the enemy near Guntown, Mississippi, was badly beaten, and driven back in utter rout and confusion to Memphis, a distance of about one hundred miles, hotly pursued by the enemy. By this, however, the enemy was defeated in his designs upon General Sherman's line of communications. The persistency with which he followed up this success exhausted him, and made a season for rest and repairs necessary. In the mean time Major-General A. J. Smith, with the troops of the Army of the Tennessee that had been sent by General Sherman to General Banks, arrived at Memphis on their return from Red River, where they had done most excellent service. He was directed by General Sherman to immediately take the offensive against Forrest. This he did, with the promptness and effect which have characterized his whole military career. On the 14th of July, he met the enemy at Tupelo, Mississippi, and whipped him badly. The fighting continued through three days. Our loss was small compared with that of the enemy. Having accomplished the object of his expedition, General Smith returned to Memphis.

FORREST'S ANNOYANCE IN KENTUCKY—THE MASSACRE AT FORT PILLOW.

During the months of March and April, this same force under Forrest annoyed us considerably. On the 24th of March, it captured Union City, Kentucky, and its garrison, and on the 24th attacked Paducah, commanded by Colonel S. G. Hicks, Fortieth Illinois Volunteers. Colonel Hicks, having but a small force, withdrew to the forts near the river, from where he repulsed the enemy and drove him from the place.

On the 13th of April, part of this force, under the rebel General Buford, summoned the garrison of Columbus, Kentucky, to surrender, but received for reply from Colonel Lawrence, Thirty-fourth New Jersey Volunteers, that, being placed there by his Government with adequate force to hold his post and repel all enemies from it, surrender was out of the question.

On the morning of the same day, Forrest attacked Fort Pillow, Tenn., garrisoned by a detachment of Tennessee cavalry and the First Regiment Alabama colored troops, commanded by Major Booth. The garrison fought bravely until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy carried

the works by assault; and, after our men threw down their arms, proceeded in an inhuman and merciless massacre of the garrison.

On the 14th, General Buford, having failed at Columbus, appeared before Paducah, but was again driven off.

Guerrillas and raiders, seemingly emboldened by Forrest's operations, were also very active in Kentucky. The most noted of these was Morgan. With a force of from two to three thousand cavalry, he entered the State through Pound Gap in the latter part of May. On the 11th of June he attacked and captured Cynthiana, with its entire garrison. On the 12th he was overtaken by General Burbridge, and completely routed with heavy loss, and was finally driven out of the State. This notorious guerrilla was afterward surprised and killed near Greenville, Tenn., and his command captured and dispersed by General Gillem.

OUR REVERSES ON THE RED RIVER.

In the absence of official reports at the commencement of the Red River expedition, except so far as relates to the movements of the troops sent by General Sherman, under A. J. Smith, I am unable to give the date of its starting. The troops under General Smith, comprising two divisions of the Sixteenth and a detachment of the Seventeenth Army Corps, left Vicksburg on the 10th of March, and reached the designated point on Red River one day earlier than that appointed by General Banks. The rebel forces at Fort de Russey, thinking to defeat him, left the fort on the 14th, to give him battle in the open field; but, while occupying the enemy with skirmishing and demonstrations, Smith pushed forward to Fort de Russey, which had been left with a weak garrison, and captured it with its garrison, about three hundred and fifty men, eleven pieces of artillery, and many small-arms. Our loss was but slight. On the 15th, he pushed forward to Alexandria, which place he reached on the 18th. On the 21st, he had an engagement with the enemy at Henderson Hill, in which he defeated him, capturing two hundred and ten prisoners and four pieces of artillery.

On the 28th, he again attacked and defeated the enemy, under the rebel General Taylor, at Cane River. By the 26th, General Banks had assembled his whole army at Alexandria, and pushed forward to Grand Ecore. On the morning of April 6th, he moved from Grand Ecore. On the afternoon of the 7th, his advance engaged the enemy near Pleasant Hill, and drove him from the field. On the same afternoon the enemy made a stand eight miles beyond Pleasant Hill, but was again compelled to retreat. On the 8th, at Sabine Cross-roads and Peach Hill, the enemy attacked and defeated his advance, capturing nineteen pieces of artillery and an immense amount of transportation and stores. During the night, General Banks fell back to Pleasant Hill, where another battle was fought on the 9th, and the enemy repulsed with great loss. During the night, General Banks continued his retrograde movement to Grand Ecore, and thence to Alexandria, which he reached on the 27th of April. Here a serious difficulty arose in getting Admiral Porter's fleet, which accompanied the expedition, over the

rapids, the water having fallen so much since they passed up as to prevent their return. At the suggestion of Colonel (now Brigadier-General) Bailey, and under his superintendence, wing-dams were constructed, by which the channel was contracted so that the fleet passed down the rapids in safety.

The army evacuated Alexandria on the 14th of May, after considerable skirmishing with the enemy's advance, and reached Morganzia and Point Coupée near the end of the month. The disastrous termination of this expedition, and the lateness of the season, rendered impracticable the carrying out of my plan of a movement in force sufficient to insure the capture of Mobile.

On the 23d of March, Major-General Steele left Little Rock with the Seventh Army Corps, to co-operate with General Banks's expedition on Red River, and reached Arkadelphia on the 28th. On the 16th of April, after driving the enemy before him, he was joined near Elkin's Ferry, in Washita County, by General Thayer, who had marched from Fort Smith. After several severe skirmishes, in which the enemy was defeated, General Steele reached Camden, which he occupied about the middle of April.

On learning the defeat and consequent retreat of General Banks on Red River, and the loss of one of his own trains at Mark's Mill, in Dallas County, General Steele determined to fall back to the Arkansas River. He left Camden on the 26th of April, and reached Little Rock on the 2d of May. On the 30th of April the enemy attacked him while crossing the Saline River at Jenkins's Ferry, but was repulsed with considerable loss. Our loss was about six hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Major-General Canby, who had been assigned to the command of the Military Division of West Mississippi, was therefore directed to send the Nineteenth Army Corps to join the armies operating against Richmond, and to limit the remainder of his command to such operations as might be necessary to hold the positions and lines of communications he then occupied.

Before starting General A. J. Smith's force back to Sherman, General Canby sent a part of it to disperse a force of the enemy that was collecting near the Mississippi River. General Smith met and defeated this force near Lake Chicot on the 5th of June. Our loss was about forty killed and seventy wounded.

CAPTURE OF FORT MORGAN.

In the latter part of July, General Canby sent Major-General Gordon Granger, with such forces as he could collect, to co-operate with Admiral Farragut against the defenses of Mobile Bay. On the 8th of August, Fort Gaines surrendered to the combined naval and land forces. Fort Powell was blown up and abandoned.

On the 9th, Fort Morgan was invested, and, after a severe bombardment, surrendered on the 23d. The total captures amounted to one thousand four hundred and sixty-four prisoners and one hundred and four pieces of artillery.

OPERATIONS IN ARKANSAS.

About the last of August, it being reported that the rebel General Price, with a force of about ten thousand men, had reached Jacksonport, on his way to invade Missouri, General A. J. Smith's command, then *en route* from Memphis to join Sherman, was ordered to Missouri. A cavalry force was also at the same time sent from Memphis, under command of Colonel Winslow. This made General Rosecrans's forces superior to those of Price, and no doubt was entertained he would be able to check Price and drive him back, while the forces under General Steele, in Arkansas, would cut off his retreat. On the 26th day of September, Price attacked Pilot Knob, and forced the garrison to retreat, and thence moved north to the Missouri River, and continued up that river toward Kansas. General Curtis, commanding Department of Kansas, immediately collected such forces as he could to repel the invasion of Kansas, while General Rosecrans's cavalry was operating in his rear.

The enemy was brought to battle on the Big Blue, and defeated, with the loss of nearly all his artillery and trains, and a large number of prisoners. He made a precipitate retreat to Northern Arkansas. The impunity with which Price was enabled to roam over the State of Missouri for a long time, and the incalculable mischief done by him, shows to how little purpose a superior force may be used. There is no reason why General Rosecrans should not have concentrated his forces, and beaten and driven Price before the latter reached Pilot Knob.

FORREST'S ATTACK UPON ATHENS.

September 20th, the enemy's cavalry, under Forrest, crossed the Tennessee near Waterloo, Alabama, and on the 23d attacked the garrison at Athens, consisting of six hundred men, which capitulated on the 24th. Soon after the surrender, two regiments of re-enforcements arrived, and, after a severe fight, were compelled to surrender. Forrest destroyed the railroad westward, captured the garrison at Sulphur Branch trestle, skirmished with the garrison at Pulaski on the 27th, and on the same day cut the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad near Tullahoma and Dechard. On the morning of the 30th, one column of Forrest's command, under Buford, appeared before Huntsville, and summoned the surrender of the garrison. Receiving an answer in the negative, he remained in the vicinity of the place until next morning, when he again summoned its surrender, and received the same reply as on the night before. He withdrew in the direction of Athens, which place had been regarrisoned, and attacked it on the afternoon of the 1st of October, but without success. On the morning of the 2d, he renewed his attack, but was handsomely repulsed.

Another column, under Forrest, appeared before Columbia on the morning of the 1st, but did not make an attack. On the morning of the 3d, he moved toward Mount Pleasant. While these operations were going on, every exertion was made by General Thomas to destroy the forces under

Forrest before he could recross the Tennessee, but was unable to prevent his escape to Corinth, Mississippi.

In September, an expedition, under General Burbridge, was sent to destroy the salt-works at Saltville, Virginia. He met the enemy on the 2d of October, about three and a half miles from Saltville, and drove him into his strongly intrenched position around the salt-works, from which he was unable to dislodge him. During the night, he withdrew his command, and returned to Kentucky.

SHERMAN PREPARES FOR HIS "MARCH TO THE SEA."

General Sherman, immediately after the fall of Atlanta, put his armies in camp in and about the place, and made all preparations for refitting and supplying them for future service. The great length of road from Atlanta to the Cumberland River, however, which had to be guarded, allowed the troops but little rest.

During this time, Jefferson Davis made a speech in Macon, Ga., which was reported in the papers of the South, and soon became known to the whole country, disclosing the plans of the enemy, thus enabling General Sherman to fully meet them. He exhibited the weakness of supposing that an army, that had been beaten and fearfully decimated in a vain attempt at the defensive, could successfully undertake the offensive against the army that had so often defeated it.

In execution of this plan, Hood, with his army, was soon reported to the southwest of Atlanta. Moving far to Sherman's right, he succeeded in reaching the railroad about Big Shanty, and moved north on it.

General Sherman, leaving a force to hold Atlanta, with the remainder of his army fell upon him and drove him to Gadsden, Alabama. Seeing the constant annoyance he would have with the roads to his rear, if we attempted to hold Atlanta, General Sherman proposed the abandonment and destruction of that place, with all the railroads leading to it, and telegraphed me as follows:

"CENTREVILLE, GA., *October* 10—Noon.

"Dispatch about Wilson just received. Hood is now crossing Coosa River, twelve miles below Rome, bound west. If he passes over the Mobile and Ohio road, had I not better execute the plan of my letter sent by Colonel Porter, and leave General Thomas, with the troops now in Tennessee, to defend the State? He will have an ample force when the re-enforcements ordered reach Nashville.

"W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General.

"Lieutenant-General GRANT."

For a full understanding of the plan referred to in this dispatch, I quote from the letter sent by Colonel Porter:

"I will, therefore, give my opinion, that your army and Canby's should be re-enforced to the maximum; that, after you get Wilmington, you strike for Savannah and the river; that Canby be instructed to hold the Mississippi River, and send a force to get Columbus, Georgia, either by the way of

the Alabama or the Appalachicola, and that I keep Hood employed, and put my army in final order for a march on Augusta, Columbia, and Charleston, to be ready as soon as Wilmington is sealed as to commerce, and the city of Savannah is in our possession."

This was in reply to a letter of mine, of date September 12, in answer to a dispatch of his containing substantially the same proposition, and in which I informed him of a proposed movement against Wilmington, and of the situation in Virginia, &c.

"CITY POINT, VA., *October* 11, 1864—11 A. M.

"Your dispatch of October 10 received. Does it not look as if Hood was going to attempt the invasion of Middle Tennessee, using the Mobile and Ohio and Memphis and Charleston roads to supply his base on the Tennessee River, about Florence or Decatur? If he does this, he ought to be met and prevented from getting north of the Tennessee River. If you were to cut loose, I do not believe you would meet Hood's army, but would be bushwhacked by all the old men, little boys, and such railroad guards as are still left at home. Hood would probably strike at Nashville, thinking that by going north he could inflict greater damage upon us than we could upon the rebels by going south. If there is any way of getting at Hood's army, I would prefer that; but I must trust to your own judgment. I find I shall not be able to send a force from here to act with you on Savannah. Your movements, therefore, will be independent of mine; at least, until the fall of Richmond takes place. I am afraid Thomas, with such lines of road as he has to protect, could not prevent Hood from going north. With Wilson turned loose, with all your cavalry, you will find the rebels put much more on the defensive than heretofore.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General W. T. SHERMAN."

"KINGSTON, GA., *October* 11—11 A. M.

"Hood moved his army from Palmetto Station across by Dallas and Cedartown, and is now on the Coosa River, south of Rome. He threw one corps on my road at Acworth, and I was forced to follow. I hold Atlanta with the Twentieth Corps, and have strong detachments along my line. This reduces my active force to a comparatively small army. We cannot remain here on the defensive. With the twenty-five thousand men and the bold cavalry he has, he will constantly break my roads. I would infinitely prefer to make a wreck of the road, and of the country from Chattanooga to Atlanta, including the latter city—send back all my wounded, and worthless, and, with my effective army, move through Georgia, smashing things, to the sea. Hood may turn into Tennessee and Kentucky, but I believe he will be forced to follow me. Instead of my being on the defensive, I would be on the offensive; instead of guessing at what he means to do, he would have to guess at my plans. The difference in war is full twenty-five per cent. I can make Savannah, Charleston, or the mouth of the Chattahoochee.

"Answer quick, as I know we will not have the telegraph long.

"W. T. SHERMAN, Major-General.

"Lieutenant-General GRANT."

"CITY POINT, VA., *October* 11, 1864—11:30 P. M.

"Your dispatch of to-day received. If you are satisfied the trip to the sea-coast can be made, holding the line of the Tennessee River firmly, you may make it, destroying all the railroad south of Dalton or Chattanooga, as you think best.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General W. T. SHERMAN."

It was the original design to hold Atlanta, and by getting through to the coast, with a garrison left on the Southern railroads leading east and west through Georgia, to effectually sever the east from the west, in other words, cut the would-be Confederacy in two again, as it had been cut once by our gaining possession of the Mississippi River. General Sherman's plan virtually effected this object.

SHERMAN BEGINS HIS GREAT MARCH.

General Sherman commenced at once his preparations for his proposed movement, keeping his army in position in the mean time to watch Hood. Becoming satisfied that Hood had moved westward from Gadsden, across Sand Mountain, General Sherman sent the Fourth Corps, Major-General Stanley commanding, and the Twenty-third Corps, Major-General Schofield commanding, back to Chattanooga to report to Major-General Thomas, at Nashville, whom he had placed in command of all the troops of his military division, save the four army corps and cavalry division he designed to move with through Georgia. With the troops thus left at his disposal, there was little doubt that General Thomas could hold the line of the Tennessee, or, in the event Hood should force it, would be able to concentrate and beat him in battle. It was therefore readily consented to that Sherman should start for the sea-coast.

Having concentrated his troops at Atlanta by the 14th of November, he commenced his march, threatening both Augusta and Macon. His coming-out point could not be definitely fixed. Having to gather his subsistence as he marched through the country, it was not impossible that a force inferior to his own might compel him to head for such point as he could reach, instead of such as he might prefer. The blindness of the enemy, however, in ignoring his movement, and sending Hood's army, the only considerable force he had west of Richmond and east of the Mississippi River, northward on an offensive campaign, left the whole country open, and Sherman's route to his own choice.

How that campaign was conducted, how little opposition was met with, the condition of the country through which the armies passed, the capture of Fort McAllister, on the Savannah River, and the occupation of Savannah on the 21st of December, are all clearly set forth in General Sherman's admirable report.

CUTTING REBEL RAILROADS IN THE SOUTH.

Soon after General Sherman commenced his march from Atlanta, two expeditions, one from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and one from Vicksburg,

Mississippi, were started by General Canby to cut the enemy's line of communication with Mobile and detain troops in that field. General Foster, commanding Department of the South, also sent an expedition, via Broad River, to destroy the railroad between Charleston and Savannah. The expedition from Vicksburg, under command of Brevet Brigadier-General E. D. Osband (Colonel Third United States Colored Cavalry), captured on the 27th of November and destroyed the Mississippi Central Railroad bridge and trestle-work over Big Black River, near Canton, thirty miles of the road and two locomotives, besides large amounts of stores. The expedition from Baton Rouge was without favorable results. The expedition from the Department of the South, under the immediate command of Brigadier-General John P. Hatch, consisting of about five thousand men of all arms, including a brigade from the navy, proceeded up Broad River and debarked at Boyd's Neck on the 29th of November, from where it moved to strike the railroad at Grahamsville. At Honey Hill, about three miles from Grahamsville, the enemy was found and attacked in a strongly-fortified position, which resulted, after severe fighting, in our repulse, with a loss of seven hundred and forty-six in killed, wounded, and missing. During the night General Hatch withdrew. On the 6th of December, General Foster obtained a position covering the Charleston and Savannah Railroad, between Coosawhatchie and Tullifinney rivers.

THE MOVEMENTS OF HOOD'S ARMY.

Hood, instead of following Sherman, continued his move northward, which seemed to me to be leading to his certain doom. At all events, had I had the power to command both armies, I should not have changed the orders under which he seemed to be acting. On the 24th of October, the advance of Hood's army attacked the garrison of Decatur, Alabama, but, failing to carry the place, withdrew toward Courtland, and succeeded, in the face of our cavalry, in effecting a lodgment on the north side of the Tennessee River, near Florence. On the 28th, Forrest reached the Tennessee, at Fort Hieman, and captured a gunboat and three transports. On the 2d of November, he planted batteries above and below Johnsonville, on the opposite side of the river, isolating three gunboats and eight transports. On the 4th, the enemy opened his batteries upon the place, and was replied to from the gunboats and the garrison. The gunboats, becoming disabled, were set on fire, as also were the transports, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. About a million and a half dollars' worth of stores and property on the levee and in storehouses was consumed by fire. On the 5th, the enemy disappeared, and crossed to the north side of the Tennessee River, above Johnsonville, moving toward Clifton, and subsequently joined Hood. On the night of the 5th, General Schofield, with the advance of the Twenty-third Corps, reached Johnsonville, but, finding the enemy gone, was ordered to Pulaski, and put in command of all the troops there, with instructions to watch the movements of Hood, and retard his advance, but not to risk a general engagement until the arrival of General

A. J. Smith's command from Missouri, and until General Wilson could get his cavalry remounted.

On the 19th, General Hood continued his advance; General Thomas, retarding him as much as possible, fell back toward Nashville, for the purpose of concentrating his command, and gaining time for the arrival of re-enforcements. The enemy, coming up with our main force, commanded by General Schofield, at Franklin, on the 30th, assaulted our works repeatedly during the afternoon, until late at night, but were in every instance repulsed. His loss in this battle was one thousand seven hundred and fifty killed, seven hundred and two prisoners, and three thousand eight hundred wounded. Among his losses were six general officers killed, six wounded, and one captured. Our entire loss was two thousand three hundred. This was the first serious opposition the enemy met with, and I am satisfied was the fatal blow to all his expectations. During the night, General Schofield fell back toward Nashville. This left the field to the enemy—not lost by the battle, but voluntarily abandoned—so that General Thomas's whole force might be brought together. The enemy followed up, and commenced the establishment of his line in front of Nashville on the 2d of December.

As soon as it was ascertained that Hood was crossing the Tennessee River, and that Price was going out of Missouri, General Rosecrans was ordered to send to General Thomas the troops of General A. J. Smith's command and such other troops as he could spare. The advance of this re-enforcement reached Nashville on the 30th of November.

On the morning of the 15th of December, General Thomas attacked Hood in position, and, in a battle lasting two days, defeated and drove him from the field in the utmost confusion, leaving in our hands most of his artillery and many thousand prisoners, including four general officers.

GENERAL GRANT'S ANXIETY ABOUT THOMAS.

Before the battle of Nashville, I grew very impatient over, as it appeared to me, the unnecessary delay. This impatience was increased upon learning that the enemy had sent a force of cavalry across the Cumberland into Kentucky. I feared Hood would cross his whole army and give us great trouble there. After urging upon General Thomas the necessity of immediately assuming the offensive, I started West to superintend matters there in person. Reaching Washington City, I received General Thomas's dispatch announcing his attack upon the enemy, and the results as far as the battle had progressed. I was delighted. All fears and apprehensions were dispelled. I am not yet satisfied but that General Thomas, immediately upon the appearance of Hood before Nashville, and before he had time to fortify, should have moved out with his whole force and given him battle, instead of waiting to remount his cavalry, which delayed him until the inclemency of the weather made it impracticable to attack earlier than he did. But his final defeat of Hood was so complete, that it will be accepted as a vindication of that distinguished officer's judgment.

After Hood's defeat at Nashville, he retreated, closely pursued by cavalry

and infantry, to the Tennessee River, being forced to abandon many pieces of artillery and most of his transportation. On the 28th of December, our advance forces ascertained that he had made good his escape to the south side of the river.

About this time, the rains having set in heavily in Tennessee and North Alabama, making it difficult to move army transportation and artillery, General Thomas stopped the pursuit, by his main force, at the Tennessee River. A small force of cavalry, under Colonel W. J. Palmer, Fifteenth Pennsylvania Volunteers, continued to follow Hood for some distance, capturing considerable transportation and the enemy's pontoon bridge. The details of these operations will be found clearly set forth in General Thomas's report.

GRIERSON ON ANOTHER RAID.

A cavalry expedition, under Brevet Major-General Grierson, started from Memphis on the 21st of December. On the 25th, he surprised and captured Forrest's dismounted camp at Verona, Mississippi, on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, destroyed the railroad, sixteen cars loaded with wagons and pontoons for Hood's army, four thousand new English carbines, and large amounts of public stores. On the morning of the 28th, he attacked and captured a force of the enemy at Egypt, and destroyed a train of fourteen cars; thence turning to the southwest, he struck the Mississippi Central Railroad at Winona, destroyed the factories and large amounts of stores at Bankston, and the machine-shops and public property at Grenada, arriving at Vicksburg January 5th.

OPERATIONS IN EAST TENNESSEE.

During these operations in Middle Tennessee, the enemy, with a force under General Breckinridge, entered East Tennessee. On the 13th of November, he attacked General Gillem, near Morristown, capturing his artillery and several hundred prisoners. Gillem, with what was left of his command, retreated to Knoxville. Following up his success, Breckinridge moved to near Knoxville, but withdrew on the 18th, followed by General Ammen. Under the directions of General Thomas, General Stoneman concentrated the commands of Generals Burbridge and Gillem near Bean's Station, to operate against Breckinridge, and destroy or drive him into Virginia; destroy the salt-works at Saltville and the railroad into Virginia as far as he could go without endangering his command. On the 12th of December, he commenced his movement, capturing and dispersing the enemy's forces wherever he met them. On the 16th, he struck the enemy, under Vaughn, at Marion, completely routing and pursuing him to Wytheville, capturing all his artillery, trains, and one hundred and ninety-eight prisoners, and destroyed Wytheville, with its stores and supplies, and the extensive lead works near there. Returning to Marion, he met a force under Breckinridge, consisting, among other troops, of the garrison of Saltville, that had started in pursuit. He at once made arrangements to attack it the next morning, but morning found Breckinridge gone. He then moved di-

rectly to Saltville, and destroyed the extensive salt-works at that place, a large amount of stores, and captured eight pieces of artillery. Having thus successfully executed his instructions, he returned General Burbridge to Lexington and General Gillem to Knoxville.

THE FORT FISHER FAILURE—GENERAL BUTLER'S STRANGE CONDUCT.

Wilmington, North Carolina, was the most important sea-coast port left to the enemy through which to get supplies from abroad, and send cotton and other products out by blockade-runners, besides being a place of great strategic value. The navy had been making strenuous exertions to seal the harbor of Wilmington, but with only partial effect. The nature of the outlet of Cape Fear River was such that it required watching for so great a distance, that without possession of the land north of New Inlet, or Fort Fisher, it was impossible for the navy to entirely close the harbor against the entrance of blockade-runners.

To secure the possession of this land required the co-operation of a land force, which I agreed to furnish. Immediately commenced the assemblage in Hampton Roads, under Admiral D. D. Porter, of the most formidable armament ever collected for concentration upon one given point. This necessarily attracted the attention of the enemy, as well as that of the loyal North; and through the imprudence of the public press, and very likely of officers of both branches of service, the exact object of the expedition became a subject of common discussion in the newspapers both North and South. The enemy, thus warned, prepared to meet it. This caused a postponement of the expedition until the latter part of November, when, being again called upon by Honorable G. V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, I agreed to furnish the men required at once, and went myself, in company with Major-General Butler, to Hampton Roads, where we had a conference with Admiral Porter as to the force required and the time of starting. A force of six thousand five hundred men was regarded as sufficient. The time of starting was not definitely arranged, but it was thought all would be ready by the 6th of December, if not before. Learning on the 30th of November that Bragg had gone to Georgia, taking with him most of the forces about Wilmington, I deemed it of the utmost importance that the expedition should reach its destination before the return of Bragg, and directed General Butler to make all arrangements for the departure of Major General Weitzel, who had been designated to command the land forces, so that the navy might not be detained one moment.

On the 16th of December, the following instructions were given:—

"CITY POINT, VA., *Dec.* 6, 1864.

"GENERAL:—The first object of the expedition under General Weitzel is to close to the enemy the port of Wilmington. If successful in this, the second will be to capture Wilmington itself. There are reasonable grounds to hope for success, if advantage can be taken of the absence of the greater part of the enemy's forces now looking after Sherman in Georgia. The

directions you have given for the numbers and equipment of the expedition are all right, except in the unimportant matter of where they embark and the amount of intrenching tools to be taken. The object of the expedition will be gained by effecting a landing on the main land between Cape Fear River and the Atlantic, north of the north entrance to the river. Should such landing be effected while the enemy still holds Fort Fisher and the batteries guarding the entrance to the river, then the troops should intrench themselves, and, by co-operating with the navy, effect the reduction and capture of those places. These in our hands, the navy could enter the harbor, and the port of Wilmington would be sealed. Should Fort Fisher and the point of land on which it is built fall into the hands of our troops immediately on landing, then it will be worth the attempt to capture Wilmington by a forced march and surprise. If time is consumed in gaining the first object of the expedition, the second will become a matter of after consideration.

"The details for execution are intrusted to you and the officer immediately in command of the troops.

"Should the troops under General Weitzel fail to effect a landing at or near Fort Fisher, they will be returned to the armies operating against Richmond without delay.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General B. F. BUTLER."

General Butler commanding the army from which the troops were taken for this enterprise, and the territory in which they were to operate, military courtesy required that all orders and instructions should go through him. They were so sent; but General Weitzel has since officially informed me that he never received the foregoing instructions, nor was he aware of their existence until he read General Butler's published official report of the Fort Fisher failure, with my indorsement and papers accompanying it. I had no idea of General Butler's accompanying the expedition until the evening before it got off from Bermuda Hundred, and then did not dream but that General Weitzel had received all the instructions, and would be in command. I rather formed the idea that General Butler was actuated by a desire to witness the effect of the explosion of the powder-boat. The expedition was detained several days at Hampton Roads, awaiting the loading of the powder-boat.

The importance of getting the Wilmington expedition off without any delay, with or without the powder-boat, had been urged upon General Butler, and he advised to so notify Admiral Porter.

The expedition finally got off on the 13th of December, and arrived at the place of rendezvous, off New Inlet, near Fort Fisher, on the evening of the 15th. Admiral Porter arrived on the evening of the 18th, having put in at Beaufort to get ammunition for the monitors. The sea becoming rough, making it difficult to land troops, and the supply of water and coal being about exhausted, the transport fleet put back to Beaufort to replenish. This, with the state of the weather, delayed the return to the

place of rendezvous until the 24th. The powder-boat was exploded on the morning of the 24th, before the return of General Butler from Beaufort; but it would seem, from the notice taken of it in the Southern newspapers, that the enemy were never enlightened as to the object of the explosion, until they were informed by the Northern press.

On the 25th, a landing was effected without opposition, and a reconnoissance, under Brevet Brigadier-General Curtis, pushed up toward the fort. But before receiving a full report of the result of this reconnoissance, General Butler, in direct violation of the instructions given, ordered the re-embarkation of the troops and the return of the expedition.

The re-embarkation was accomplished by the morning of the 27th.

On the return of the expedition, officers and men—among them Brevet Major-General (then Brevet Brigadier-General) M. R. Curtis, First Lieutenant G. W. Ross, —— Regiment Vermont Volunteers, First Lieutenant George W. Walling, and Second Lieutenant George Simpson, One Hundred and Forty-second New York Volunteers, voluntarily reported to me that when recalled they were nearly into the fort, and, in their opinion, it could have been taken without much loss.

THE SUCCESSFUL ATTACK UNDER GENERAL TERRY.

Soon after the return of the expedition, I received a dispatch from the Secretary of the Navy and a letter from Admiral Porter, informing me that the fleet was still off Fort Fisher, and expressing the conviction that, under a proper leader, the place could be taken. The natural supposition with me was that, when the troops abandoned the expedition, the navy would do so also. Finding it had not, however, I answered on the 30th of December, advising Admiral Porter to hold on, and that I would send a force and make another attempt to take the place. This time I selected Brevet Major-General (now Major-General) A. H. Terry to command the expedition. The troops composing it consisted of the same that composed the former, with the addition of a small brigade, numbering about fifteen hundred, and a small siege-train. The latter it was never found necessary to land. I communicated direct to the commander of the expedition the following instructions:—

"CITY POINT, VIRGINIA, *January* 8, 1865.

"GENERAL:—The expedition intrusted to your command has been fitted out to renew the attempt to capture Fort Fisher, North Carolina, and Wilmington ultimately, if the fort falls. You will, then, proceed with as little delay as possible to the naval fleet lying off Cape Fear River, and report the arrival of yourself and command to Admiral D. D. Porter, commanding North Atlantic Blockading Squadron.

"It is exceedingly desirable that the most complete understanding should exist between yourself and the naval commander. I suggest, therefore, that you consult with Admiral Porter freely, and get from him the part to be performed by each branch of the public service, so that there may be unity of action. It would be well to have the whole programme

laid down in writing. I have served with Admiral Porter, and know that you can rely on his judgment and his nerve to undertake what he proposes. I would, therefore, defer to him as much as is consistent with your own responsibilities. The first object to be attained is to get a firm position on the spit of land on which Fort Fisher is built, from which you can operate against that fort. You want to look to the practicability of receiving your supplies, and to defending yourself against superior forces sent against you by any of the avenues left open to the enemy. If such a position can be obtained, the siege of Fort Fisher will not be abandoned until its reduction is accomplished or another plan of campaign is ordered from these head-quarters.

"My own views are that, if you effect a landing, the navy ought to run a portion of their fleet into Cape Fear River, while the balance of it operates on the outside. Land forces cannot invest Fort Fisher, or cut it off from supplies or re-enforcements, while the river is in possession of the enemy.

"A siege-train will be loaded on vessels and sent to Fort Monroe, in readiness to be sent to you if required. All other supplies can be drawn from Beaufort as you need them.

"Keep the fleet of vessels with you until your position is assured. When you find they can be spared, order them back, or such of them as you can spare, to Fort Monroe, to report for orders.

"In case of failure to effect a landing, bring your command back to Beaufort, and report to these head-quarters for further orders. You will not debark at Beaufort until so directed.

"General Sheridan has been ordered to send a division of troops to Baltimore, and place them on sea-going vessels. These troops will be brought to Fort Monroe and kept there on the vessels until you are heard from. Should you require them, they will be sent to you.

"U. S. Grant, Lieutenant-General.

"Brevet Major-General A. H. Terry."

Lieutenant-Colonel C. B. Comstock, Aid-de-camp (now Brevet Brigadier-General), who accompanied the former expedition, was assigned in orders as Chief-Engineer to this.

It will be seen that these instructions did not differ materially from those given for the first expedition, and that in neither instance was there an order to assault Fort Fisher. This was a matter left entirely to the discretion of the commanding officer.

The expedition sailed from Fort Monroe on the morning of the 6th, arriving at the rendezvous, off Beaufort, on the 8th, where, owing to the difficulties of the weather, it lay until the morning of the 12th, when it got under way and reached its destination that evening. Under cover of the fleet, the disembarkation of the troops commenced on the morning of the 13th, and by three o'clock, P. M., was completed without loss. On the 14th, a reconnoissance was pushed to within five hundred yards of Fort Fisher, and a small advance work taken possession of and turned into a defensive line against any attempt that might be made from the fort. This recon-

noissance disclosed the fact that the front of the work had been seriously injured by the navy fire. In the afternoon of the 15th, the fort was assaulted, and, after most desperate fighting, was captured with its entire garrison and armament. Thus was secured, by the combined efforts of the navy and army, one of the most important successes of the war. Our loss was: killed, one hundred and ten; wounded, five hundred and thirty-six. On the 16th and 17th, the enemy abandoned and blew up Fort Caswell and the works on Smith's Island, which were immediately occupied by us. This gave us entire control of the mouth of the Cape Fear River.

At my request, Major-General B. F. Butler was relieved, and Major-General E. O. C. Ord assigned to the command of the department of Virginia and North Carolina.

SCHOFIELD BROUGHT EAST TO HELP SHERMAN.

The defense of the line of the Tennessee no longer requiring the force which had beaten and nearly destroyed the only army threatening it, I determined to find other fields of operations for General Thomas's surplus troops—fields from which they would co-operate with other movements. General Thomas was therefore directed to collect all troops, not essential to hold his communications at Eastport, in readiness for orders. On the 7th of January, General Thomas was directed, if he was assured of the departure of Hood south from Corinth, to send General Schofield with his corps east with as little delay as possible. This direction was promptly complied with, and the advance of the corps reached Washington on the 23d of the same month, whence it was sent to Fort Fisher and Newbern. On the 26th, he was directed to send General A. J. Smith's command and a division of cavalry to report to General Canby. By the 7th of February, the whole force was *en route* for its destination.

The State of North Carolina was constituted into a military department, and General Schofield assigned to command, and placed under the orders of Major-General Sherman. The following instructions were given him:

"CITY POINT, VA., *January* 31, 1865.

"GENERAL:—* * * Your movements are intended as co-operative with Sherman's through the States of South and North Carolina. The first point to be attained is to secure Wilmington. Goldsboro' will then be your objective point, moving either from Wilmington or Newbern, or both, as you deem best. Should you not be able to reach Goldsboro', you will advance on the line or lines of railway connecting that place with the sea-coast—as near to it as you can, building the road behind you. The enterprise under you has two objects: the first is to give Sherman material aid, if needed, in his march north; the second, to open a base of supplies for him on his line of march. As soon, therefore, as you can determine which of the two points, Wilmington or Newbern, you can best use for throwing supplies from to the interior, you will commence the accumulation of twenty days' rations and forage for sixty thousand men and twenty thousand animals. You will get of these as many as you can house and

protect to such point in the interior as you may be able to occupy. I believe General Palmer has received some instructions direct from General Sherman on the subject of securing supplies for his army. You can learn what steps he has taken, and be governed in your requisitions accordingly. A supply of ordnance stores will also be necessary.

"Make all requisitions upon the chiefs of their respective departments in the field with me at City Point. Communicate with me by every opportunity, and, should you deem it necessary at any time, send a special boat to Fortress Monroe, from which point you can communicate by telegraph.

"The supplies referred to in these instructions are exclusive of those required for your own command.

"The movements of the enemy may justify, or even make it your imperative duty to cut loose from your base and strike for the interior to aid Sherman. In such case, you will act on your own judgment, without waiting for instructions. You will report, however, what you purpose doing. The details for carrying out these instructions are necessarily left to you. I would urge, however, if I did not know that you are already fully alive to the importance of it, prompt action. Sherman may be looked for in the neighborhood of Goldsboro' any time from the 22d to the 28th of February; this limits your time very materially.

"If rolling stock is not secured in the capture of Wilmington, it can be supplied from Washington. A large force of railroad men has already been sent to Beaufort, and other mechanics will go to Fort Fisher in a day or two. On this point I have informed you by telegraph.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General J. M. SCHOFIELD."

Previous to giving these instructions, I had visited Fort Fisher, accompanied by General Schofield, for the purpose of seeing for myself the condition of things, and personally conferring with General Terry and Admiral Porter as to what was best to be done.

SHERMAN ORDERED TO SEND HELP TO MEADE.

Anticipating the arrival of General Sherman at Savannah—his army entirely foot-loose, Hood being then before Nashville, Tennessee, the Southern railroads destroyed, so that it would take several months to re-establish a through line from east to west, and regarding the capture of Lee's army as the most important operation toward closing the rebellion—I sent orders to General Sherman, on the 6th of December, that, after establishing a base on the sea-coast, with necessary garrison, to include all his artillery and cavalry, to come by water to City Point with the balance of his command.

THE ORDER COUNTERMANDED.

On the 18th of December, having received information of the defeat and utter rout of Hood's army by General Thomas, and that, owing to the great

difficulty of procuring ocean transportation, it would take over two months to transport Sherman's army, and doubting whether he might not contribute as much toward the desired result by operating from where he was, I wrote to him to that effect, and asked him for his views as to what would be best to do. A few days after this, I received a communication from General Sherman, of date 16th December, acknowledging receipt of my order of the 6th, and informing me of his preparations to carry it into effect as soon as he could get transportation. Also, that he had expected, upon reducing Savannah, instantly to march to Columbia, South Carolina, thence to Raleigh, and thence to report to me; but that this would consume about six weeks time after the fall of Savannah, whereas by sea he could probably reach me by the middle of January. The confidence he manifested in this letter of being able to march up and join me pleased me, and, without waiting for a reply to my letter of the 18th, I directed him, on the 28th of December, to make preparations to start, as he proposed, without delay, to break up the railroads in North and South Carolina, and join the armies operating against Richmond as soon as he could.

On the 21st of January, I informed General Sherman that I had ordered the Twenty-third Corps, Major-General Schofield commanding, east; that it numbered about twenty-one thousand men; that we had at Fort Fisher about eight thousand men; at Newbern about four thousand; that if Wilmington was captured, General Schofield would go there; if not, he would be sent to Newbern; that, in either event, all the surplus force at both points would move to the interior toward Goldsboro' in co-operation with his movement; that, from either point, railroad communication could be run out; and that all these troops would be subject to his orders as he came into communication with them.

THE CAPTURE OF WILMINGTON.

In obedience to his instructions, General Schofield proceeded to reduce Wilmington, North Carolina, in co-operation with the navy, under Admiral Porter, moving his forces up both sides of the Cape Fear River. Fort Anderson, the enemy's main defense on the west bank of the river, was occupied on the morning of the 19th, the enemy having evacuated it after our appearance before it.

After fighting on the 20th and 21st, our troops entered Wilmington on the morning of the 22d, the enemy having retreated toward Goldsboro' during the night. Preparations were at once made for a movement on Goldsboro' in two columns—one from Wilmington and the other from Newbern—and to repair the railroad leading there from each place, as well as to supply General Sherman by Cape Fear River, toward Fayetteville, if it became necessary. The column from Newbern was attacked on the 8th of March at Wise's Forks, and driven back with the loss of several hundred prisoners. On the 11th, the enemy renewed his attack upon our intrenched position, but was repulsed with severe loss, and fell back during the night. On the 14th, the Neuse River was crossed and Kinston occupied, and on the 21st Goldsboro' was entered. The column from Wil-

mington reached Cox's Bridge, on the Neuse River, ten miles above Goldsboro', on the 22d.

SHERMAN MARCHING NORTH.

By the 1st of February, General Sherman's whole army was in motion from Savannah. He captured Columbia, South Carolina, on the 17th; thence moved on Goldsboro', North Carolina, via Fayetteville, reaching the latter place on the 12th of March, opening up communication with General Schofield by way of Cape Fear River. On the 15th, he resumed his march on Goldsboro'. He met a force of the enemy at Averysboro', and after a severe fight defeated and compelled it to retreat. Our loss in the engagement was about six hundred. The enemy's loss was much greater. On the 18th, the combined forces of the enemy, under Joe Johnston, attacked his advance at Bentonville, capturing three guns and driving it back upon the main body. General Slocum, who was in the advance, ascertaining that the whole of Johnston's army was in the front, arranged his troops on the defensive, intrenched himself, and awaited re-enforcements, which were pushed forward. On the night of the 21st, the enemy retreated to Smithfield, leaving his dead and wounded in our hands. From there Sherman continued to Goldsboro', which place had been occupied by General Schofield on the 21st (crossing the Neuse River ten miles above there, at Cox's Bridge, where General Terry had got possession and thrown a pontoon bridge, on the 22d), thus forming a junction with the columns from Newbern and Wilmington.

Among the important fruits of the campaign was the fall of Charleston, South Carolina. It was evacuated by the enemy on the night of the 17th of February, and occupied by our forces on the 18th.

THE EFFORT TO RELEASE OUR PRISONERS AT SALISBURY.

On the morning of the 31st of January, General Thomas was directed to send a cavalry expedition under General Stoneman from East Tennessee, to penetrate South Carolina well down toward Columbia, to destroy the railroads and military resources of the country, and return, if he was able, to East Tennessee by way of Salisbury, North Carolina, releasing our prisoners there, if possible. Of the feasibility of this latter, however, General Stoneman was to judge. Sherman's movements, I had no doubt, would attract the attention of all the force the enemy could collect, and facilitate the execution of this. General Stoneman was so late in making his start on this expedition (and Sherman having passed out of the State of South Carolina), on the 27th of February, I directed General Thomas to change his course, and ordered him to repeat his raid of last fall, destroying the railroad toward Lynchburg as far as he could. This would keep him between our garrison in East Tennessee and the enemy. I regarded it not impossible that, in the event of the enemy being driven from Richmond, he might fall back to Lynchburg, and attempt a raid north through East Tennes-

see. On the 14th of February, the following communication was sent to General Thomas:

"CITY POINT, VA., *February* 14, 1865.

"General Canby is preparing a movement from Mobile Bay against Mobile and the interior of Alabama. His force will consist of about twenty thousand men, besides A. J. Smith's command. The cavalry you have sent to Canby will be debarked at Vicksburg. It, with the available cavalry already in that section, will move from there eastward, in co-operation. Hood's army has been terribly reduced by the severe punishment you gave it in Tennessee, by desertion consequent upon their defeat, and now by the withdrawal of many of them to oppose Sherman. (I take it, a large portion of the infantry has been so withdrawn. It is so asserted in the Richmond papers, and a member of the rebel Congress said a few days since, in a speech, that one-half of it had been brought to South Carolina to oppose Sherman.) This being true, or even if it is not true, Canby's movement will attract all the attention of the enemy, and leave the advance from your stand-point easy. I think it advisable, therefore, that you prepare as much of a cavalry force as you can spare, and hold it in readiness to go south. The object would be threefold: first, to attract as much of the enemy's force as possible to insure success to Canby; second, to destroy the enemy's line of communications and military resources; third, to destroy or capture their forces brought into the field. Tuscaloosa and Selma would probably be the points to direct the expedition against. This, however, would not be so important as the mere fact of penetrating deep into Alabama. Discretion should be left to the officer commanding the expedition to go where, according to the information he may receive, he will best secure the objects named above.

"Now that your force has been so much depleted, I do not know what number of men you can put into the field. If not more than five thousand men, however, all cavalry, I think it will be sufficient. It is not desirable that you should start this expedition until the one leaving Vicksburg has been three or four days out, or even a week. I do not know when it will start, but will inform you by telegraph as soon as I learn. If you should hear through other sources before hearing from me, you can act on the information received.

"To insure success, your cavalry should go with as little wagon train as possible, relying upon the country for supplies. I would also reduce the number of guns to a battery, or the number of batteries, and put the extra teams to the wagons taken. No guns or caissons should be taken with less than eight horses.

"Please inform me by telegraph, on receipt of this, what force you think you will be able to send under these directions.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General G. H. THOMAS."

On the 15th, he was directed to start the expedition as soon after the 20th as he could get it off.

SHERIDAN AGAIN ON THE RAILROADS.

I deemed it of the utmost importance, before a general movement of the armies operating against Richmond, that all communication with the city, north of James River, should be cut off. The enemy having withdrawn the bulk of his force from the Shenandoah Valley and sent it south, or replaced troops sent from Richmond, and desiring to re-enforce Sherman, if practicable, whose cavalry was greatly inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, I determined to make a move from the Shenandoah, which, if successful, would accomplish the first at least, and possibly the latter of these objects. I therefore telegraphed General Sheridan as follows:—

"City Point, Va., *February* 20, 1865—1 P. M.

"General:—As soon as it is possible to travel, I think you will have no difficulty about reaching Lynchburg with a cavalry force alone. From there you could destroy the railroad and canal in every direction, so as to be of no further use to the rebellion. Sufficient cavalry should be left behind to look after Mosby's gang. From Lynchburg, if information you might get there would justify it, you could strike south, heading the streams in Virginia to the westward of Danville, and push on and join General Sherman. This additional raid, with one now about starting from East Tennessee under Stoneman, numbering four or five thousand cavalry, one from Vicksburg, numbering seven or eight thousand cavalry, one from Eastport, Mississippi, ten thousand cavalry, Canby from Mobile Bay with about thirty-eight thousand mixed troops, these three latter pushing for Tuscaloosa, Selma, and Montgomery, and Sherman with a large army eating out the vitals of South Carolina, is all that will be wanted to leave nothing for the rebellion to stand upon. I would advise you to overcome great obstacles to accomplish this. Charleston was evacuated on Tuesday last.

"U. S. Grant, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General P. H. Sheridan."

On the 25th, I received a dispatch from General Sheridan, inquiring where Sherman was aiming for, and if I could give him definite information as to the points he might be expected to move on this side of Charlotte, North Carolina. In answer, the following telegram was sent him:—

"City Point, Va., *February* 25, 1865.

"General:—Sherman's movements will depend on the amount of opposition he meets with from the enemy. If strongly opposed, he may possibly have to fall back to Georgetown, South Carolina, and fit out for a new start. I think, however, all danger for the necessity of going to that point has passed. I believe he has passed Charlotte. He may take Fayetteville on his way to Goldsboro'. If you reach Lynchburg, you will have to be guided in your after movements by the information you obtain. Before you could possibly reach Sherman, I think you would find him moving from Goldsboro' toward Raleigh, or engaging the enemy strongly posted at one

or the other of these places, with railroad communications opened from his army to Wilmington or Newbern.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General P. H. SHERIDAN."

EXTENT OF SHERIDAN'S WORK.

Gen. Sheridan moved from Winchester on the 27th of February, with two divisions of cavalry, numbering about five thousand each. On the 1st of March he secured the bridge, which the enemy attempted to destroy, across the middle fork of the Shenandoah, at Mount Crawford, and entered Staunton on the 2d, the enemy having retreated to Waynesboro'. Thence he pushed on to Waynesboro', where he found the enemy in force in an intrenched position, under General Early. Without stopping to make a reconnoissance, an immediate attack was made, the position was carried, and one thousand six hundred prisoners, eleven pieces of artillery, with horses and caissons complete, two hundred wagons and teams loaded with subsistence, and seventeen battle flags were captured. The prisoners, under an escort of one thousand five hundred men, were sent back to Winchester. Thence he marched on Charlottesville, destroying effectually the railroad and bridges as he went, which place he reached on the 3d. Here he remained two days, destroying the railroad toward Richmond and Lynchburg, including the large iron bridges over the north and south forks of the Rivanna River, and awaiting the arrival of his trains. This necessary delay caused him to abandon the idea of capturing Lynchburg. On the morning of the 6th, dividing his force into two columns, he sent one to Scottsville, whence it marched up the James River Canal to New-Market, destroying every lock, and in many places the bank of the canal. From here a force was pushed out from this column to Duiguidsville, to obtain possession of the bridge across the James River at that place, but failed. The enemy burned it on our approach. The enemy also burned the bridge across the river at Hardwicksville. The other column moved down the railroad toward Lynchburg, destroying it as far as Amherst Court-House, sixteen miles from Lynchburg; thence across the country, uniting with the column at New-Market. The river being very high, his pontoons would not reach across it; and the enemy having destroyed the bridges by which he had hoped to cross the river and get on the South Side Railroad about Farmville, and destroy it to Appomattox Court-House, the only thing left for him was to return to Winchester or strike a base at the White House. Fortunately, he chose the latter. From New-Market he took up his line of march, following the canal toward Richmond, destroying every lock upon it and cutting the banks wherever practicable, to a point eight miles east of Goochland, concentrating the whole force at Columbia on the 10th. Here he rested one day, and sent through by scouts information of his whereabouts and purposes, and a request for supplies to meet him at White House, which reached me on the night of the 12th. An infantry force was immediately sent to get possession of White House, and supplies were forwarded. Moving from Columbia in a direction to threaten Richmond, to near Ash-

land Station, he crossed the Annas, and, after having destroyed all the bridges and many miles of the railroad, proceeded down the north bank of the Pamunkey to White House, which place he reached on the 19th.

Previous to this, the following communication was sent to General Thomas:—

"CITY POINT, VA., *March* 7, 1865—9:30 A. M.

"GENERAL:—I think it will be advisable now for you to repair the railroad in East Tennessee, and throw a good force up to Bull's Gap and fortify there. Supplies at Knoxville could always be got forward as required. With Bull's Gap fortified, you can occupy as outposts about all of East Tennessee, and be prepared, if it should be required of you in the Spring, to make a campaign toward Lynchburg, or into North Carolina. I do not think Stoneman should break the road until he gets into Virginia, unless it should be to cut off rolling stock that may be caught west of that.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General G. H. THOMAS."

THE SITUATION IN MARCH, 1865.

Thus it will be seen that in March, 1865, General Canby was moving an adequate force against Mobile and the army defending it under General Dick Taylor; Thomas was pushing out two large and well-appointed cavalry expeditions—one from Middle Tennessee, under Brevet Major-General Wilson, against the enemy's vital points in Alabama, the other from East Tennessee, under Major-General Stoneman, toward Lynchburg—and assembling the remainder of his available forces, preparatory to offensive operations from East Tennessee; General Sheridan's cavalry was at the White House; the Armies of the Potomac and James were confronting the enemy under Lee in his defenses of Richmond and Petersburg; General Sherman, with his armies, re-enforced by that of General Schofield, was at Goldsboro'; General Pope was making preparations for a Spring campaign against the enemy under Kirby Smith and General Price, west of the Mississippi; and General Hancock was concentrating a force in the vicinity of Winchester, Virginia, to guard against invasion or to operate offensively, as might prove necessary.

After the long march by General Sheridan's cavalry over Winter roads, it was necessary to rest and refit at White House. At this time, the greatest source of uneasiness to me was, the fear that the enemy would leave his strong lines about Petersburg and Richmond for the purpose of uniting with Johnston, before he was driven from them by battle, or I was prepared to make an effectual pursuit. On the 24th of March, General Sheridan moved from White House, crossed the James River at Jones's Landing, and formed a junction with the Army of the Potomac in front of Petersburg on the 27th. During this move, General Ord sent forces over to cover the crossings of the Chickahominy.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR A GENERAL MOVEMENT.

On the 24th of March, the following instructions for a general movement of the armies operating against Richmond were issued:—

"CITY POINT, VA., *March* 24, 1865.

"GENERAL:—On the 29th instant, the armies operating against Richmond will be moved by our left for the double purpose of turning the enemy out of his present position around Petersburg, and to insure the success of the cavalry under General Sheridan, which will start at the same time, in its efforts to reach and destroy the South Side and Danville Railroads. Two corps of the Army of the Potomac will be moved at first in two columns, taking the two roads crossing Hatcher's Run nearest where the present line held by us strikes that stream, both moving toward Dinwiddie Court-House.

"The cavalry, under General Sheridan, joined by the division now under General Davies, will move at the same time by the Weldon road and the Jerusalem plank-road, turning west from the latter before crossing the Nottoway, and west with the whole column before reaching Stony Creek. General Sheridan will then move independently, under other instructions which will be given him. All dismounted cavalry belonging to the Army of the Potomac, and the dismounted cavalry from the Middle Military Division not required for guarding property belonging to their arm of service, will report to Brigadier-General Benham, to be added to the defenses of City Point. Major-General Parke will be left in command of all the army left for holding the lines about Petersburg and City Point, subject, of course, to orders from the commander of the Army of the Potomac. The Ninth Army Corps will be left intact, to hold the present line of works so long as the whole line now occupied by us is held. If, however, the troops to the left of the Ninth Corps are withdrawn, then the left of the corps may be thrown back so as to occupy the position held by the army prior to the capture of the Weldon road. All troops to the left of the Ninth Corps will be held in readiness to move at the shortest notice by such route as may be designated when the order is given.

"General Ord will detach three divisions, two white and one colored, or so much of them as he can, and hold his present lines, and march for the present left of the Army of the Potomac. In the absence of further orders, or until further orders are given, the white divisions will follow the left column of the Army of the Potomac, and the colored division the right column. During the movement, Major-General Weitzel will be left in command of all the forces remaining behind from the Army of the James.

"The movement of troops from the Army of the James will commence on the night of the 27th instant. General Ord will leave behind the minimum number of cavalry necessary for picket duty, in the absence of the main army. A cavalry expedition from General Ord's command will also be started from Suffolk, to leave there on Saturday, the 1st of April, under Colonel Sumner, for the purpose of cutting the railroad about Hicksford. This, if accomplished, will have to be a surprise, and therefore from three to five hundred men will be sufficient. They should, however, be supported by all the infantry that can be spared from Norfolk and Portsmouth, as far out as to where the cavalry crosses the Blackwater. The crossing should probably be at Uniten. Should Colonel Sumner succeed in reaching the

Weldon road, he will be instructed to do all the damage possible to the triangle of roads between Hicksford, Weldon, and Gaston. The railroad bridge at Weldon being fitted up for the passage of carriages, it might be practicable to destroy any accumulation of supplies the enemy may have collected south of the Roanoke. All the troops will move with four days' rations in haversacks, and eight days' in wagons. To avoid as much hauling as possible, and to give the Army of the James the same number of days' supply with the Army of the Potomac, General Ord will direct his commissary and quartermaster to have sufficient supplies delivered at the terminus of the road to fill up in passing. Sixty rounds of ammunition per man will be taken in wagons, and as much grain as the transportation on hand will carry, after taking the specified amount of other supplies. The densely wooded country in which the army has to operate making the use of much artillery impracticable, the amount taken with the army will be reduced to six or eight guns to each division, at the option of the army commander.

"All necessary preparations for carrying these directions into operation may be commenced at once. The reserves of the Ninth Corps should be massed as much as possible. Whilst I would not now order an unconditional attack on the enemy's line by them, they should be ready, and should make the attack if the enemy weakens his line in their front, without waiting for orders. In case they carry the line, then the whole of the Ninth Corps could follow up, so as to join or co-operate with the balance of the army. To prepare for this, the Ninth Corps will have rations issued to them, same as the balance of the army. General Weitzel will keep vigilant watch upon his front, and if found at all practicable to break through at any point, he will do so. A success north of the James should be followed up with great promptness. An attack will not be feasible unless it is found that the enemy has detached largely. In that case it may be regarded as evident that the enemy is relying upon his local reserves, principally, for the defense of Richmond. Preparations may be made for abandoning all the line north of the James, except inclosed works—only to be abandoned, however, after a break is made in the lines of the enemy.

"By these instructions, a large part of the armies operating against Richmond is left behind. The enemy, knowing this, may, as an only chance, strip his lines to the merest skeleton, in the hope of advantage not being taken of it, while he hurls every thing against the moving column, and returns. It cannot be impressed too strongly upon commanders of troops left in the trenches, not to allow this to occur without taking advantage of it. The very fact of the enemy coming out to attack, if he does so, might be regarded as almost conclusive evidence of such a weakening of his lines. I would have it particularly enjoined upon corps commanders that, in case of an attack from the enemy, those not attacked are not to wait for orders from the commanding officer of the army to which they belong, but that they will move promptly, and notify the commander of their action. I would also enjoin the same action on the part of division commanders,

when other parts of their corps are engaged. In like manner, I would urge the importance of following up a repulse of the enemy.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-Generals MEADE, ORD, and SHERIDAN."

THE BATTLE OF THE 25TH OF MARCH.

Early on the morning of the 25th, the enemy assaulted our lines in front of the Ninth Corps (which held from the Appomattox River toward our left) and carried Fort Steadman, and a part of the line to the right and left of it, established themselves, and turned the guns of the fort against us; but our troops on either flank held their ground until the reserves were brought up, when the enemy was driven back with a heavy loss in killed and wounded, and one thousand nine hundred prisoners. Our loss was sixty-eight killed, three hundred and thirty-seven wounded, and five hundred and six missing. General Meade at once ordered the other corps to advance and feel the enemy in their respective fronts. Pushing forward, they captured and held the enemy's strongly intrenched picket line in front of the Second and Sixth Corps, and eight hundred and thirty-four prisoners. The enemy made desperate attempts to retake this line, but without success. Our loss in front of these was fifty-two killed, eight hundred and sixty-four wounded, and two hundred and seven missing. The enemy's loss in killed and wounded was far greater.

SHERMAN READY TO COME TO MEADE'S ASSISTANCE.

General Sherman, having got his troops all quietly in camp about Goldsboro', and his preparations for furnishing supplies to them perfected, visited me at City Point, on the 27th of March, and stated that he would be ready to move, as he had previously written me, by the 10th of April, fully equipped and rationed for twenty days, if it should become necessary to bring his command to bear against Lee's army, in co-operation with our forces in front of Richmond and Petersburg. General Sherman proposed, in this movement, to threaten Raleigh, and then, by turning suddenly to the right, reach the Roanoke at Gaston or thereabouts, whence he could move on to the Richmond and Danville Railroad, striking it in the vicinity of Burkesville, or join the armies operating against Richmond, as might be deemed best. This plan he was directed to carry into execution, if he received no further directions in the mean time. I explained to him the movement I had ordered to commence on the 29th of March. That if it should not prove as entirely successful as I hoped, I would cut the cavalry loose to destroy the Danville and South Side Railroads, and thus deprive the enemy of further supplies, and, also, prevent the rapid concentration of Lee's and Johnston's armies.

GRANT FEARS THAT LEE WILL RUN AWAY, AND ORDERS THE GRAND MOVEMENT AT ONCE.

I had spent days of anxiety lest each morning should bring the report that the enemy had retreated the night before. I was firmly convinced that

Sherman's crossing the Roanoke would be the signal for Lee to leave. With Johnston and him combined, a long, tedious, and expensive campaign, consuming most of the Summer, might become necessary. By moving out, I would put the army in better condition for pursuit, and would, at least, by the destruction of the Danville road, retard the concentration of the two armies of Lee and Johnston, and cause the enemy to abandon much material that he might otherwise save. I therefore determined not to delay the movement ordered.

On the night of the 27th, Major-General Ord, with two divisions of the Twenty-fourth Corps, Major-General Gibbon commanding, and one division of the Twenty-fifth Corps, Brigadier-General Birney commanding, and McKenzie's cavalry, took up his line of march in pursuance of the foregoing instructions, and reached the position assigned him, near Hatcher's Run, on the morning of the 29th. On the 28th, the following instructions were given to General Sheridan:—

"CITY POINT, VA., *March* 28, 1865.

"GENERAL:—The Fifth Army Corps will move by the Vaughn road at three A. M., to-morrow morning. The Second moves at about nine A. M., having but about three miles to march to reach the point designated for it to take on the right of the Fifth Corps, after the latter reaching Dinwiddie Court-House. Move your cavalry at as early an hour as you can, and without being confined to any particular road or roads. You may go out by the nearest roads in rear of the Fifth Corps, pass by its left, and, passing near to or through Dinwiddie, reach the right and rear of the enemy as soon as you can. It is not the intention to attack the enemy in his intrenched position, but to force him out, if possible. Should he come out and attack us, or get himself where he can be attacked, move in with your entire force in your own way, and with the full reliance that the army will engage or follow, as circumstances will dictate. I shall be on the field, and will probably be able to communicate with you. Should I not do so, and you find that the enemy keeps within his main intrenched line, you may cut loose and push for the Danville road. If you find it practicable, I would like you to cross the South Side road, between Petersburg and Burkesville, and destroy it to some extent. I would not advise much detention, however, until you reach the Danville road, which I would like you to strike as near to the Appomattox as possible. Make your destruction on that road as complete as possible. You can then pass on to the South Side road, west of Burkesville, and destroy that, in like manner.

"After having accomplished the destruction of the two railroads, which are now the only avenues of supply to Lee's army, you may return to this army, selecting your road further south, or you may go on into North Carolina, and join General Sherman. Should you select the latter course, get the information to me as early as possible, so that I may send orders to meet you at Goldsboro'.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General P. H. SHERIDAN."

BEGINNING OF THE END.

On the morning of the 29th, the movement commenced. At night, the cavalry was at Dinwiddie Court-House, and the left of our infantry line extended to the Quaker road, near its intersection with the Boydtown plank-road. The position of the troops from left to right was as follows:

Sheridan, Warren, Humphreys, Ord, Wright, Parke.

Every thing looked favorable to the defeat of the enemy, and the capture of Petersburg and Richmond, if the proper effort was made. I therefore addressed the following communication to General Sheridan, having previously informed him verbally not to cut loose for the raid contemplated in his orders until he received notice from me to do so:—

"GRAVELLY CREEK, *March* 29, 1865.

"GENERAL:—Our line is now unbroken from the Appomattox to Dinwiddie. We are all ready, however, to give up all, from the Jerusalem plank-road to Hatcher's Run, whenever the forces can be used advantageously. After getting into line south of Hatcher's, we pushed forward to find the enemy's position. General Griffin was attacked near where the Quaker road intersects the Boydtown road, but repulsed it easily, capturing about one hundred men. Humphreys reached Dabney's Mill, and was pushing on when last heard from.

"I now feel like ending the matter, if it is possible to do so, before going back. I do not want you, therefore, to cut loose and go after the enemy's roads at present. In the morning, push around the enemy, if you can, and get on to his right rear. The movements of the enemy's cavalry may, of course, modify your action. We will act all together, as one army, here, until it is seen what can be done with the enemy. The signal officer at Cobb's Hill reported, at 11:30 A. M., that a cavalry column had passed that point from Richmond toward Petersburg, taking forty minutes to pass.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General P. H. SHERIDAN."

HEAVY RAIN-STORM AS USUAL—PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

From the night of the 29th to the morning of the 31st, the rain fell in such torrents as to make it impossible to move a wheeled vehicle, except as corduroy roads were laid in front of them. During the 30th, Sheridan advanced from Dinwiddie Court-House toward Five Forks, where he found the enemy in force. General Warren advanced and extended his line across the Boydtown plank-road to near the White Oak road, with a view of getting across the latter; but finding the enemy strong in his front and extending beyond his left, was directed to hold on where he was and fortify. General Humphreys drove the enemy from his front into his main line on the Hatcher, near Burgess's Mills. Generals Ord, Wright and Parke made examinations in their fronts to determine the feasibility of an assault on the enemy's lines. The two latter reported favorably. The enemy confronting us, as he did at every point from Richmond to our extreme left,

I conceived his lines must be weakly held, and could be penetrated if my estimate of his forces was correct. I determined, therefore, to extend my line no further, but to re-enforce General Sheridan with a corps of infantry, and thus enable him to cut loose and turn the enemy's right flank, and with the other corps assault the enemy's lines. The result of the offensive effort of the enemy the week before, when he assaulted Fort Steadman, particularly favored this. The enemy's intrenched picket line, captured by us at that time, threw the lines occupied by the belligerents so close together at some points, that it was but a moment's run from one to the other. Preparations were at once made to relieve General Humphreys's corps, to report to General Sheridan; but the condition of the roads prevented immediate movement. On the morning of the 31st, General Warren reported favorably to getting possession of the White Oak road, and was directed to do so. To accomplish this, he moved with one division, instead of his whole corps, which was attacked by the enemy in superior force and driven back on the second division before it had time to form, and it, in turn, forced back upon the third division, when the enemy was checked. A division of the Second Corps was immediately sent to his support, the enemy driven back with heavy loss, and possession of White Oak road gained. Sheridan advanced, and with a portion of his cavalry got possession of the Five Forks, but the enemy, after the affair with the Fifth Corps, re-enforced the rebel cavalry, defending that point with infantry, and forced him back toward Dinwiddie Court-House. Here General Sheridan displayed great generalship. Instead of retreating with his whole command on the main army, to tell the story of superior forces encountered, he deployed his cavalry on foot, leaving only mounted men enough to take charge of the horses. This compelled the enemy to deploy over a vast extent of woods and broken country, and made his progress slow. At this juncture he dispatched to me what had taken place, and that he was dropping back slowly on Dinwiddie Court-House. General McKenzie's cavalry and one division of the Fifth Corps were immediately ordered to his assistance. Soon after receiving a report from General Meade that Humphreys could hold our position on the Boydtown road, and that the other two divisions of the Fifth Corps could go to Sheridan, they were so ordered at once. Thus the operations of the day necessitated the sending of Warren because of his accessibility, instead of Humphreys, as was intended, and precipitated intended movements. On the morning of the 1st of April, General Sheridan, re-enforced by General Warren, drove the enemy back on Five Forks, where, late in the evening, he assaulted and carried his strongly fortified position, capturing all his artillery and between five thousand and six thousand prisoners. About the close of this battle, Brevet Major-General Charles Griffin relieved Major-General Warren in command of the Fifth Corps. The report of this reached me after nightfall. Some apprehensions filled my mind lest the enemy might desert his lines during the night, and, by falling upon General Sheridan before assistance could reach him, drive him from his position, and open the way for retreat. To guard against this, General Miles's division of Humphreys' corps was sent to re-

enforce him, and a bombardment was commenced and kept up until four o'clock in the morning (April 2d), when an assault was ordered on the enemy's lines. General Wright penetrated the lines with his whole corps, sweeping every thing before him and to his left toward Hatcher's Run, capturing many guns and several thousand prisoners. He was closely followed by two divisions of General Ord's command, until he met the other division of General Ord's that had succeeded in forcing the enemy's lines near Hatcher's Run. Generals Wright and Ord immediately swung to the right, and closed all the enemy on that side of them in Petersburg, while General Humphreys pushed forward with two divisions and joined General Wright on the left. General Parke succeeded in carrying the enemy's main line, capturing guns and prisoners, but was unable to carry his inner line. General Sheridan, being advised of the condition of affairs, returned General Miles to his proper command. On reaching the enemy's lines immediately surrounding Petersburg, a portion of General Gibbon's corps, by a most gallant charge, captured two strong, inclosed works—the most salient and commanding south of Petersburg—thus materially shortening the line of investment necessary for taking the city. The enemy south of Hatcher's Run retreated westward to Sutherland's Station, where they were overtaken by Miles's division. A severe engagement ensued, and lasted until both his right and left flanks were threatened by the approach of General Sheridan, who was moving from Ford's Station toward Petersburg, and a division sent by General Meade from the front of Petersburg, when he broke in the utmost confusion, leaving in our hands his guns and many prisoners. This force retreated by the main road along the Appomattox River.

THE FLIGHT OF LEE FROM RICHMOND.

During the night of the 2d, the enemy evacuated Petersburg and Richmond, and retreated toward Danville. On the morning of the 3d, pursuit was commenced. General Sheridan pushed for the Danville road, keeping near the Appomattox, followed by General Meade, with the Second and Sixth Corps, while General Ord moved from Burkesville, along the South Side road; the Ninth Corps stretched along that road behind him. On the 4th, General Sheridan struck the Danville road, near Jettersville, where he learned that Lee was at Amelia Court-House. He immediately intrenched himself, and awaited the arrival of General Meade, who reached there the next day. General Ord reached Burkesville on the evening of the 5th.

On the morning of the 5th, I addressed Major-General Sherman the following communication:—

"WILSON'S STATION, *April* 5, 1865.

"GENERAL:—All indications now are that Lee will attempt to reach Danville with the remnant of his force. Sheridan, who was up with him last night, reports all that is left—horse, foot, and dragoons—at twenty

thousand, much demoralized. We hope to reduce this number one-half. I shall push on to Burkesville, and, if a stand is made at Danville, will in a very few days go there. If you can possibly do so, push on from where you are, and let us see if we cannot finish the job with Lee's and Johnston's armies. Whether it will be better for you to strike for Greensboro' or nearer to Danville, you will be better able to judge when you receive this. Rebel armies now are the only strategic points to strike at.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"Major-General W. T. SHERMAN."

On the morning of the 6th, it was found that General Lee was moving west of Jettersville, toward Danville. General Sheridan moved with his cavalry (the Fifth Corps having been returned to General Meade on his reaching Jettersville) to strike his flank, followed by the Sixth Corps, while the Second and Fifth Corps pressed hard after, forcing him to abandon several hundred wagons, and several pieces of artillery. General Ord advanced from Burkesville toward Farmville, sending two regiments of infantry, and a squadron of cavalry, under Brevet Brigadier-General Theodore Read, to reach and destroy the bridges. This advance met the head of Lee's column near Farmville, which it heroically attacked, and detained until General Read was killed, and his small force overpowered. This caused a delay in the enemy's movements, and enabled General Ord to get well up with the remainder of his force, on meeting which the enemy immediately intrenched himself. In the afternoon General Sheridan struck the enemy south of Sailor's Creek, captured sixteen pieces of artillery, and about four hundred wagons, and detained him until the Sixth Corps got up, when a general attack of infantry and cavalry was made, which resulted in the capture of six thousand or seven thousand prisoners, among whom were many general officers. The movements of the Second Corps, and General Ord's command, contributed greatly to the day's success.

On the morning of the 7th, the pursuit was renewed, the cavalry, except one division, and the Fifth Corps, moving by Prince Edward's Court-House; the Sixth Corps, General Ord's command, and one division of cavalry, on Farmville, and the Second Corps by the High Bridge road. It was soon found that the enemy had crossed to the north side of the Appomattox; but so close was the pursuit that the Second Corps got possession of the common bridge at High Bridge before the enemy could destroy it, and immediately crossed over. The Sixth Corps and a division of cavalry crossed at Farmville to its support.

NEGOTIATIONS OPENED FOR LEE'S SURRENDER.

Feeling now that General Lee's chance of escape was utterly hopeless, I addressed him the following communication from Farmville:—

"*April* 7, 1865.

"GENERAL:—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the army of Northern

Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"General R. E. LEE."

Early on the morning of the 8th, before leaving, I received at Farmville the following:—

"GENERAL:—I have received your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

"R. E. LEE, General.

"Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT."

To this I immediately replied:—

"*April* 8, 1865.

"GENERAL:—Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of the same date, asking the condition on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply, I would say that peace being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon, namely: that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"General R. E. LEE."

Early on the morning of the 8th, the pursuit was resumed. General Meade followed north of the Appomattox, and General Sheridan, with all the cavalry, pushed straight for Appomattox Station, followed by General Ord's command and the Fifth Corps. During the day, General Meade's advance had considerable fighting with the enemy's rear-guard, but was unable to bring on a general engagement. Late in the evening, General Sheridan struck the railroad at Appomattox Station, drove the enemy from there, and captured twenty-five pieces of artillery, a hospital train, and four trains of cars loaded with supplies for Lee's army. During this day I accompanied General Meade's column, and about midnight received the following communication from General Lee:—

"*April* 8, 1865.

"GENERAL:—I received at a late hour your note of to-day. In mine of yesterday, I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do

not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army; but, as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desired to know whether your proposals would lead to that end. I cannot, therefore, meet you with a view to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia, but as far as your proposal may affect the Confederate States forces under my command, and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at ten A. M. to-morrow, on the old stage road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies.

"R. E. LEE, General

"Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT."

Early on the morning of the 9th, I returned him an answer as follows, and immediately started to join the column south of the Appomattox:—

"*April* 9, 1865.

"GENERAL:—Your note of yesterday is received. I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace; the meeting proposed for ten A. M. to-day could lead to no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertains the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms, they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed. Seriously hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, &c.,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"General R. E. LEE."

On the morning of the 9th, General Ord's command and the Fifth Corps reached Appomattox Station just as the enemy was making a desperate effort to break through our cavalry. The infantry was at once thrown in. Soon after a white flag was received, requesting a suspension of hostilities pending negotiations of surrender.

Before reaching General Sheridan's head-quarters, I received the following from General Lee:—

"*April* 9, 1865.

"GENERAL:—I received your note of this morning on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you, and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday with reference to the surrender of this army. I now ask an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday for that purpose.

"R. E. LEE, General.

"Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT."

MEETING OF GRANT AND LEE—THE SURRENDR.

The interview was held at Appomattox Court-House, the result of which is set forth in the following correspondence:—

"APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, VA., *April* 9, 1865.

"GENERAL:—In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: Rolls of all the officers and men

to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual parole not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant- General.

"General R. E. LEE."

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, *April* 9, 1865.

"GENERAL:—I received your letter of this date containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia as proposed by you. As they are substantially the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect. "R. E. LEE, General.

"Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT."

The command of Major-General Gibbon, the Fifth Army Corps under Griffin, and McKenzie's cavalry, were designated to remain at Appomattox Court-House until the paroling of the surrendered army was completed, and to take charge of the public property. The remainder of the army immediately returned to the vicinity of Burkesville.

General Lee's great influence throughout the whole South caused his example to be followed, and to-day the result is that the armies lately under his leadership are at their homes, desiring peace and quiet, and their arms are in the hands of our ordnance officers.

SHERMAN'S DEALINGS WITH JOHNSON.

On the receipt of my letter of the 5th, General Sherman moved directly against Joe Johnston, who retreated rapidly on and through Raleigh, which place General Sherman occupied on the morning of the 13th. The day preceding, news of the surrender of General Lee reached him at Smithfield.

On the 14th, a correspondence was opened between General Johnston, which resulted, on the 18th, in an agreement for a suspension of hostilities, and a memorandum or basis for peace, subject to the approval of the President. This agreement was disapproved by the President on the 21st, which disapproval, with your instructions, was communicated to General Sherman by me in person, on the morning of the 24th, at Raleigh, North Carolina, in obedience to your orders. Notice was at once given by him to General Johnston for the termination of the truce that had been entered into. On the 25th, another meeting between them was agreed upon, to

take place on the 26th, which terminated in the surrender and disbandment of General Johnston's army upon substantially the same terms as were given to General Lee.

GENERAL STONEMAN'S OPERATIONS.

The expedition under General Stoneman from East Tennessee got off on the 20th of March, moving by way of Boone, North Carolina, and struck the railroad at Wytheville, Chambersburgh, and Big Lick. The force striking it at Big Lick pushed on to within a few miles of Lynchburg, destroying the important bridges, while with the main force he effectually destroyed it between New River and Big Lick, and then turned for Greensborough on the North Carolina Railroad; struck that road and destroyed the bridges between Danville and Greensborough, and between Greensborough and the Yadkin, together with the dépôts of supplies along it, and captured four hundred prisoners. At Salisbury he attacked and defeated a force of the enemy under General Gardner, capturing fourteen pieces of artillery and one thousand three hundred and sixty-four prisoners, and destroyed large amounts of army stores. At this place he destroyed fifteen miles of railroad and the bridges toward Charlotte. Thence he moved to Slatersville.

THE CAPTURE OF MOBILE.

General Canby, who had been directed in January to make preparations for a movement from Mobile Bay against Mobile and the interior of Alabama, commenced his movement on the 20th of March. The Sixteenth Corps, Major-General A. J. Smith commanding, moved from Fort Gaines by water to Fish River; the Thirteenth Corps, under Major-General Gordon Granger, moved from Fort Morgan and joined the Sixteenth Corps on Fish River, both moving thence on Spanish Fort, and investing it on the 27th; while Major-General Steele's command moved from Pensacola, cut the railroad leading from Tensas to Montgomery, effected a junction with them, and partially invested Fort Blakely. After a severe bombardment of Spanish Fort, a part of its line was carried on the 8th of April. During the night the enemy evacuated the fort. Fort Blakely was carried by assault on the 9th, and many prisoners captured; our loss was considerable. These successes practically opened to us the Alabama River, and enabled us to approach Mobile from the north. On the night of the 11th, the city was evacuated, and was taken possession of by our forces on the morning of the 12th.

WILSON'S WORK IN ALABAMA.

The expedition under command of Brevet Major-General Wilson, consisting of twelve thousand five hundred mounted men, was delayed by rains until March 21, when it moved from Chickasaw, Alabama. On the 1st of April, General Wilson encountered the enemy in force, under Forrest, near Ebenezer Church, drove him in confusion, captured three hundred prisoners and three guns, and destroyed the central bridge over the Cahawba River. On

the 2d, he attacked and captured the fortified city of Selma, defended by Forrest with seven thousand men and thirty-two guns, destroyed the arsenal, armory, naval foundery, machine shops, vast quantities of stores, and captured three thousand prisoners. On the 4th he captured and destroyed Tuscaloosa. On the 10th, he crossed the Alabama River, and, after sending information of his operations to General Canby, marched on Montgomery, which place he occupied on the 14th, the enemy having abandoned it. At this place many stores and five steamboats fell into our hands. Thence a force marched direct on Columbus, and another on West Point, both of which places were assaulted and captured on the 16th. At the former place we got fifteen hundred prisoners and fifty-two field guns, destroyed two gunboats, the navy-yard, founderies, arsenal, many factories, and much other public property. At the latter place we got three hundred prisoners, four guns, and destroyed nineteen locomotives and three hundred cars. On the 20th, he took possession of Macon, Georgia, with sixty field guns, twelve hundred militia and five generals surrendered by General Howell Cobb. General Wilson, hearing that Jeff. Davis was trying to make his escape, sent forces in pursuit, and succeeded in capturing him on the morning of May 11.

DICK TAYLOR SURRENDERS—KIRBY SMITH'S BAD FAITH.

On the 4th day of May, General Dick Taylor surrendered to General Canby all the remaining rebel forces east of the Mississippi. A force sufficient to insure an easy triumph over the enemy under Kirby Smith, west of the Mississippi, was immediately put in motion for Texas, and Major-General Sheridan designated for its immediate command; but, on the 26th day of May, and before they reached their destination, General Kirby Smith surrendered his entire command to Major-General Canby. This surrender did not take place, however, until after the capture of the rebel President and Vice-President, and the bad faith was exhibited of first disbanding most of his army, and permitting an indiscriminate plunder of public property.

THE MEXICAN BORDER.

Owing to the report that many of those lately in arms against the Government had taken refuge upon the soil of Mexico, carrying with them arms rightfully belonging to the United States, which had been surrendered to us by agreement—among them some of the leaders who had surrendered in person—and the disturbed condition of affairs on the Rio Grande, the orders for troops to proceed to Texas were not changed.

There have been severe combats, raids, expeditions, and movements, to defeat the designs and purposes of the enemy, most of them reflecting great credit on our arms, and which contributed greatly to our final triumph, that I have not mentioned. Many of these will be found clearly set forth in the reports herewith submitted; some in the telegrams and brief dispatches announcing them, and others, I regret to say, have not as yet been officially reported.

For information touching our Indian difficulties, I would respectfully refer to the reports of the commanders of departments in which they have occurred.

THE VALOR OF OUR ARMIES.

It has been my fortune to see the armies of both the West and the East fight battles, and from what I have seen I know there is no difference in their fighting qualities. All that it was possible for men to do in battle, they have done. The Western armies commenced their battles in the Mississippi Valley, and received the final surrender of the remnant of the principal army opposed to them in North Carolina. The armies of the East commenced their battles on the river from which the Army of the Potomac derived its name, and received the final surrender of their old antagonist at Appomattox Court-House, Virginia. The splendid achievements of each have nationalized our victories, removed all sectional jealousies (of which we have unfortunately experienced too much), and the cause of crimination and recrimination that might have followed had either section failed in its duty. All have a proud record, and all sections can well congratulate themselves and each other for having done their full share in restoring the supremacy of law over every foot of territory belonging to the United States. Let them hope for perpetual peace and harmony with that enemy, whose manhood, however mistaken the cause, drew forth such herculean deeds of valor.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONCLUSION.

The Friendship of Grant and Sherman.—General Grant's Tour in the Southern States.—Grant's Reply to General Lee's Application for Pardon.—Grant appointed General of the Army.—The Military Districts.—Appointed Secretary of War *ad interim*.—Grant's Protest against Removal of Sheridan and others.—Correspondence with the President.—Nomination by States for the Presidency.

NOTHING can be more striking or admirable than the cordial friendship which has prevailed between Generals Grant and Sherman throughout the war. The following correspondence, which occurred over three years ago, though it now comes to light through a recently published volume of the Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, is interesting as an illustration of their relations :—

(PRIVATE.)

NASHVILLE, TENN., *March* 4, 1864.

DEAR SHERMAN :—The bill reviving the grade of Lieutenant-General in the army has become a law, and my name has been sent to the Senate for the place. I now receive orders to report to Washington immediately in person, which indicates either a confirmation, or a likelihood of confirmation. I start in the morning to comply with the order, but I shall say very distinctly on my arrival there, that I accept no appointment which will require me to make that city my head-quarters. This, however, is not what I started out to write about. While I have been eminently successful in this war, in at least the confidence of the public, no one feels more than me how much of this success is due to the energy, skill, and harmonious putting forth of that energy and skill, of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying a subordinate position under me. There are many officers to whom these remarks are applicable in a greater or le[illegible] degree, proportionate to their ability as soldiers. But what I want is to express my thanks to you and McPherson, as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success. How far your advice and suggestions have been of assistance, you know. How far your execution of whatever has been given you to do entitles you to the reward I am receiving, you cannot know as well as me. I feel all the gratitude this letter would express, giving it the most flattering construction. The word "you" I use in the plural, meaning it for McPherson also. I should write to him, and will some day; but, starting in the morning, I do not know that I will find time just now.

Your friend,

U. S. GRANT, Major-General.

(PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL.)

NEAR MEMPHIS, *March* 10, 1864.

DEAR GENERAL:—I have your more than kind and characteristic letter of the 4th. I will send a copy to General McPherson at once. You do yourself injustice and us too much honor in assigning to us so large a share of the merits which have led to your high advancement. I know you approve the friendship I have ever confessed to you, and will permit me to continue, as heretofore, to manifest it on all proper occasions. You are now Washington's legitimate successor, and occupy a place of almost dangerous elevation. But if you continue, as heretofore, to be yourself—simple, honest, and unpretending—you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends, and the homage of millions of human beings, that will award you a larger share in securing to them and their descendants a government of law and stability. I repeat, you do General McPherson and myself too much honor. At Belmont you manifested your traits; neither of us being near. At Fort Donelson, also, you illustrated your whole character. I was not near, and General McPherson in too subordinate a capacity to influence you. Until you had won Donelson, I confess I was almost cowed by the terrible array of anarchal elements that presented themselves at every point; but that admitted the ray of light which I have followed since. I believe you are as brave, patriotic, and just, as the great prototype, Washington; as unselfish, kind-hearted, and honest, as a man should be; but your chief characteristic is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in his Saviour. This faith gave you victory at Shiloh and Vicksburg. Also, when you have completed your best preparations you go into battle without hesitation, as at Chattanooga—no doubts, no reserves, and I tell you it was this that made us act with confidence. I knew, wherever I was, that you thought of me, and if I got in a tight place you would come, if alive. My only points of doubt were in your knowledge of grand strategy and books of science and history; but I confess your common sense seems to have supplied all these. Now, as to the future. Don't stay in Washington. Halleck is better qualified than you to stand the buffets of intrigue and policy. Come West. Take to yourself the whole Mississippi Valley. Let us make it dead sure, and I tell you the Atlantic slopes and Pacific shores will follow its destiny as sure as the limbs of a tree live or die with the main trunk. We have done much, but still much remains. Time and time's influence are with us. We could almost afford to sit still and let these influences work. Even in the seceded States your word now would go further than a President's proclamation or an Act of Congress. For God's sake and your country's sake, come out of Washington. I foretold to General Halleck, before he left Corinth, the inevitable result; and I now exhort you to come out West. Here lies the seat of the coming empire, and from the West, when our task is done, we will make short work of Charleston and Richmond and the impoverished coast of the Atlantic.

Your sincere friend,

General GRANT. W. T. SHERMAN.

Soon after the opening of Congress, in December, 1865, a special Message from the President was read in response to a resolution calling for "information as to the condition of the States lately in rebellion."

This Message was accompanied by a report from General Grant, who had been making a brief tour through

portions of the South, "in order to see what changes were necessary in the disposition of the military forces of the country, and to learn, as far as possible, the feelings and intentions of the citizens of those States toward the General Government." The following are some of the leading points in his report:—

"I am satisfied that the mass of the thinking men of the South accept the present situation of affairs in good faith. The questions of slavery and of the right of a State to secede from the Union they regard as having been settled by the highest tribunal—arms—that men can resort to." It is universally admitted, says General Grant, that it is not practicable at present to withdraw the military entirely from the South. The force in the interior should be white, because "the presence of black troops, lately slaves, demoralizes labor, both by their advice and by furnishing in their camps a resort for the freedmen for long distances around;" and "colored troops must be kept in bodies sufficient to defend themselves;" while "white troops generally excite no opposition, and therefore a small number of them can maintain order in a given district."

General Grant spoke cautiously respecting the Freedmen's Bureau. He said that, "In some form it is an absolute necessity until civil law is established and enforced, securing to the freedmen their rights and full protection," and "everywhere General Howard, the able head of the Bureau, made friends by the just and fair instructions and advice which he gave." But added:—

"Conversations with officers connected with the Bureau led me to think that in some of the States its affairs have not been conducted with good judgment or economy, and that the belief widely spread among the freedmen of the Southern States, that the lands of their former owners will, at least in part, be divided among them, has come from the agents of this Bureau. This belief is seriously interfering with the willingness of the freedmen to make contracts for the ensuing year. . . . Many, perhaps the majority, of the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau advise the freedmen that by their own industry they must expect to live. To this end they endeavor to secure employment for them, and to see that both contracting parties comply with their engagements. In some cases, I am sorry to say, the freedman's mind does not seem to be disabused of the idea that the freedman has the right to live without care or provision for the future. The effect of the belief in the division of the lands is idleness and accumulation in camps, towns, and cities." The general conclusions are, that "It cannot be expected that the opinions held by men at the South for years can be changed in a day; and therefore the freedmen require, for a few years, not only laws to protect them, but the fostering care of those who will give them good counsel, and upon whom they can rely;" and that the Freedmen's Bureau, "while separated from the military establishment of the country, requires all the expense of a separate organization." General Grant would have "every officer on duty with troops in the Southern States regarded as an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau; and then have all orders from the head of the Bureau sent through the Department commanders. This," he says, "would create a responsibility that would cause uniformity of action throughout the South; would insure the orders and instructions from the head of the Bureau being carried out; and would relieve from duty and pay a large number of employees of the Government."

This Message of the President, and the report of General Grant, elicited an animated debate in the Senate.

On the 20th of June, 1866, General Grant replied to General Lee's application for pardon, as follows :—

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *June* 20, 1866.

General R. E. LEE, Richmond, Va. :—

GENERAL :—Your communication of date the 13th inst., stating the steps you had taken after reading the President's proclamation of the 29th ult., with the view of complying with its provisions when you learned that, with others, you were to be indicted for treason by the Grand Jury at Norfolk; that you had supposed that the officers and men of the army of Northern Virginia were, by the terms of their surrender, protected by the United States Government from molestation, so long as they conformed to its conditions; that you were ready to meet any charges that might be preferred against you, and did not wish to avoid trial, but that if you were correct as to the protection granted by your parole, and were not to be prosecuted, you desired to avail yourself of the President's amnesty and proclamation, and inclosing an application therefor, with the request that in the event it be acted on, has been received, and forwarded to the Secretary of War with the following opinion indorsed thereon: "*In my opinion the officers and men paroled at Appomattox Court-House, and since, upon the same terms given to Lee, cannot be tried for treason so long as they observe the terms of their parole.*" This is my understanding. Good faith, as well as true policy, dictates that we should observe the condition of that convention. Bad faith on the part of the Government, or a construction of that convention subjecting the officers to trial for treason, would produce a feeling of insecurity in the minds of all the officers and men. If so disposed, they might even regard such an infraction of terms by the Government as an entire release from all obligations on their part. I will state further, that the terms granted by me met with the hearty approval of the President at the time, and of the country generally. The action of Judge Underwood in Norfolk has already had an injurious effect, and I would ask that he be ordered to quash all indictments found against paroled prisoners of war, and to desist from further prosecution of them.

U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

The office of General of the U. S. Army having been created by Congress, Lieutenant-General Grant was nominated by the President, July 25, 1866, as General, which was confirmed by the Senate.

On the 21st of November, 1866, General Grant made the following brief report to the Secretary of War :—

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, *November* 21, 1866.

Since my report for 1865, the volunteer force then in service has been almost entirely replaced by the regular army, mostly organized under the Act of Congress, approved 28th of July, 1866. The Report of the Adjutant-General of the Army gives exact statistics on this subject.

CONDITION OF THE SOUTH.

Passing from civil war of the magnitude of that in which the United States has been engaged to government through the courts, it has been deemed necessary to keep a military force in all the lately rebellious States, to insure the execution of law, and to protect life and property against the acts of those who, as yet, will acknowledge no law but force. This class has proven to be much smaller than could have been expected after such a conflict. It has, however, been sufficiently formidable to justify the course which has been pursued. On the whole, the condition of the States that were in rebellion against the Government may be regarded as good enough to warrant the hope, that but a short time will intervene before the bulk of the troops now occupying them can be sent to our growing territories, where they are so much needed.

On the 12th of July, 1867, in response to a call from the House, the Secretary of War furnished copies of all the correspondence between the Government and the several commanders of the military districts. The following is an abstract of the most important of them :—

May 22.—The Secretary of War, with the indorsement of General Grant, directed each commander to be prepared to prevent or suppress all riots and breaches of the peace, especially in the towns and cities.

General Pope wrote that he had written an order, deposing Governor Jenkins, of Georgia, on account of his publicly advising the people of that State not to register themselves. This order had been sent to General Grant for his approval ; but, before a reply had been received, the Governor made such explanations and promises as induced General Pope to withdraw the order. General Grant, in transmitting this information to the Secretary of War, said the conduct of Governor Jenkins demonstrates how possible it was for discontented civil officers of non-constructed States to defeat the laws of Congress, unless the district commanders have power to suspend their functions. He thought that power was clearly conferred by the bill upon the commanders to use or not, at their discretion, the provisional machinery set up in those States without the authority of Congress. He asked an early opinion upon the subject.

Generals Pope and Sheridan asked whether the opinion of the Attorney-General as to registration, &c., is to be considered an order binding upon them. Grant replied that it had not been put in the form of an order, and presumed that it was not so intended by the President. The commanders were directed to put their own construction upon the Military Bill, until ordered to do otherwise.

General Ord transmitted the instructions which he had given for the Boards of Registry in his district, directing

them to register all who take the prescribed oath. General Grant dissented from this view, and considered it to be their duty to see to it, as far as possible, that no unauthorized person is allowed to be registered; but, he added, "the law, however, makes the district commanders their own interpreters of their power and duty under it; and, in my opinion, the Attorney-General or myself can do no more than give our opinion of the meaning of the law; neither can enforce his views against the judgment of those made responsible for the faithful execution of the law—the district commanders."

Early in April, General Griffin, commanding in Texas, wrote that the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were both disqualified by the Military Bill, and that he desired the immediate removal of Governor Throckmorton. Sheridan indorsed this, and added that he feared he should have to remove Governor Wells, of Louisiana, who was impeding him all he could. Grant replied, April 3, advising that there should be no removals of Governors of States at present, for the question of the powers of the military commanders was then under consideration in the Cabinet. *June* 4, Sheridan telegraphed that he had found it necessary to remove Governor Wells, and had appointed Mr. Flanders, and he now felt that he was relieved of half his difficulties. "Nothing," he said, "will answer here but a bold and strong course, and in taking it I am supported by every class and all parties." Grant telegraphed to Sheridan, contradicting a newspaper report that he and the Secretary of War were in favor of reprimanding him for his action in removing the Governor. *June* 22, Sheridan wrote to Grant that the opinion of the Attorney-General opens a "broad Macadamized road to perjury," and sooner or later, that its effects are beginning to show themselves in organized opposition to all the acts of the military commander. "Every civil officer in the State," he said, "will administer justice according to his own views—many of them denouncing the Military Bill as unconstitutional, will throw every impediment in the way of its execution."

On the 12th of August, 1867, General Grant was appointed by the President, Secretary of War *ad interim*. The following official correspondence has become historical:—

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *August* 12, 1867.

SIR:—By virtue of the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, you are hereby suspended from office as Secretary of War, and will cease to execute any and all functions pertaining to the same. You will at once transfer to General Ulysses S.

Grant, who has this day been authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, all records, books, papers, and other public property now in your custody and charge.

Very respectfully, yours,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

To Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON CITY, *August* 12, 1867.

SIR:—Your note of this date has been received, informing me that by virtue of the authority vested in you as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, I am suspended from office as Secretary of War, and will cease to execute any and all functions pertaining to the same; and also directing me to transfer to General Grant, who has this day been authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, all records, books, papers, and public property now in my custody and charge. Under a sense of public duty I am compelled to deny your right under the Constitution and laws of the United States, without the advice and consent of the Senate, and without legal cause, to suspend me from office as Secretary of War, or the exercise of any or all functions pertaining to the same, or without such advice and consent, to compel me to transfer to any person the records, books and papers, and public property, in my custody as Secretary. But inasmuch as the General commanding the armies of the United States has been appointed *ad interim*, and has notified me that he has accepted that appointment, I have no alternative but to submit, under protest, to your superior force.

Very respectfully, yours,

To the President. E. M. STANTON, Secretary.

HEAD-QUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *August* 12, 1867.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR:—Inclosed herewith I have to transmit to you a reply of a letter just received from the President of the United States, notifying me of my assignment as Acting Secretary of War, and directing me to assume the duties at once. In notifying you of my acceptance, I cannot let the opportunity pass without expressing to you my appreciation of the zeal, patriotism, firmness, and ability, with which you have ever discharged the duty of Secretary of War.

With great respect, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, General.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *August* 12, 1867.

SIR:—Hon. Edwin M. Stanton having been suspended as Secretary of War, you are hereby authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, and will at once enter upon the discharge of the duties of that office. The Secretary of War has been instructed to transfer to you all the records, books, papers, and other public property now in his custody and charge.

Very respectfully, yours,

ANDREW JOHNSON.

General U. S. GRANT, Washington, D. C.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *August* 12, 1867.

GENERAL :—Your note of this date, accompanied by a copy of a letter addressed to you, August 12, by the President, appointing you Secretary of War *ad interim*, and informing me of your acceptance of the appointment, has been received. Under a sense of public duty I am compelled to deny the President's right, under the laws of the United States, to suspend me from office as Secretary of War, or to authorize any other person to enter upon the discharge of the duties of that office, or to require me to transfer to you or any other person the records, books, papers, and other public property in my custody as Secretary of War. But inasmuch as the President has assumed to suspend me from office as Secretary of War, and you have notified me of the acceptance of the appointment as Secretary of War *ad interim*, I have no alternative but to submit, under protest, to the superior force of the President. You will please accept my acknowledgment of the kind terms in which you have notified me of your acceptance of the President's appointment, and my cordial reciprocation of the sentiments expressed.

I am, with sincere regard, truly yours,

E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

General U. S. GRANT.

On the 17th of August, 1867, the President drew up an order removing General Sheridan from the command of the Fifth Military District, and assigning to the place General Thomas, then in command of the Department of the Cumberland. General Hancock, commanding the Department of the Missouri, was to relieve Thomas, and General Sheridan was to take the place of Hancock in Missouri. Before carrying this order into effect, General Grant was requested by the President to make any suggestions which he deemed necessary respecting the assignments directed by the order. General Grant replied, protesting against the execution of the order. He wrote :—

"I earnestly urge, in the name of a patriotic people who have sacrificed hundreds of thousands of loyal lives and thousands of millions of treasure to preserve the integrity and union of this country, that this order be not insisted on. It is unmistakably the expressed wish of the country that General Sheridan should not be removed from his present command. This is a republic where the will of the people is the law of the land. I beg that their voice may be heard. General Sheridan has performed his civil duties faithfully and intelligently. His removal will only be regarded as an effort to defeat the laws of Congress. It will be interpreted by the unconstructed element in the South—those who did all they could to break up this Government by arms, and now wish to be the only element consulted as to the method of restoring order—as a triumph. It will embolden them to renewed opposition to the will of the loyal masses, believing that they have the Executive with them."

General Grant objected also to the other assignments. General Thomas, he said, had repeatedly protested against being assigned to the command of any Military District, and especially to being assigned to take the place of Sher-

idan. General Hancock, moreover, ought not to be removed from the Department of Missouri. This Department was a complicated one, and it would take a new commander some time to become acquainted with it. "There are," said General Grant, "military reasons, pecuniary reasons, and, above all, patriotic reasons, why this order should not be insisted upon." He also refers to a letter marked "private," which he addressed to the President when he was first consulted upon the subject of a change in the War Department, which he hoped would have prevented the removal of Sheridan.

This matter remained in abeyance for ten days. Although no official announcement had been made, it was affirmed that the President and General Grant differed in opinion as to the authority belonging to them in this matter, Grant believing that the law of Congress placed in his hands the assignment of the several military commanders; the President, on the contrary, holding that this was ultimately vested in him as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. Whatever may have been the difference of opinion, General Grant yielded to Mr. Johnson, and, on the 26th of August, the order of the President removing General Sheridan was issued by General Grant. The assignment of commands, however, was different from that originally proposed. A surgeon certified that the health of General Thomas would not permit him to assume the command in Louisiana and Texas. General Hancock was therefore assigned to this command. Sheridan was ordered to turn over the command at once to the officer next in rank (General Griffin), and to proceed to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and relieve Hancock, who, upon being thus relieved, was to go to New Orleans and assume the command temporarily held by Griffin. Thomas, in the mean while, was to continue in command of the Department of the Cumberland.

Almost simultaneously with the order for the removal of Sheridan from the command of the Military Division of Louisiana and Texas, an order was issued by the President, through General Grant, as Acting-Secretary of War, removing General Sickles from the command of the Military Division embracing the States of North and South Carolina. General Canby was assigned to succeed General Sickles. The essential point in the orders given to Hancock and Canby is that each of them,

"In assuming the command to which he is hereby assigned, will, when necessary to a faithful execution of the laws, exercise any and all powers conferred by Acts of Congress upon District Commanders, and any and all authority pertaining to officers in command of Military Departments."

In November, 1867, a general order was issued by General Grant, as Secretary of War *ad interim*, for a reduction of the army to a comparative peace standard, thus saving a large amount of unnecessary government expenditure.

The Report of General Grant as General, and also as Secretary of War, to Congress, in December, 1867, embodied many minute details in relation to the army. The whole military force on the 30th of September was:— Officers and men, 56,815; the number of recruits, 34,191; of deserters, 13,608. Recruiting had been very successful, and men were supplied as fast as needed.

The Report embodied an abstract of the Report of the Commissioners of the Freedmen's Bureau. The appropriations for this Bureau for the year ending June 30, 1868, were $3,800,000; the expenditures for the eleven months, from October 1, 1866, to August 31, 1867, were $3,600,000; the surplus from the unexpended appropriations of 1866, with the balance of the present appropriation, will be sufficient for the present year, and no additional appropriations are requested. The principal items of expenditure are:— For food and subsistence, $1,460,000; schools and school-buildings, $550,000; salaries of agents, &c., $521,000; medical department, $330,000; transportation, $227,000; clothing, $116,000. General Grant said that, "No recommendation is made at the present time respecting the continuance or discontinuance of this Bureau. During the session of Congress facts may develop themselves requiring special legislation in the premises, when the necessary recommendations may be made."

On the 24th of January, 1868, General Grant wrote to the President for a repetition in writing of a verbal order given five days before, by which he was directed "to disregard the orders of the Hon. E. M. Stanton as Secretary of War, until he knew from the President himself that they were his orders." To this request a message was at once returned, which left General Grant in doubt as to the intentions of the President. Accordingly, on the 28th, he wrote to the President at some length, repeating the request for a written order, and stating that he should suspend action upon the verbal order. "I am compelled," he wrote, "to ask these instructions in writing in consequence of many gross misrepresentations affecting my personal honor, circulated through the press for the last fortnight, purporting to come from the President, of conversations which occurred either with the President privately in his office or in Cabinet meeting." General Grant then goes on to give what he considers "the facts in the case," substantially as follows:—

After he had assumed the duties of Secretary of War *ad interim*, the President desired his opinion as to the course which Mr. Stanton would have to pursue to regain possession of his office, in case the Senate should not concur in the suspension. Grant replied that he thought Mr. Stanton would have to appeal to the courts to reinstate him; adding, however, that should he change his view on this point he would inform the President. Subsequently, after closely examining the terms of the Tenure-of-Office Bill, he came to the conclusion that he could not, without violating the law, refuse to vacate the office of Secretary of War the moment Mr. Stanton was reinstated by the Senate, even though the President should, which he did not do, order him to remain. He, therefore, notified the President of the decision to which he had come on this point. The President urged, in reply, that, as Mr. Stanton had been suspended, and General Grant appointed under authority granted by the Constitution, and not under any Act of Congress, Grant could not be governed by the Act. Grant rejoined that the law, whether constitutional or not, was binding upon him until set aside by the proper tribunal. So matters stood for some days, until Mr. Stanton, with whom General Grant had held no communication, reassumed the duties of his office, when Grant, who no longer considered himself to be Secretary of War, was requested by the President to attend a Cabinet meeting on the 14th of January. At this meeting the President declared that Grant had promised either to hold on to the office of Secretary of War until displaced by the courts, or to resign, so as to leave the President free to fill the office. Grant did not then admit that he had made any such promise, and in this letter he positively denies having done so; but says that, in order to soften the evident contradiction, "The President may have understood me the way he said—that I had promised to resign if I did not resist the reinstatement."

The President gave a different account of what transpired on these occasions. Meanwhile, on the 20th, he returned the request of Grant for a written order, with the following indorsement:—

"As requested in this communication, General Grant is instructed, in writing, not to obey any order from the War Department, assumed to be issued by the direction of the President, unless such order is known by the General commanding the armies of the United States to have been authorized by the Executive."

To this General Grant on the following day replied:—

"I am informed by the Secretary of War that he has not received from the Executive any order or instructions limiting or impairing his authority to issue orders to the army, as has heretofore been his practice under the law and customs of the Department. While his authority to the War Department is not countermanded, it will be satisfactory evidence to me that any orders issued from the War Department by direction of the President are authorized by the Executive."

To this, and to the letter of General Grant of the 28th, the President, on the 31st of January, replied at length, giving his version of what took place at the Cabinet meeting of January 14. "My recollection," he says, "is diametrically the reverse of your narration." He avers that at this meeting General Grant admitted :—(1.) That he had agreed either to hold on to the post until the courts otherwise decided, or to resign before the Senate had taken action. (2.) That on the 11th he reaffirmed this decision. (3.) That on the same day he agreed to another conference to be held on the 13th, but did not appear, having been engaged in a conference with General Sherman, and "many little matters." The President says that he had read his own statement of what took place at this meeting to the members of the Cabinet who were present, and that they all agreed to its accuracy. He adds, that on the next day (January 15), General Grant, calling upon him, declared that a report, published in the *National Intelligencer*, of what had taken place at this meeting, had done him much injustice; the President replied that he had not then read this report; subsequently, as he wrote, he read this report, and "found that the statement of the understanding between us was substantially correct;" adding, moreover, that he had "caused it to be read to four of the five members of the Cabinet who were present at our conference of the 14th, and they concurred in the accuracy of the statements respecting our conversation upon that occasion."

To this General Grant replied on the 3d of February. He had, he said, read the President's letter, and compared it with the newspaper article and another one in another paper, purporting to be based upon the statements of the President and his Cabinet, and found the letter to be "only a reiteration, only somewhat more in detail, of the many and gross misrepresentations" contained in these newspaper articles, to rectify which was the design of his own letter of the 28th of January, "the correctness of which," he said, "I reassert, any thing of yours in reply to it to the contrary notwithstanding." He was greatly surprised that "the Cabinet officers should so greatly misunderstand the facts in the matter as to suffer their names to be made the basis of charges in the newspaper articles, or to agree to

the accuracy, as you affirm they do, of your account of what occurred at that meeting. You know," continues General Grant, "that we parted on Saturday, the 11th ult., without any promise on my part, either express or implied, that I would hold on to the office of Secretary of War *ad interim* against the action of the Senate, or, declining to do so myself, would surrender it to you before such action was had; or that I would see you at any fixed time on the subject." General Grant goes on to say, in substance, that his performance of the promises alleged by the President to have been made, would have involved a violation of law; that the President must have known that his greatest objection to the removal of Mr. Stanton was the fear that some one would be appointed in his stead who would oppose the operation of the reconstruction laws; and that to prevent this he had accepted the office of Secretary of War *ad interim*. General Grant gives some further details, to the general purport that he, with General Sherman, had agreed to advise Mr. Stanton to put an end to the difficulty by resigning, in which case the President would be urged to nominate as Secretary of War, Governor Cox, of Ohio; that an interview with Mr. Stanton had convinced him that such advice would be useless; and that after the interval of a fortnight he would not then advise Mr. Stanton to resign, "lest the same danger I apprehended from his first removal might follow." General Grant concludes this letter, by affirming that the course which the President desired it to be understood that he had agreed to follow was "in violation of the law, and that without orders from you; while the course I did pursue, and which I never doubted you fully understood, was in accordance with law, and not in disobedience to any orders of my superior." He added that "when my honor as a soldier and integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter from beginning to end as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law, for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the country. I am in a measure confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders directing me to disobey orders from the Secretary of War, my superior and your subordinate."

The foregoing comprises the substance of this correspondence as it existed at the time when its production was called for by the House of Representatives, and produced on the 4th of February. On the 10th the President replied at some length. "You refuse," says the President in conclusion, "obedience to the superior out of deference to the subordinate. Without further comment upon the insub-

ordinate position which you have assumed, I am at a loss to know how you can relieve yourself from the orders of the President, who is made by the Constitution the Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, and is therefore the official superior as well of the General of the army as of the Secretary of War."

To this letter the President appends the statements of the members of the Cabinet who were present at the meeting on the 14th of January, given at his special request, of what then took place. Mr. Browning gives at some length his recollections of the conversation at that meeting. The essential points are that the President expressed surprise at the course of General Grant in giving up the position of Secretary, and stated that the General had previously "agreed either to remain at the head of the War Department till a decision could be obtained from the courts, or resign the office into the hands of the President before the case was acted upon by the Senate;" that the President further stated that General Grant said that his conduct would be conformable to that understanding, but that he disliked to make himself a party to a judicial proceeding, for he would be exposed to fine and imprisonment, should he continue to act as Secretary of War after the Senate had refused to concur in the suspension of Mr. Stanton; whereupon he, the President, said that he would pay any fine, or submit to any imprisonment that might be adjudged against General Grant. The discussion, according to Mr. Browning, lasted for a considerable time, General Grant admitting that the previous conversation had occurred as affirmed by the President, but saying, that in the mean time he had looked into the Tenure-of-Office Bill, and had come to the conclusion that he could not lawfully act as Secretary of War, and had so informed the President on the 11th. It seems, from Mr. Browning's report of this conversation on the 14th, that it was admitted, both by the President and the General, that the interview of the 11th had closed without any definite conclusion, but with the understanding that it should be renewed on Monday, the 13th; but that it did not then take place, because General Grant on that day was occupied by a long interview with General Sherman, and various other matters, Grant not supposing that the Senate would act so promptly as they had done, restoring Mr. Stanton on the 13th, and thus, as Grant held, precluding him from acting as Secretary. Mr. Seward's recollections were to the same general purport as those of Mr. Browning. He notes, however: "I did not understand General Grant as denying nor as admitting these statements [of the President, as to what

had previously passed between them] in the form and full extent to which the President made them. His admission was rather indirect and circumstantial, though I did not understand it to be an evasive one." Mr. Seward adds, that General Grant, in relation to his failure of meeting the President on the 13th, made "another explanation—that he was engaged on Sunday, the 12th, with General Sherman, and I think also on Monday, in regard to the War Department matter, with a hope, though he did not say with an effort, to procure an amicable settlement of the affair of Mr. Stanton; and he still hoped that it would be brought about." This amicable settlement, as elsewhere appears, was to be effected by the resignation of Mr. Stanton, to be urged by Grant and Sherman; but General Grant, on hinting the matter to Mr. Stanton on the 19th, found that "any advice of this kind would be useless, and so informed General Sherman;" and in his letter of the 30th to the President, says: "I could not now advise his resignation, lest the same danger I apprehended from his first removal might follow."

To this letter of the President, General Grant replied briefly on the 11th of February. He admitted nothing in the statements of the members of the Cabinet differing from any thing which he had stated. He emphatically denied the charge of insubordination made by the President. "In my letter of the 30th of January," he says: "I did not propose to disobey any legal order of the President, distinctly given, but only gave an interpretation of what would be regarded as satisfactory evidence of the President's sanction to orders communicated by the Secretary of War;" adding that the President's letter of February 10, conveyed the first intimation that this interpretation was not satisfactory to the President. He showed that the authority of Mr. Stanton, to issue orders as Secretary of War, had also meanwhile been clearly recognized by the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Postmaster-General—to all appearance, by the sanction of the President. General Grant closed this final letter of the correspondence by "disclaiming any intention, now, or heretofore, of disobeying any legal order of the President, distinctly communicated."

GENERAL GRANT AND THE PRESIDENCY.

A Galena paper, as long ago as the 14th of March, 1866, had an article evidently written by General Grant's immediate friend, called forth by the fact, that some time since a Republican and Union meeting, in the city of Rochester, N. Y., had nominated Lieutenant-General Grant, as the Union

candidate for the Presidency in 1868. While the attempt to nominate the General for that office, is characterized as "premature agitation," the writer states, that "his friends look forward with pride and hope to the time when he shall receive the highest office which can be bestowed upon him by a grateful people, as a reward for the inestimable services he has rendered his country." The article says, that "he takes no part with the President as against Congress, and no part with Congress as against the President." His "official acts" are his present platform. "His views in regard to the necessity of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the keeping the troops in the Rebel States, are recorded." "His orders for the protection of Union men in the South, his suppression of disloyal papers in the South, and his opinion of disloyal papers in the North, are also on record." "His written declaration, nearly three months in advance of Mr. Lincoln's immortal proclamation, that slavery should be wiped out before the war ended, is well known to all intelligent men." This declaration is succeeded by an italicized passage, which was as follows:—"We know that all General Grant's hopes and sympathies are with the great Union party of this country. In feeling and sentiment, he is strongly indentified with the millions of loyal people, who, in the long years of war and carnage and blood, gave their hearts, their blood, and their treasure to their country. We have neither sympathy nor toleration for any party, nor any set of men, who were against the country in its terrible time of trial and peril, through which it has safely passed."

At a later date the Republican and Union press generally, have with great unanimity presented General Grant's name as *the* coming man for the nation's highest honors.

Twenty-five States have held their State or District Republican Conventions and appointed delegates to the Chicago Convention, and all, without a break in the line, have pronounced for General Grant as their candidate for the Presidency. He is morally certain to be nominated by acclamation without a dissenting vote.

The Republican party, in selecting General Grant as their candidate, are obeying the dictates of sound judgment, by nominating the leader who has rendered the party the highest services, who has contributed most weightily to the success of its principles and the perpetuity of its power, and who combines with these claims the highest qualifications for the performance of the true administrative functions of a President.

FRANK
GRANT